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Bishop *BURNET*'s

HISTORY

OF

His Own Time.

VOL. I.

From the Restoration of King CHARLES II.

To the Settlement of

King *WILLIAM* and Queen *MARY*

AT THE

REVOLUTION:

To which is prefix'd

A Summary Recapitulation of Affairs in Church and State from King JAMES I. to the Restoration in the Year 1660.

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MDCCXXIV.

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION:

FROM THE

ACCESSION

OF

KING CHARLES II.

TO THE

CONCLUSION

OF THE

CANON OF THE BIBLE.

By GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

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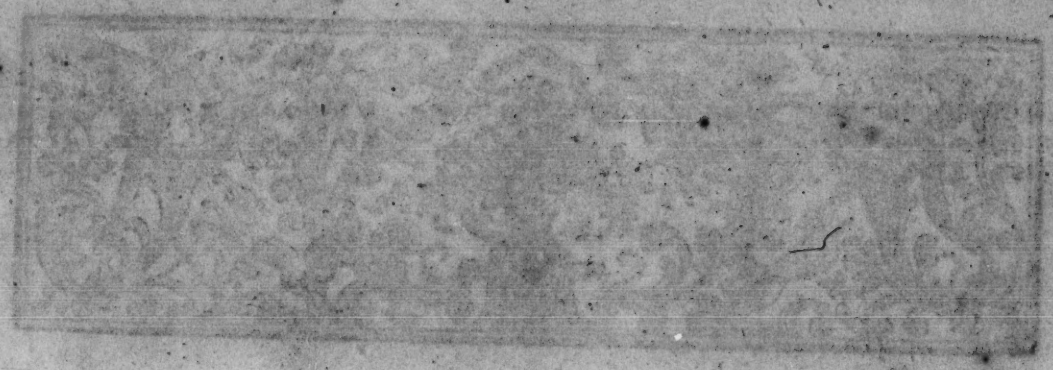

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

The PREFACE.

I AM now beginning to review and write over again the history of my own time, which I first undertook twenty years ago*, and have been continuing it from year to year ever since: And I see some reason to review it all. I had while I was very young a greater knowledge of affairs than is usual at that age; for my Father, who had been engaged in great friendships with men of both sides, living then retired from all business, as he took my education

* This history he writ some time before the year 1705. but how long, he has not any where told; only it appears it was then finish'd, because in the beginning of the reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary* he dates the continuation of his history on the first day of *May*, 1705.

wholly into his own hands, ſo he took a ſort of pleaſure to relate to me the ſeries of all publick affairs. And as he was a man ſo eminent for probity and true piety that I had all reaſon to believe him, ſo I ſaw ſuch an impartial ſenſe of things in him, that I had as little reaſon to doubt his judgment as his ſincerity. For though he adhered ſo firmly to the King and his ſide, that he was the ſingular inſtance in *Scotland* of a man of ſome note who from the beginning to the end of the war never once owned or ſubmitted to the new form of Government ſet up all that while; yet he did very freely complain of the errours of the King's Government, and of the Biſhops of *Scotland*. So that upon this foundation I ſet out at firſt to look into the ſecret conduct of affairs among us.

I fell into great acquaintance and friendſhips with ſeveral perſons who either were or had been Miniſters of ſtate, from whom when the ſecret of affairs was over I ſtudied to know as many particulars as I could draw from them. I ſaw a great deal more among the papers of the Dukes of *Hamilton* than was properly a part of their memoirs, or fit to be told at that time: For when a licence was to be obtained, and a work was to be publiſhed fit for that family to own, things foreign to their Miniſtry, or hurtful to any other families, were not to be intermixed with the account I then gave of the late wars. And now for above thirty years I have lived in ſuch intimacy with all who have had the chief conduct of affairs, and have been ſo much truſted, and on ſo many important occaſions employed by them, that I have been able to penetrate far into the true ſecrets of counſels and deſigns.

This made me twenty years ago write down a relation of all that I had known to that time: Where I was in the dark, I paſt over all, and only opened thoſe tranſactions that I had particular occaſions to know. My chief deſign in writing was to give a true view of men and of counſels, leaving publick tranſactions to Gazetts and the publick hiſtorians of the times. I writ with a deſign to make both my ſelf and my readers wiſer and better, and to lay open the good and bad of all ſides and parties, as clearly and impartially as I my ſelf underſtood it, concealing nothing that I thought fit to be known, and repreſenting things in their natural colours without

out

out art or disguise, without any regard to kindred or friends, to parties or interests: For I do solemnly say this to the world, and make my humble appeal upon it to the great God of truth, that I tell the truth on all occasions, as fully and freely as upon my best inquiry I have been able to find it out. Where things appear doubtful I deliver them with the same incertainty to the world.

Some may perhaps think that instead of favouring my own profession, I have been more severe upon them than was needful. But my zeal for the true interest of Religion and of the Clergy made me more careful to undeceive good and well meaning men of my own order and profession for the future, and to deliver them from common prejudices and mistaken notions, than to hide or excuse the faults of those who will be perhaps gone off the stage before this work appear on it. I have given the characters of men very impartially and copiously; for nothing guides ones judgment more truly in a relation of matters of fact, than the knowing the tempers and principles of the chief actors.

If I have dwelt too long on the affairs of *Scotland*, some allowance is to be made to the affection all men bear to their native country. I alter nothing of what I wrote in the first draught of this work, only I have left out a great deal that was personal to my self, and to those I am descended from: So that this is upon the matter the same work with very little change made in it.

I look on the perfecting of this work, and the carrying it on through the remaining part of my life, as the greatest service I can do to God and to the world; and therefore I set about it with great care and caution. For I reckon a lie in history to be as much a greater sin than a lie in common discourse, as the one is like to be more lasting and more generally known than the other. I find that the long experience I have had of the baseness, the malice, and the falshood of mankind, has inclined me to be apt to think generally the worst both of men and of parties: And indeed the peevishness, the ill nature, and the ambition of many clergymen has sharpned my Spirits perhaps too much againſt them: So I warn my reader to take all that I say on these heads with some

ſome grains of allowance, though I have watched over my ſelf and my pen ſo carefully that I hope there is no great occaſion for this apology.

I have ſhewed this hiſtory to ſeveral of my friends, who were either very partial to me, or they eſteemed that this work (chiefly when it ſhould be over and over again retouched and poliſhed by me, which very probably I ſhall be doing as long as I live) might prove of ſome uſe to the world. I have on deſign avoided all laboured periods or artificial ſtrains, and have writ in as clear and plain a ſtyle as was poſſible, chuſing rather a copious enlargement, than a dark conciſeneſs.

And now, O my God, the God of my life, and of all my mercies, I offer this work to thee, to whoſe honour it is chiefly intended; that thereby I may awaken the world to juſt reflections on their own errours and follies, and call on them to acknowledge thy providence, to adore it, and ever to depend on it.

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THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK I.

A ſummary Recapitulation of the ſtate of Affairs in Scotland, *both in Church and State; from the beginning of the Troubles, to the Reſtoration of King* Charles *the Second,* 1660.

THE miſchiefs of civil wars are ſo great and laſting, and the effects of them branching out by many accidents, that were not thought on at firſt much leſs intended, into ſuch miſchievous conſequences, that I have thought it an enquiry that might be of great uſe both to Prince and People, to look carefully into the firſt beginnings and occaſions of them, to obſerve their progreſs, and the errors of both hands, the provocations that were given, and the jealouſies that were raiſed by theſe, together with the exceſſes into which both ſides have run by turns. And tho' the wars be over long ago, yet ſince they have left among us ſo many ſeeds of laſting feuds and animoſities, which upon every turn are apt to ferment and to break out of new, it will be an uſeful as well as a pleaſant enquiry to look back to the firſt original of them, and to obſerve by what degrees and accidents they gathered ſtrength, and at laſt broke forth into a flame.

The distractions during King *James*'s minority.

The Reformation of *Scotland* was popular and parliamentary: The Crown was, during that time, either on the head of a Queen that was absent, or of a King that was an infant. During his minority matters were carried on by the several Regents, so as was most agreeable to the prevailing humour of the Nation. But when King *James* grew to be of age, he found two parties in the Kingdom. The one was of those who wished well to the interest of the Queen his Mother, then a prisoner in *England*: These were either professed Papists, or men believed to be indifferent as to all religions. The rest were her inveterate enemies, zealous for the Reformation, and fixed in a dependance on the Crown of *England*, and in a jealousy of *France*. When that King saw that those who were most in his interests were likewise jealous of his authority, and apt to encroach upon it, he hearkened first to the insinuations of his Mother's party, who were always infusing in him a jealousy of these his friends; saying, that by ruining his Mother, and setting him in her room while a year old, they had ruined monarchy, and made the Crown subject and precarious; and had put him in a very unnatural posture, of being seized of his Mother's Crown while she was in exile and a prisoner; adding, that he was but a King in name, the power being in the hands of those who were under the management of the Queen of *England*.

The practices of the House of *Guise*.

Their insinuations would have been of less force, if the House of *Guise*, who were his Cosin Germans, had not been engaged in great designs, of transferring the Crown of *France* from the House of *Bourbon* to themselves; in order to which it was necessary to embroil *England*, and to draw the King of *Scotland* into their interests. So under the pretence of keeping up the old alliances between *France* and *Scotland*, they sent creatures of their own to be Ambassadors there; and they also sent a graceful young man, who, as he was the King's nearest kinsman by his father, was of so agreeable a temper that he became his favourite, and was made by him Duke of *Lenox*. He was known to be a Papist, tho' he pretended he changed his religion, and became in profession a Protestant.

The Court of *England* discovered all these artifices of the *Guisians*, who were then the most implacable enemies of the Reformation, and were managing all that train of plots against Queen *Elizabeth*, that in conclusion proved fatal to the Queen of *Scots*. And when the *English* Ministers saw the inclinations of the young King lay so strongly that way, that all their applications to gain him were ineffectual, they infused such a jealousy of him into all their party in *Scotland*, that both Nobility and Clergy were much allarmed at it.

But King *James* learnt early that piece of King-craft, of disguising, or at least denying every thing that was observed in his behaviour that gave offence.

The main instance in which the *French* management appeared, was that he could not be prevailed on to enter into any treaty of marriage. It was not safe to talk of marrying a Papist; and as long as the Duke of *Guise* lived, the King, tho' then three and twenty and the only person of his family, would hearken to no proposition for marrying a Protestant.

King *James* in the Interest of *England*.

But when the Duke of *Guise* was killed at *Blois*, and that *Henry* the third was murdered soon after, so that *Henry* the fourth came in his room, King *James* was no more in a *French* management: So presently after he married a Daughter of *Denmark*, and ever after that he was wholly managed by Queen *Elizabeth* and her Ministers. I have seen many letters among *Walsingham*'s papers that discover the commerce between the House of *Guise* and him: But the most valuable of these is a long paper of instructions to one Sir *Richard Wigmore*, a great man for hunting, and for all such sports, to which King *James* was out of measure addicted. The Queen affronted him publickly: Upon which he pretended he could live no longer in *England*, and therefore withdrew to *Scotland*. But all this was a contrivance of *Walsingham*'s, who thought him a fit person to get into that King's favour: So that affront was designed to give him the more credit. He was very particularly instructed in all the proper methods to gain upon the King's confidence, and to observe and give an account of all he saw in him; which he did very faithfully. By these instructions it appears that *Walsingham* thought that King was either inclined to turn Papist, or to be of no religion. And when the Court of *England* saw that they could not depend on him, they raised all possible opposition to him in *Scotland*, infusing strong jealousies into those who were enough inclined to receive them.

A censure of *Spotswood*'s history.

This is the great defect that runs thro' Archbishop *Spotswood*'s history, where much of the rude opposition that King met with, particularly from the Assemblies of the *Kirk*,

Kirk, is ſet forth; but the true ground of all the jealouſies they were poſſeſſed with is ſuppreſſed by him. After his marriage they ſtudied to remove theſe ſuſpicions all that was poſſible; and he granted the *Kirk* all the laws they deſired, and got his temporal authority to be better eſtabliſhed than it was before: Yet as the jealouſies of his fickleneſs in religion were never quite removed, ſo they gave him many new diſguſts: They wrought in him a moſt inveterate hatred of presbytery, and of the power of the *Kirk*, and he fearing an oppoſition in his ſucceeding to the Crown of *England*, from the Papiſt party, which, tho' it had little ſtrength in the Houſe of Commons, yet was very great in the Houſe of Lords, and was very conſiderable in all the northern parts, and among the body of the people, employed ſeveral perſons who were known to be Papiſts tho' they complied outwardly. The chief of theſe were *Elphinſton*, Secretary of State, whom he made Lord *Balmerinoch*; and *Seaton*, afterwards Chancellour and Earl of *Dunferling*. By their means he ſtudied to aſſure the Papiſts that he would connive at them. A letter was alſo writ to the Pope by him giving aſſurance of this, which when it came to be publiſhed by *Bellarmin*, upon the proſecution of the recuſants after the diſcovery of the Gunpowder Plot, *Balmerinoch* did affirm, that he out of zeal to the King's ſervice got his hand to it, having put it in the bundle of papers that were ſigned in courſe without the King's knowing any thing of it. Yet when that diſcovery drew no other ſeverity but the turning him out of office, and the paſſing a ſentence condemning him to die for it (which was preſently pardoned, and he was after a ſhort confinement reſtored to his liberty,) all men believed that the King knew of the letter, and that the pretended confeſſion of the Secretary was only colluſion to lay the jealouſies of the King's favouring Popery, which ſtill hung upon him notwithſtanding his writing on the *Revelation*, and his affecting to enter on all occaſions into controverſy, aſſerting in particular that the Pope was Antichriſt.

King *James* ſtudied to gain the Papiſts.

As he took theſe methods to manage the Popiſh party, he was much more careful to ſecure to himſelf the body of the *Engliſh* nation. *Cecill*, afterwards Earl of *Saliſbury*, Secretary to Queen *Elizabeth*, entred into a particular confidence with him: And this was managed by his Ambaſſador *Bruce*, a younger brother of a noble family in *Scotland*, who carried the matter with ſuch addreſs and ſecrecy, that all the great Men of *England*, without knowing of one another's doing it, and without the Queen's ſuſpecting any thing concerning it, ſigned in writing an engagement to aſſert and ſtand by the King of *Scots* right of ſucceſſion. This great ſervice was rewarded by making him Maſter of the Rolls, and a Peer of *Scotland*: And as the King did raiſe *Cecill* and his friends to the greateſt poſts and dignities, ſo he raiſed *Bruce*'s family here in *England*.

And to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the Crown of *England*.

When that King came to the Crown of *England* he diſcovered his hatred to the *Scotiſh* Kirk on many occaſions, in which he gratified his reſentment without conſulting his intereſts. He ought to have put his utmoſt ſtrength to the finiſhing what he but faintly begun for the union of both Kingdoms, which was loſt by his unreaſonable partiality in pretending that *Scotland* ought to be conſidered in this union as the third part of the Iſle of *Great Britain*, if not more. So high a demand ruined the deſign. But when that failed, he ſhould then have ſtudied to keep the affections of that Nation firm to him: And certainly he, being ſecure of that Kingdom, might have ſo managed matters, as to have prevented that disjointing which happened afterwards both in his own reign, and more tragically in his ſon's. He thought to effect this by his profuſe bounty to many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, and to his domeſtick ſervants: But as moſt of theſe ſettling in *England* were of no further uſe to him in that deſign, ſo his ſetting up Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, and his conſtant averſion to the Kirk, how right ſoever it might be in it ſelf, was a great errour in policy; for the poorer that Kingdom was, it was both the more eaſy to gain them, and the more dangerous to offend them. So the terrour which the affections of the *Scotch* Nation might have juſtly given the *Engliſh* was ſoon loſt, by his engaging the whole Government to ſupport that which was then very contrary to the bent and genius of the Nation.

That King's errours in Government.

But tho' he ſet up Biſhops, he had no revenues to give them, but what he was to purchaſe for them. During his minority all the tithes and the church lands were veſted in the Crown: But this was only in order to the granting them away to the men that bore the chief ſway. It is true, when he came of age, he according to the law of *Scotland* paſt a general revocation of all that had been done in his infancy:

He ſet up Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*.

And

And by this he could have resumed all those grants. He, and after him his son, succeeded in one part of his design: For by act of Parliament a Court was erected that was to examine and sequester a third part of the tithes in every parish, and so make a competent provision out of them to those who served the cure; which had been reserved in the great alienation for the service of the church. This was carried at first to a proportion of about thirty pounds a year, and was afterwards in his son's time raised to about fifty pounds a year; which considering the plenty and way of living in that country is a very liberal provision, and is equal in value to thrice that sum in the southern parts of *England*. In this he had both the clergy and the body of the people on his side. But he could not so easily provide for the Bishops: They were at first forced to hold their former cures with some small addition.

With a design to carry matters farther.

But as they assumed at their first setting up little more authority than that of a constant president of the presbyters, so they met with much rough opposition. The King intended to carry on a conformity in matters of religion with *England*, and he begun to buy in from the Grantees many of the estates that belonged to the Bishopricks. It was also enacted, that a form of prayer should be drawn for *Scotland*: And the King was authorized to appoint the habits in which the divine offices were to be performed. Some of the chief holy-days were ordered to be observ'd. The Sacrament was to be received kneeling, and to be given to the sick. Confirmation was enacted; as also the use of the Cross in Baptism. These things were first past in general assemblies, which were composed of Bishops and the deputies chosen by the Clergy, who sat all in one house: And in it they reckoned the Bishops only as single votes. Great opposition was made to all these steps: And the whole force of the Government was strained to carry elections to those meetings, or to take off those who were chosen; in which it was thought that no sort of practice was omitted. It was pretended, that some were frighted, and others were corrupted.

Errours of the Bishops.

The Bishops themselves did their part very ill. They generally grew haughty: They neglected their functions, and were often at Court, and lost all esteem with the people. Some few that were stricter and more learned did lean so grosly to Popery, that the heat and violence of the Reformation became the main subject of their sermons and discourses. King *James* grew weary of this opposition, or was so apprehensive of the ill effects that it might have, that, what through sloth or fear, and what by reason of the great disorder into which his ill conduct brought his affairs in *England* in his latter years, he went no further in his designs on *Scotland*.

Prince *Henry* was believed to be poisoned.

He had three children. His eldest, Prince *Henry*, was a Prince of great hopes; but so very little like his father, that he was rather feared than loved by him. He was so zealous a Protestant that, when his father was entertaining propositions of marrying him to popish Princesses, once to the Archduchess, and at another time to a daughter of *Savoy*, he in a letter that he wrote to the King on the twelfth of that *October* in which he died (the original of which Sir *William Cook* shewed me) desired, that if his father married him that way it might be with the youngest person of the two, of whose conversion he might have hope, and that any liberty she might be allowed for her religion might be in the privatest manner possible. Whether this aversion to Popery hasten'd his death or not I cannot tell. Colonel *Titus* assured me that he had from King *Charles* the first's own mouth, that he was well assured he was poisoned by the Earl of *Somerset*'s means. It is certain, that from the time of the Gunpowder Plot, King *James* was so struck with the terror of that danger he was then so near, that ever after he had no mind to provoke the Jesuits; for he saw what they were capable of.

The Gunpowder-Plot.

And since I name that conspiracy which the Papists in our days have had the impudence to deny, and to pretend it was an artifice of *Cecill*'s to engage some desperate men into a Plot, which he managed so that he could discover it when he pleased, I will mention what I my self saw, and had for some time in my possession. Sir *Everard Digby* died for being of the Conspiracy: He was the Father of the famous Sir *Kenelm Digby*. The family being ruin'd upon the death of Sir *Kenelm*'s Son, when the executors were looking out for writings to make out the titles of the estates they were to sell, they were directed by an old servant to a cupboard that was very artificially hid, in which some papers lay that she had observed Sir *Kenelm* was oft reading. They looking into it found a velvet bag, within which there were two other silk bags: (So carefully were those relicks kept:) And there was within these a collection of all the letters that Sir *Everard* writ during his imprisonment. In these

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he expreſſes great trouble, becauſe he heard ſome of their friends blamed their undertaking: He highly magnifies it; and ſays, if he had many lives he would willingly have ſacrificed them all in carrying it on. In one paper he ſays, they had taken that care that there were not above two or three worth ſaving, to whom they had not given notice to keep out of the way: And in none of thoſe papers does he expreſs any ſort of remorſe for that which he had been engaged in, and for which he ſuffered.

King *James* was afraid of the Jeſuits.

Upon the diſcovery of that Plot there was a general proſecution of all Papiſts ſet on foot: But King *James* was very uneaſy at it; which was much encreaſed by what Sir *Dudly Carlton* told him upon his return from *Spain*, where he had been Ambaſſadour; (which I had from the Lord *Hollis*, who ſaid to me that Sir *Dudly Carlton* told it to himſelf, and was much troubled when he ſaw it had an effect contrary to what he had intended.) When he came home, he found the King at *Theobald's* hunting in a very careleſs and unguarded manner: And upon that, in order to the putting him on a more careful looking to himſelf, he told the King he muſt either give over that way of hunting, or ſtop another hunting that he was engaged in, which was Prieſt-hunting: For he had intelligence in *Spain*, that the Prieſts were comforting themſelves with this, that if he went on againſt them they would ſoon get rid of him: Queen *Elizabeth* was a woman of form, and was always ſo well attended, that all their plots againſt her failed, and were never brought to any effect: But a Prince who was always in woods or foreſts would be eaſily overtaken. The King ſent for him in private to enquire more particularly into this: And he ſaw it had made a great impreſſion on him: But wrought otherwiſe than as he intended. For the King, reſolved to gratifie his humour in hunting and in a careleſs and irregular way of life, did immediately order all that proſecution to be let fall. I have the minutes of the Council Books of the year 1606, which are full of orders to diſcharge and tranſport Prieſts, ſometimes ten in a day. From thence to his dying day he continued always writing and talking againſt Popery, but acting for it. He married his only daughter to a Proteſtant Prince, one of the moſt zealous and ſincere of them all, the Elector *Palatine*; upon which a great revolution happen'd in the Affairs of *Germany*. The eldeſt branch of the houſe of *Auſtria* retained ſome of the impreſſions that their Father *Maximilian* II. ſtudied to infuſe into them, who as he was certainly one of the beſt and wiſeſt Princes of theſe latter ages, ſo he was unalterably fixed in his opinion againſt perſecution for matters of conſcience: His own ſentiments were ſo very favourable to the Proteſtant Doctrine, that he was thought inwardly theirs. His brother *Charles* of *Grats* was on the other hand wholly manag'd by the Jeſuits, and was a zealous patron of theirs, and as zealouſly ſupported by them. *Rodolph* and *Matthias* reigned one after another, but without iſſue. Their brother *Albert* was then dying in *Flanders*: So *Spain* with the popiſh intereſt joined to advance *Ferdinand*, the ſon of *Charles* of *Grats*: And he forced *Matthias* to reſign the Crown of *Bohemia* to him, and got himſelf to be elected King. But his government became quickly ſevere: He reſolved to extirpate the Proteſtants, and began to break thro' the privileges that were ſecured to them by the laws of that Kingdom.

The Elector *Palatine's* marriage.

The Affairs of *Bohemia*.

This occaſioned a general inſurrection, which was followed by an Aſſembly of the States, who together with thoſe of *Sileſia*, *Moravia* and *Luſatia* joined in depoſing *Ferdinand*: And they offered their Crown firſt to the Duke of *Saxony* who refuſed it, and then to the Elector *Palatine* who accepted of it, being encourag'd to it by his two Uncles *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* and the Duke of *Bullion*. But he did not ask the advice of King *James*: He only gave him notice of it when he had accepted the offer. Here was the probableſt occaſion that has been offered ſince the Reformation for its full eſtabliſhment.

The *Engliſh* Nation was much inclined to ſupport it: And it was expected that ſo near a conjunction might have prevailed on the King: But he had an invincible averſion to war; and was ſo poſſeſſed of the opinion of a divine right in all Kings, that he could not bear that even an elective and limited King ſhould be called in queſtion by his ſubjects: So he would never acknowledge his ſon-in-law King, nor give him any aſſiſtance for the ſupport of his new dignity. And tho' it was alſo reckoned on that *France* would enter into any deſign that ſhould bring down the houſe of *Auſtria*, and *Spain* by conſequence, yet even that was diverted by the means of *De Luynes*; a worthleſs but abſolute favourite, whom the Archduchеſs *Iſabella*, Princeſs of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, gained to oblige the King into a newtrality by giving

him the richeſt heireſs then in *Flanders*, the daughter of *Peguigny*, left to her diſpoſal, whom he married to his brother.

The diſorders in *Holland*.

Thus poor *Frederick* was left without any aſſiſtance. The jealouſy that the *Lutherians* had of the aſcendant that the *Calviniſts* might gain by this acceſſion had an unhappy ſhare in the coldneſs which all the Princes of that confeſſion ſhewed towards him; tho' *Saxony* only declared for *Ferdinand*, who likewiſe engag'd the Duke of *Bavaria* at the Head of a catholick league to maintain his intereſts. *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* had embroiled *Holland* by the eſpouſing the controverſy about the decrees of God in oppoſition to the *Arminian* party, and by erecting a new and illegal court by the Authority of the States General to judge of the Affairs of the Province of *Holland*; which was plainly contrary to their conſtitution, by which every Province is a Sovereignty within itſelf, not at all ſubordinate to the States General, who act only as Plenipotentiaries of the ſeveral Provinces to maintain their union and their common concerns. By that aſſembly *Barnevelt* was condemned and executed: *Grotius* and others were condemned to perpetual impriſonment: And an Aſſembly of the miniſters of the ſeveral Provinces met at *Dort* by the ſame authority, and condemned and deprived the *Arminians*. *Maurice*'s enemies gave it out that he managed all this on deſign to make himſelf maſter of the Provinces, and to put thoſe who were like to oppoſe him out of the way. But tho' this ſeem a wild and groundleſs imagination, and not poſſible to be compaſſed; yet it is certain that he looked on *Barnevelt* and his party as men who were ſo jealous of him and of a military power, that as they had forced the truce with *Spain* ſo they would be very unwilling to begin a new war; tho' the diſputes about *Juliers* and *Cleves* had almoſt engaged them, and the truce was now near expiring; at the end of which he hoped, if delivered from the oppoſition that he might look for from that party, to begin the war anew. By theſe means there was a great fermentation over all the Provinces, ſo that *Maurice* was not then in condition to give the elected King any conſiderable aſſiſtance; tho' indeed he needed it much, for his conduct was very weak. He affected the grandeur of a regal court, and the magnificence of a crowned head too early: And his Queen ſet up ſome of the gay diverſions that ſhe had been accuſtomed to in her father's court, ſuch as balls and masks, which very much diſguſted the good *Bohemians*, who thought that a revolution made on the account of religion ought to have put on a greater appearance of ſeriouſneſs and ſimplicity. Theſe particulars I had from the children of ſome who belong'd to that court. The elected King was quickly overthrown, and driven not only out of thoſe his new dominions, but likewiſe out of his hereditary countries: He fled to *Holland* where he ended his days. I will go no farther in a matter ſo well known as King *James*'s ill conduct in the whole ſeries of that war, and that unheard of practice of ſending his only Son thro' *France* into *Spain*, of which the relations we have are ſo full that I can add nothing to them.

Some paſſages of the Religion of ſome princes.

I will only here tell ſome particulars with relation to *Germany*, that *Fabricius*, the wiſeſt divine I knew among them, told me he had from *Charles Lewis* the Elector *Palatine*'s own mouth. He ſaid, *Frederick* II. who firſt reformed the *Palatinate*, whoſe life is ſo curiouſly writ by *Thomas Hubert* of *Liege*, reſolved to ſhake off Popery, and to ſet up *Lutheraniſm* in his country: But a counſellor of his ſaid to him, that the *Lutherans* would always depend chiefly on the houſe of *Saxony*: So it would not become him who was the firſt Elector to be only the ſecond in the party: It was more for his dignity to become a Calviniſt: He would be the head of that party: It would give him a great intereſt in *Switzerland*, and make the *Huguenots* of *France* and in the *Netherlands* depend on him. He was by that determined to declare for the *Helvetian* confeſſion. But upon the ruin of his family the Duke of *Newburgh* had an enterview with the Elector of *Brandenburgh* about their concerns in *Juliers* and *Cleves*: And he perſwaded that Elector to turn *Calviniſt*; for ſince their Family was fallen, nothing would more contribute to raiſe the other than the eſpouſing that ſide, which would naturally come under his protection: But he added, that for himſelf he had turned Papiſt, ſince his little Principality lay ſo near both *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*. This that Elector told with a ſort of pleaſure, when he made it appear that other Princes had no more ſenſe of religion than he himſelf had.

King *James* parted with the cautionary Towns.

Other circumſtances concurred to make King *James*'s reign inglorious. The States having borrowed great ſums of money of Queen *Elizabeth*, they gave her the *Brill* and *Fluſhing*, with ſome other places of leſs note, in pawn till the money ſhould be repaid. Soon after his coming to the Crown of *England* he entred into ſecret treaties

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with *Spain*, in order to the forcing the States to a peace: One article was, that if they were obſtinate he would deliver theſe places to the *Spaniards*. When the truce was made, *Barnevelt*, tho' he had promoted it, yet knowing the ſecret article, he ſaw they were very unſafe while the keys of *Holland* and *Zealand* were in the hands of a Prince who might perhaps ſell them, or make an ill uſe of them: So he perſuaded the States to redeem the mortgage by repaying the money that *England* had lent, for which theſe places were put into their hands: And he came over himſelf to treat about it. King *James*, who was profuſe upon his favourites and ſervants, was delighted with the proſpect of ſo much money; and immediately, without calling a Parliament to adviſe with them about it, he did yield to the propoſition. So the money was paid, and the places were evacuated. But his profuſeneſs drew two other things upon him, which broke the whole authority of the Crown, and the dependence of the Nation upon it. The Crown had a great eſtate over all *England*, which was all let out upon leaſes for years, and a ſmall rent was reſerved. So moſt of the great families of the Nation were the tenants of the Crown, and a great many burroughs were depending on the eſtates ſo held. The renewal of theſe leaſes brought in Fines to the Crown, and to the great officers: Beſides that the fear of being denied a renewal kept all in a dependence on the Crown. King *James* obtained of his parliament a power of granting, that is ſelling, thoſe eſtates for ever, with the reſerve of the old quit-rent: And all the money raiſed by this was profuſely ſquandred away. Another main part of the regal authority was the Wards, which anciently the Crown took into their own management. Our Kings were, according to the firſt inſtitution, the Guardians of the Wards. They bred them up in their courts, and diſpoſed of them in marriage as they thought fit. Afterwards they compounded, or forgave them, or gave them to ſome branches of the family, or to provide the younger children. But they proceeded in this very gently: And the chief care after the Reformation was to breed the Wards Proteſtants. Still all were under a great dependence by this means. Much money was not raiſed this way: But families were often at mercy, and were uſed according to their behaviour. King *James* granted theſe generally to his ſervants and favourites: And they made the moſt of them. So that what was before a dependence on the Crown, and was moderately compounded for, became then a moſt exacting oppreſſion, by which ſeveral families were ruined. This went on in King *Charles*'s time in the ſame method. Our Kings thought they gave little when they diſpoſed of a Ward, becauſe they made little of them. All this raiſed ſuch an outcry, that Mr. *Pierpoint* at the Reſtoration gathered ſo many inſtances of theſe, and repreſented them ſo effectually to that Houſe of Commons that called home King *Charles* the ſecond, that he perſuaded them to redeem themſelves by an offer of exciſe, which indeed produces a much greater revenue, but took away the dependence in which all families were held by the dread of leaving their heirs expoſed to ſo great a danger. *Pierpoint* valued himſelf to me upon this ſervice he did his country, at a time when things were ſo little conſidered on either hand, that the court did not ſeem to apprehend the value of what they parted with, nor the country of what they purchaſed.

King *James* broke the greatneſs of the Crown.

Beſides theſe publick actings King *James* ſuffered much in the opinion of all people by his ſtrange way of uſing one of the greateſt men of that age, Sir *Walter Raleigh*; againſt whom the proceedings at firſt were much cenſured, but the laſt part of them was thought both barbarous and illegal. The whole buſineſs of the Earl of *Somerſet*'s riſe and fall, of the Counteſs of *Eſſex* and *Overbury*; the putting the inferiour perſons to death for that infamous poyſoning, and the ſparing the principals, both the Earl of *Somerſet* and his Lady, were ſo odious and inhuman, that it quite ſunk the reputation of a reign, that on many other accounts was already much expoſed to contempt and cenſure; which was the more ſenſible, becauſe it ſucceeded ſuch a glorious and happy one. King *James* in the end of his reign was become weary of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who treated him with ſuch an air of inſolent contempt that he ſeem'd at laſt reſolved to throw him off, but could not think of taking the load of government on himſelf, and ſo reſolved to bring the Earl of *Somerſet* again into favour, as that Lord reported it to ſome from whom I had it. He met with him in the night in the gardens at *Theobalds*: Two bed-chamber men were only in the ſecret: The King embrac'd him tenderly and with many tears: The Earl of *Somerſet* believ'd the ſecret was not well kept; for ſoon after the King was taken ill with ſome fits of an ague and died of it. My father was then in *London*, and did very much ſuſpect

Other errours in his reign.

His Death.

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an ill practice in the matter: But perhaps Doctor *Craig*, my mother's uncle, who was one of the King's physicians, possessed him with these apprehensions; for he was disgraced for saying he believed the King was poysoned. It is certain no King could die less lamented or less esteemed than he was. This sunk the credit of the Bishops of *Scotland*, who as they were his creatures, so they were obliged to a great dependence on him, and were thought guilty of gross and abject flattery towards him. His reign in *England* was a continued course of mean practices. The first condemnation of Sir *Walter Raleigh* was very black: But the executing him after so many years, and after an employment that had been given him, was counted a barbarous sacrificing him to the *Spaniards*. The rise and fall of the Earl of *Somerset*, and the swift progress of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s greatness, were things that exposed him to the censure of all the world. I have seen the originals of about twenty letters that he wrote to the Prince and that Duke while they were in *Spain*, which shew a meanness as well as a fondness that render him very contemptible. The great Figure the Crown of *England* had made in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, who had render'd her self the arbiter of christendom, and was the wonder of the age, was so much eclipsed if not quite darkened during this reign, that King *James* was become the scorn of the age; and while hungry writers flattered him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad as a pedant without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, subject to his favourites, and deliver'd up to the councils or rather the corruption of *Spain*.

The Puritans gained ground.

The Puritans gained credit, as the King and the Bishops lost it. They put on external appearances of great strictness and gravity: They took more pains in their parishes than those who adhered to the Bishops, and were often preaching against the vices of the Court; for which they were sometimes punished, tho' very gently, which raised their reputation, and drew presents to them that made up their sufferings abundantly. They begun some particular methods of getting their people to meet privately with them: And in these meetings they gave great vent to extemporary prayer, which was looked on as a sort of inspiration: And by these means they grew very popular. They were very factious and insolent; and both in their sermons and prayers were always mixing severe reflections on their enemies. Some of them boldly gave out very many predictions; particularly two of them who were held prophets, *Davison* and *Bruce*. Some of the things that they foretold came to pass: But my father, who knew them both, told me of many of their predictions that he himself heard them throw out, which had no effect: But all these were forgot, and if some more probable guessings which they delivered as prophecies were accomplished, these were much magnified. They were very spiteful against all those who differed from them; and were wanting in no methods that could procure them either good usage, or good presents. Of this my father had great occasion to see many instances: For my great grand-mother, who was a very rich woman and much engaged to them, was most obsequiously courted by them. *Bruce* lived concealed in her house for some years: And they all found such advantages in their submissions to her, that she was counted for many years the chief support of the party: Her name was *Rachel Arnot*. She was daughter to Sir *John Arnot*, a man in great favour, and Lord Treasurer deputy. Her husband *Johnstoun* was the greatest merchant at that time; and left her an estate of 2000 pound a year, to be disposed of among his children as she pleased: And my father marrying her eldest grand child saw a great way into all the methods of the Puritans.

Gowry's conspiracy.

Gowry's conspiracy was by them charged on the King, as a contrivance of his to get rid of that Earl, who was then held in great esteem: But my father, who had taken great pains to enquire into all the particulars of that matter, did always believe it was a real conspiracy. One thing, which none of the Historians have taken any notice of, and might have induc'd the Earl of *Gowry* to have wished to put King *James* out of the way, but in such a disguised manner that he should seem rather to have escaped out of a snare himself than to have laid one for the King, was this: Upon the King's death he stood next to the succession to that Crown of *England*; for King *Henry* the seventh's daughter that was married to King *James* the fourth did after his death marry *Douglas* Earl of *Angus*: But they could not agree: So a precontract was proved against him: Upon which, by a sentence from *Rome*, the marriage was voided, with a Clause in favour of the issue, since born under a marriage *de facto*, and *bona fide*. Lady *Margaret Douglas* was the child so provided for. I did

peruse

peruſe the original Bull confirming the divorce. After that, the Queen Dowager married one *Francis Steward*, and had by him a ſon made Lord *Methuen* by King *James* the fifth. In the patent he is called *frater noſter uterinus*. He had only a daughter, who was mother or grand-mother to the Earl of *Gowry*: So that by this he might be glad to put the King out of the way, that ſo he might ſtand next to the ſucceſſion of the Crown of *England*. He had a brother then a child, who when he grew up, and found he could not carry the name of *Ruthen*, which by an act of Parliament made after this conſpiracy none might carry, he went and lived beyond ſea; and it was given out that he had the philoſopher's ſtone. He had two ſons who died without iſſue, and one daughter married to Sir *Anthony Vandike* the famous picture drawer, whoſe children according to his pedigree ſtood very near to the ſucceſſion of the Crown. It was not eaſy to perſuade the nation of the truth of that conſpiracy: For eight years before that time King *James*, on a ſecret jealouſy of the Earl of *Murray*, then eſteemed the handſomeſt man of *Scotland*, ſet on the Marquiſs of *Huntly*, who was his mortal enemy, to murder him; and by a writing all in his own hand he promiſed to ſave him harmleſs for it. He ſet the houſe in which he was on fire: And the Earl flying away was followed and murdered, and *Huntly* ſent *Gordon* of *Buckey* with the news to the King: Soon after, all who were concerned in that vile fact were pardoned, which laid the King open to much cenſure. And this made the matter of *Gowry* to be the leſs believed.

When King *Charles* ſucceeded to the Crown he was at firſt thought favourable to the Puritans; for his tutor, and all his Court were of that way: And Dr. *Preſton*, then the head of the party, came up in the coach from *Theobalds* to *London* with the King and the Duke of *Buckingham*; which being againſt the rules of the Court gave great offence: But it was ſaid, the King was ſo overcharged with grief, that he wanted the comfort of ſo wiſe and great a man. It was alſo given out, that the Duke of *Buckingham* offered Dr. *Preſton* the Great Seal: But he was wiſer than to accept of it. I will go no farther into the beginning of that reign with relation to *Engliſh* affairs, which are fully opened by others. Only I will tell one particular which I had from the Earl of *Lothain*, who was bred up in the Court, and whoſe father, the Earl of *Ancram*, was gentleman of the Bed-chamber, tho' himſelf was very much hated by the King. He told me, that King *Charles* was much offended with King *James*'s light and familiar way, which was the effect of hunting and drinking, on which occaſions he was very apt to forget his dignity, and to break out into great indecencies: On the other hand the ſolemn gravity of the Court of *Spain* was more ſuited to his own temper, which was ſullen even to a moroſeneſs. This led him to a grave reſerved deportment, in which he forgot the civilities and the affability that the nation naturally loved, to which they had been long accuſtomed: Nor did he in his outward deportment take any pains to oblige any perſons whatſoever: So far from that, he had ſuch an ungracious way of ſhewing favour, that the manner of beſtowing it was almoſt as mortifying as the favour was obliging. I turn now to affairs of *Scotland*, which are but little known.

King *Charles* at firſt a friend to the Puritans.

The King reſolved to carry on two deſigns that his father had ſet on foot, but had let the proſecution of them fall in the laſt years of his reign. The firſt of theſe was about the recovery of the tithes and church lands: He reſolved to proſecute his father's revocation, and to void all the grants made in his minority, and to create titular Abbots as Lords of Parliament, but Lords, as Biſhops, only for life. And that the two great families of *Hamilton* and *Lenox* might be good examples to the reſt of the nation, he by a ſecret purchaſe, and with *Engliſh* money, bought the Abby of *Aberbroth* of the former, and the Lordſhip of *Glaſgow* of the latter, and gave theſe to the two Archbiſhopricks. Theſe Lords made a ſhew of zeal after a good bargain, and ſurrendred them to the King. He alſo purchaſed ſeveral eſtates of leſs value to the ſeveral Sees; and all men, who pretended to favour at Court, offered their church lands to ſale at a low rate.

He deſigned to recover the tithes and church lands in *Scotland* to the Crown.

In the third year of his reign the Earl of *Nithiſdale*, then believed a Papiſt, which he afterwards profeſſed, having married a niece of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s, was ſent down with a power to take the ſurrender of all church lands, and to aſſure all who did readily ſurrender, that the King would take it kindly, and uſe them all very well, but that he would proceed with all rigour againſt thoſe who would not ſubmit their rights to his diſpoſal. Upon his coming down, thoſe who were moſt concerned in thoſe grants met at *Edinburgh*, and agreed that, when they were called together,

gether, if no other argument did prevail to make the Earl of *Nithisdale* desist, they would fall upon him and all his party in the old *Scottish* manner, and knock them on the head. *Primrose* told me one of these Lords, *Belhaven* of the name of *Douglass* who was blind, bid them set him by one of the party; and he would make sure of one. So he was set next the Earl of *Dunfrize*: He was all the while holding him fast: And when the other asked him what he meant by that, he said, ever since the blindness was come on him he was in such fear of falling that he could not help the holding fast to those who were next to him: He had all the while a ponyard in his other hand, with which he had certainly stabbed *Dunfrize*, if any disorder had happen'd. The appearance at that time was so great, and so much heat was raised upon it, that the Earl of *Nithisdale* would not open all his instructions, but came back to Court, looking on the service as desperate: So a stop was put to it for some time.

He was crowned in *Scotland*.

In the year 1633 the King came down in person to be crowned. In some conventions of the states that had been held before that, all the money that the King had asked was given; and some petitions were offered setting forth grievances, which those whom the King employed had assured them should be redressed: But nothing was done, and all was put off till the King should come down in person. His entry and coronation were manag'd with such magnificence, that the country suffered much by it: All was entertainment and shew. When the Parliament sate, the Lords of the articles prepared an act declaring the royal prerogative, as it had been asserted by law in the year 1606; to which an addition was made of another act pass'd in the year 1609, by which King *James* was impower'd to prescribe apparel to churchmen with their own consent. This was a personal thing to King *James*, in consideration of his great learning and experience, of which he had made no use during the rest of his reign. And in the year 1617, when he held a Parliament there in person, an act was prepared by the Lords of the articles, authorizing that all things that should thereafter be determined in ecclesiastical affairs by his Majesty, with consent of a competent number of the clergy, to have the strength and power of a law. But the King either apprehended that great opposition would be made to the passing the act, or that great trouble would follow on the execution of it: So when the rubrick of the act was read, he order'd it to be suppressed, tho' pass'd in the articles. In this act of 1633 these acts of 1606 and 1609 were drawn into one. To this great opposition was made by the Earl of *Rothes*, who desired the acts might be divided: But the King said, it was now one act, and he must either vote for it, or against it. He said, he was for the prerogative as much as any man, but that addition was contrary to the liberties of the church, and he thought no determination ought to be made in sueh matters without the consent of the clergy, at least without their being heard. The King bid him argue no more, but give his vote: So he voted, not content. Some few Lords offered to argue: But the King stopt them, and commanded them to vote. Almost the whole Commons voted in the negative: So that the act was indeed rejected by the majority: Which the King knew; for he had called for a list of the numbers, and with his own pen had mark'd every man's vote: Yet the Clerk of Register, who gathers and declares the votes, said it was carried in the affirmative. The Earl of *Rothes* affirmed it went for the negative: So the King said, the Clerk of Register's declaration must be held good, unless the Earl of *Rothes* would go to the Barr, and accuse him of falsifying the record of Parliament, which was capital: And in that case, if he should fail in the proof he was liable to the same punishment: So he would not venture on that. Thus the act was published, tho' in truth it was rejected. The King expressed a high displeasure at all who had concurred in that opposition. Upon that the Lords had many meetings: They reckoned that now all their liberties were gone, and a Parliament was but a piece of Pageantry, if the Clerk of Register might declare as he pleased how the vote went, and that no scrutiny were allowed. Upon that *Hague* the King's sollicitor, a zealous man of that party, drew a petition to be signed by the Lords, and to be offered by them to the King, setting forth all their grievances and praying redress: He shewed this to some of them, and among others to the Lord *Balmerinoch*, who liked the main of it, but was for altering it in some particulars: He spoke of it to the Earl of *Rothes* in the presence of the Earl of *Gassilis* and some others: None of them approved of it. The Earl of *Rothes* carryed it to the King; and told him, that there was a design to offer a petition in order to the explaining and justifying their proceedings,

Balmerinoch's trial.

and

and that he had a copy to ſhew him: But the King would not look upon it, and ordered him to put a ſtop to it, for he would receive no ſuch petition. The Earl of *Rothes* told this to *Balmerinoch*: So the thing was laid aſide: Only he kept a copy of it, and interlined it in ſome places with his own hand. While the King was in *Scotland* he erected a new Biſhoprick at *Edinburgh*, and made one *Forbes* Biſhop, who was a very learned and pious man: He had a ſtrange faculty of preaching five or ſix hours at a time: His way of life and devotion was thought monaſtick, and his learning lay in Antiquity: He ſtudied to be a reconciler between Papiſts and Proteſtants, leaning rather to the firſt, as appears by his *Conſiderationes modeſtæ*: He was a very ſimple man, and knew little of the world: So he fell into ſeveral errors in conduct, but died ſoon after ſuſpected of Popery, which ſuſpicion was encreaſed by his ſon's turning Papiſt. The King left *Scotland* much diſcontented, but reſolved to proſecute the deſign of recovering the church lands: And Sir *Thomas Hope*, a ſubtil lawyer, who was believed to underſtand that matter beyond all the men of his profeſſion, tho' in all reſpects he was a zealous Puritan, was made the King's advocate, upon his undertaking to bring all the church lands back to the Crown: Yet he proceeded in that matter ſo ſlowly, that it was believed he acted in concert with the party that oppoſed it. Enough was already done to allarm all that were poſſeſſed of the church lands: And they to engage the whole country in their quarrel took care to infuſe it into all people, but chiefly into the preachers, that all was done to make way for Popery. The winter after the King was in *Scotland*, *Balmerinoch* was thinking how to make the petition more acceptable: And in order to that he ſhewed it to one *Dunmoor* a lawyer in whom he truſted, and deſired his opinion of it, and ſuffered him to carry it home with him, but charged him to ſhew it to no perſon, and to take no copy of it. He ſhewed it under a promiſe of ſecrecy to one *Hay* of *Naughton*, and told him from whom he had it. *Hay* looking on the paper, and ſeeing it a matter of ſome conſequence, carried it to *Spotſwood* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*; who apprehending it was going about for hands, was allarmed at it, and went immediately to *London*, beginning his journey as he often did on a ſunday, which was a very odious thing in that country. There are laws in *Scotland* looſely worded that make it capital to ſpread lies of the King or his Government, or to alienate his ſubjects from him. It was alſo made capital to know of any that do it, and not diſcover them: But this laſt was never once put in execution. The petition was thought within this act: So an order was ſent down for committing Lord *Balmerinoch*. The reaſon of it being for ſome time kept ſecret, it was thought done becauſe of his vote in Parliament. But after ſome conſultation a ſpecial commiſſion was ſent down for the trial. In *Scotland* there is a Court for the trial of Peers, diſtinct from the jury who are to be fifteen, and the majority determine the verdict: The fact being only referred to the jury or aſſize as they call it, the law is judged by the Court: And if the majority of the jury are Peers, the reſt may be gentlemen. At this time a private gentleman of the name of *Steward* was become ſo conſiderable that he was raiſed by ſeveral degrees to be made Earl of *Tarquair*, and Lord Treaſurer, and was in great favour; but ſuffered afterwards ſuch a reverſe of fortune, that I ſaw him ſo low that he wanted bread, and was forced to beg; and it was believed died of hunger. He was a man of great parts, but of too much craft: He was thought the capableſt man for buſineſs, and the beſt ſpeaker in that Kingdom. So he was charged with the care of the Lord *Balmerinoch*'s trial: But when the ground of the proſecution was known, *Hague* who drew the petition, writ a letter to the Lord *Balmerinoch*, in which he owned that he drew the petition without any direction or aſſiſtance from him: And upon that he went over to *Holland*. The Court was created by a ſpecial commiſſion: In the naming of Judges there appeared too viſibly a deſign to have that Lord's life, for they were either very weak or very poor. Much pains was taken to have a jury, in which ſo great partiality appeared, that when the Lord *Balmerinoch*, was upon his challenges, and excepted to the Earl of *Dunfrize* for his having ſaid that if he were of his jury tho' he were as innocent as St. *Paul* he would find him guilty, ſome of the Judges ſaid, that was only a raſh word: Yet the King's advocate allowed the challenge if proved, which was done. The next called on was the Earl of *Lauderdale*, father to the Duke of that title: With him the Lord *Balmerinoch* had been long in enmity: Yet inſtead of challenging him, he ſaid he was *omni exceptione major*. It was long conſidered upon what the priſoner ſhould be tried: For his hand interlining the paper, which did plainly ſoften it, was not thought evidence that he

drew

drew it, or that he was acceſſary to it: And they had no other proof againſt him: Nor could they from that infer that he was the divulger, ſince it did appear it was only ſhewed by him to a lawyer for counſel. So it was ſettled on to inſiſt on this, that the paper tended to alienate the ſubjects from their duty to the King, and that he, knowing who was the Author of it, did not diſcover him, which by law was capital. The Court judged the paper to be ſeditious, and to be a lie of the King and his government: The other point was clear, that he knowing the Author did not diſcover him. He pleaded for himſelf, that the ſtatute for diſcovery had never been put in execution; that it could never be meant but of matters that were notoriouſly ſeditious; that till the Court judged ſo he did not take this paper to be of that nature, but conſidered it as a paper full of duty, deſigned to ſet himſelf and ſome others right in the King's opinion; that upon the firſt ſight of it, tho' he approved of the main, yet he diſliked ſome expreſſions in it; that he communicated the matter to the Earl of *Rothes*, who told the King of the deſign; and that, upon the King's ſaying he would receive no ſuch petition, it was quite laid aſide: This was atteſted by the Earl of *Rothes*. A long debate had been much inſiſted on, whether the Earl of *Tarquair* or the King's miniſters might be of the jury or not: But the Court gave it in their favour. When the jury was ſhut up, *Gordon* of *Bucky*, who was one of them, being then very antient, who forty three years before had aſſiſted in the murder of the Earl of *Murray*, and was thought upon this occaſion a ſure man, ſpoke firſt of all, excuſing his preſumption in being the firſt that broke the ſilence. He deſired, they would all conſider what they were about: It was a matter of blood, and they would feel the weight of that as long as they lived: He had in his youth been drawn in to ſhed blood, for which he had the King's pardon, but it coſt him more to obtain God's pardon: It had given him many ſorrowful hours both day and night: And as he ſpoke this, the tears ran over his face. This ſtruck a damp on them all. But the Earl of *Tarquair* took up the argument; and ſaid, they had it not before them whether the law was a hard law or not, nor had they the nature of the paper before them, which was judged by the Court to be leaſing-making; they were only to conſider, whether the priſoner had diſcovered the contriver of the paper or not. Upon this the Earl of *Lauderdale* took up the argument againſt him, and urged, that ſevere laws never executed were looked on as made only to terrify people, that tho' after the Court's having judged the paper to be ſeditious it would be capital to conceal the author, yet before ſuch judgment the thing could not be thought ſo evident that he was bound to reveal it. Upon theſe heads thoſe Lords argued the matter many hours: But when it went to the vote, ſeven acquitted, but eight caſt him: So ſentence was given. Upon this many meetings were held: And it was reſolved either to force the priſon to ſet him at liberty, or if that failed to revenge his death both on the Court and on the eight jurors; ſome undertaking to kill them, and others to burn their houſes. When the Earl of *Tarquair* underſtood this, he went to Court, and told the King that the Lord *Balmerinoch*'s life was in his hands, but the execution was in no ſort adviſeable: So he procured his pardon, for which the party was often reproached with his ingratitude: But he thought he had been much wronged in the proſecution, and ſo little regarded in the pardon, that he never looked on himſelf as under any obligation on that account. My father knew the whole ſteps of this matter, having been the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s moſt particular friend: He often told me, that the ruin of the King's affairs in *Scotland* was in a great meaſure owing to that proſecution; and he carefully preſerved the petition it ſelf, and the papers relating to the trial; of which I never ſaw any copy beſides thoſe which I have. And that raiſed in me a deſire of ſeeing the whole record, which was copied for me, and is now in my hands. It is a little volume, and contains, according to the *Scotch* method, the whole abſtract of all the pleadings, and all the evidence that was given; and is indeed a very noble piece, full of curious matter.

He was condemned.

But pardoned.

A liturgy prepared.

When the deſign of recovering the tithes went on, tho' but ſlowly, another deſign made a greater progreſs. The Biſhops of *Scotland* fell on the framing of a liturgy and a body of canons for the worſhip and government of that church. Theſe were never examined in any publick aſſembly of the clergy: All was managed by three or four aſpiring Biſhops, *Maxwell*, *Sidſerfe*, *Whitford*, and *Banautine*, the Biſhops of *Roſs*, *Galloway*, *Dunblane*, and *Aberdeen*. *Maxwell* did alſo accuſe the Earl of *Tarquair*, as cold in the King's ſervice, and as managing the treaſury deceitfully; and he was aſpiring

ring to that office. *Spotswood*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* then Lord Chancellour, was a prudent and mild man, but of no great decency in his courſe of life. The Earl of *Tarquair*, ſeeing himſelf ſo puſh'd at, was more earneſt than the Biſhops themſelves in promoting the new model of worſhip and diſcipline; and by that he recovered the ground he had loſt with the King, and with Archbiſhop *Laud:* He alſo aſſiſted the Biſhops in obtaining commiſſions, ſubaltern to the High-commiſſion Court, in their ſeveral dioceſes, which were thought little different from the Courts of Inquiſition. *Sidſerfe* ſet this up in *Galloway*: And a complaint being made in Council of his proceedings, he gave the Earl of *Argile* the lie in full Council. He was after all a very learned and good man, but ſtrangely heated in thoſe matters. And they all were ſo lifted up with the King's zeal, and ſo encouraged by Archbiſhop *Laud*, that they loſt all temper; of which I knew *Sidſerfe* made great acknowledgments in his old age.

The feebleneſs of the government.

But the unaccountable part of the King's proceedings was, that all this while, when he was endeavouring to recover ſo great a part of the property of *Scotland* as the church lands and tithes were from men that were not like to part with them willingly, and was going to change the whole conſtitution of that Church and Kingdom, he raiſed no force to maintain what he was about to do, but truſted the whole management to the civil execution. By this all people ſaw the weakneſs of the government, at the ſame time that they complained of its rigour. All that came down from Court complained of the King's inexorable ſtiffneſs, and of the progreſs popery was making, of the Queen's power with the King, of the favour ſhewed the Popes *Nuntios*, and of the many proſelytes who were daily falling off to the church of *Rome*. The Earl of *Tarquair* infuſed this more effectually, tho' more covertly, than any other man could do: And when the country formed the firſt oppoſition they made to the King's proclamations, and proteſted againſt them, he drew the firſt proteſtation, as *Primroſe* aſſured me; tho' he deſigned no more than to put a ſtop to the credit the Biſhops had, and to the fury of their proceedings: But the matter went much farther than he ſeemed to intend: For he himſelf was fatally caught in the ſnare laid for others. A troop of horſe and a regiment of foot had prevented all that followed, or rather had by all appearance eſtabliſhed an arbitrary government in that Kingdom: But to ſpeak in the language of a great man, thoſe who conducted matters at that time had as little of the prudence of the ſerpent as of the innocence of the dove: And, as my father often told me, he and many others who adhered in the ſequel firmly to the King's intereſt were then much troubled at the whole conduct of affairs, as being neither wiſe, legal, nor juſt. I will go no farther in opening the beginnings of the troubles of *Scotland:* Of theſe a full account will be found in the memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. The violence with which that Kingdom did almoſt unanimouſly engage againſt the adminiſtration may eaſily convince one, that the provocation muſt have been very great to draw on ſuch an entire and vehement concurrence againſt it.

Saville's forgery prevail'd on the *Scots*.

After the firſt pacification, upon the new diſputes that aroſe, when the Earl of *Lowdun* and *Dunfermling* were ſent up with the petition from the covenanters, the Lord *Saville* came to them, and informed them of many particulars, by which they ſaw the King was highly irritated againſt them: He took great pains to perſuade them to come with their army into *England*. They very unwillingly hearken'd to that propoſition, and looked on it as a deſign from the Court to enſnare them, making the *Scots* invade *England*, by which this nation might have been provoked to aſſiſt the King to conquer *Scotland*. It is true he hated the Earl of *Strafford* ſo much, that they ſaw no cauſe to ſuſpect him: So they entred into a treaty with him about it. The Lord *Saville* aſſured them, he ſpake to them in the name of the moſt conſiderable men in *England*; and he ſhewed them an engagement under their hands to join with them, if they would come into *England*, and refuſe any treaty but what ſhould be confirmed by a Parliament of *England*. They deſired leave to ſend this paper into *Scotland*, to which after much ſeeming difficulty he conſented: So a cane was hollowed, and this was put within it; and one *Froſt*, afterwards ſecretary to the Committee of both Kingdoms, was ſent down with it as a poor traveller. It was to be communicated only to three perſons, the Earls of *Rothes* and *Argile*, and to *Wariſtoun*, the three chief confidents of the covenanters. The Earl of *Rothes* was a man of pleaſure, but of a moſt obliging temper: His affairs were low: *Spotſwood* had once made the bargain between the King and him before the troubles, but the Earl

The characters of the chief of the covenanters.

of *Tarquair* broke it, seeing he was to be raised above himself. The Earl of *Rothes* had all the arts of making himself popular; only there was too much levity in his temper, and too much liberty in his course of life. The Earl of *Argile* was a more solemn sort of a man, grave and sober, free of all scandalous vices, of an invincible calmness of temper, and a pretender to high degrees of piety. He was much set on raising his own family to be a sort of King in the Highlands.

Warristoun was my own uncle: He was a man of great application, could seldom sleep above three hours in the twenty four: He had studied the law carefully, and had a great quickness of thought with an extraordinary memory. He went into very high notions of lengthen'd devotions, in which he continued many hours a day: He would often pray in his family two hours at a time, and had an unexhausted copiousness that way. What thought soever struck his fancy during those effusions, he looked on it as an answer of prayer, and was wholly determined by it. He looked on the Covenant as the setting Christ on his throne, and so was out of measure zealous in it. He had no regard to the raising himself or his family, tho' he had thirteen children: But Presbytery was to him more than all the world. He had a readiness and vehemence of speaking that made him very considerable in publick assemblies: And he had a fruitful invention; so that he was at all times furnished with expedients. To these three only this paper was to be shewed upon an oath of secrecy: And it was to be deposited in *Warristoun*'s hands. They were only allowed to publish to the Nation, that they were sure of a very great and unexpected assistance, which tho' it was to be kept secret would appear in due time. This they published: And it was looked on as an artifice to draw in the Nation: But it was afterwards found to be a cheat indeed, but a cheat of Lord *Saville*'s who had forged all these subscriptions.

The *Scots* came into *England*.

The *Scots* marched with a very sorry equipage: Every Soldier carried a week's provision of oatmeal; and they had a drove of cattel with them for their food. They had also an invention of guns of white iron tinned and done about with leather, and chorded so that they could serve for two or three discharges. These were light, and were carried on horses: And when they came to *Newburn*, the *English* army that defended the *Ford* was surprized with a discharge of artillery: Some thought it magick; and all were put in such disorder that the whole army did run with so great precipitation, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, who had a command in it, did not stick to own that till he pass'd the *Tees* his legs trembled under him. This struck many of the enthusiasts of the King's side, as much as it exalted the *Scots*; who were next day possessed of *Newcastle*, and so were masters not only of *Northumberland* and the Bishopprick of *Duresme*, but of the coalries; by which, if they had not been in a good understanding with the City of *London*, they could have distressed them extremely: But all the use the City made of this was, to raise a great outcry, and to complain of the war, since it was now in the power of the *Scots* to starve them. Upon that petitions were sent from the City and from some Counties to the King, praying a treaty with the *Scots*. The Lord *Wharton* and the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick* undertook to deliver some of these; which they did, and were clapt up upon it. A council of war was held; and it was resolved on, as the Lord *Wharton* told me, to shoot them at the head of the army, as movers of sedition. This was chiefly press'd by the Earl of *Strafford*. Duke *Hamilton* spoke nothing till the Council rose; and then he asked *Strafford*, if he was sure of the army, who seemed surprised at the question: But he upon enquiry understood that very probably a general mutiny, if not a total revolt, would have followed, if any such execution had been attempted. This success of the *Scots* ruined the King's affairs. And by it the necessity of the union of the two Kingdoms may appear very evident: For nothing but a superiour army able to beat the *Scots* can hinder their doing this at any time: And the seizing the coalries must immediately bring the City of *London* into great distress. Two armies were now in the north as a load on the King, besides all the other grievances. The Lord *Saville*'s forgery came to be discovered. The King knew it; and yet he was brought afterwards to trust him, and to advance him to be Earl of *Sussex*. The King pressed my uncle to deliver him the letter, who excused himself upon his oath; and not knowing what use might be made of it, he cut out every subscription, and sent it to the person for whom it was forged. The imitation was so exact, that every man, as soon as he saw his hand simply by itself, acknowledged that he could not have denied it.

Great discontents in *England*.

The

The King was now in great ſtraits: He had laid up 700000*l.* before the troubles in *Scotland* began; and yet had raiſed no guards nor force in *England*, but truſted a very illegal adminiſtration to a legal execution. His treaſure was now exhauſted; his ſubjects were highly irritated; the miniſtry were all frighted, being expoſed to the anger and juſtice of the Parliament: So that he had brought himſelf into great diſtreſs, but had not the dexterity to extricate himſelf out of it. He loved high and rough methods, but had neither the skill to conduct them, nor the height of genius to manage them. He hated all that offered prudent and moderate counſels: He thought it flowed from a meanneſs of ſpirit, and a care to preſerve themſelves by ſacrificing his authority, or from republican principles: And even when he ſaw it was neceſſary to follow ſuch advices, yet he hated thoſe that gave them. His heart was wholly turned to the gaining the two armies. In order to that he gained the Earl of *Rothes* entirely, who hoped by the King's meditation to have married the Counteſs of *Devonſhire*, a rich and magnificent lady that lived long in the greateſt ſtate of any in that age: He alſo gained the Earl of *Montroſe*, who was a young man well learned, who had travelled, but had taken upon him the port of a hero too much. When he was beyond ſea he travelled with the Earl of *Denbigh*; and they conſulted all the aſtrologers they could hear of. I plainly ſaw the Earl of *Denbigh* relied on what had been told him to his dying day; and the rather becauſe the Earl of *Montroſe* was promiſed a glorious fortune for ſome time, but all was to be overthrown in concluſion. When the Earl of *Montroſe* returned from his travels, he was not conſidered by the King as he thought he deſerved: So he ſtudied to render himſelf popular in *Scotland*; and he was the firſt man in the oppoſition they made during the firſt war. He both adviſed and drew the letter to the King of *France*, for which the Lord *Lowdon* who ſigned it was impriſoned in the Tower of *London*. But the Earl of *Lauderdale*, as he himſelf told me, when it came to his turn to ſign that letter, found falſe *French* in it; for inſtead of *rayons de ſoleil* he had writ *raye de ſoleil*, which in *French* ſignifies a ſort of fiſh; and ſo the matter went no farther at that time; and the treaty came on ſo ſoon after, that it was never again taken up. The Earl of *Montroſe* was gained by the King at *Berwick*, and undertook to do great ſervices. He either fancied, or at leaſt he made the King fancy, that he could turn the whole Kingdom: Yet indeed he could do nothing. He was again trying to make a new party: And he kept a correſpondence with the King when he lay at *Newcaſtle*; and was pretending he had a great intereſt among the covenanters, whereas at that time he had none at all. All theſe little plottings came to be either known, or at leaſt ſuſpected. The Queen was a woman of great vivacity in converſation, and loved all her life long to be in intrigues of all ſorts, but was not ſo ſecret in them as ſuch times and ſuch affairs required. She was a woman of no manner of judgment: She was bad at contrivance, but much worſe in the execution: But by the livelineſs of her diſcourſe ſhe made always a great impreſſion on the King: And to her little practices, as well as to the King's own temper, the ſequel of all his misfortunes was owing. I know it was a maxim infuſed into his ſons, which I have often heard from King *James*, that he was undone by his conceſſions. This is true in ſome reſpect: For his paſſing the act that the Parliament ſhould ſit during pleaſure was indeed his ruin, to which he was drawn by the Queen. But if he had not made great conceſſions, he had ſunk without being able to make a ſtruggle for it; and could not have divided the Nation, or engaged ſo many to have ſtood by him: Since by the conceſſions that he made, eſpecially that of the triennial Parliament, the honeſt and quiet part of the Nation was ſatisfied, and thought their religion and liberties were ſecured: So they broke off from thoſe violenter propoſitions that occaſioned the war.

The ill ſtate of the King's affairs.

The truth was, the King did not come into theſe conceſſions ſeaſonably, nor with a good grace: All appeared to be extorted from him. There were alſo grounds, whether true or plauſible, to make it to be believed, that he intended not to ſtand to them any longer than he lay under that force that viſibly drew them from him contrary to his own inclinations. The proofs that appeared of ſome particulars, that made this ſeem true, made other things that were whiſpered to be more readily believed: For in all critical times there are deceitful people of both ſides, that pretend to merit by making diſcoveries, on condition that no uſe ſhall be made of them as witneſſes; which is one of the moſt peſtiferous ways of calumny poſſible. Almoſt the whole Court had been concerned in one illegal grant or another: So theſe Courtiers, to get their faults paſs'd over, were as ſo many ſpies upon the King and Queen:

They

They told all they heard, and perhaps not without large additions, to the leading men of the House of Commons. This inflamed the jealousy, and push'd them on to the making still new demands. One eminent passage was told me by the Lord *Hollis*:

An account of the Earl of *Strafford*'s being given up by the King.

The Earl of *Strafford* had married his sister: So, tho' in that Parliament he was one of the hotteſt men of the party, yet when that matter was before them he always withdrew. When the bill of attainder was pass'd, the King sent for him to know what he could do to save the Earl of *Strafford*. *Hollis* answered, that if the King pleased, since the execution of the law was in him, he might legally grant him a reprieve, which must be good in law; but he would not advise it. That which he proposed was, that Lord *Strafford* should send him a petition for a short respite, to settle his affairs and to prepare for death; upon which he advised the King to come next day with the petition in his hands, and lay it before the two houses with a speech which he drew for the King; and *Hollis* said to him, he would try his interest among his friends to get them to consent to it. He prepared a great many by assuring them, that if they would save Lord *Strafford* he would become wholly theirs in consequence of his first principles: And that he might do them much more service by being preserv'd, than he could do if made an example upon such new and doubtful points. In this he had wrought on so many, that he believed if the King's party had struck into it he might have saved him. It was carried to the Queen, as if *Hollis* had engaged that the Earl of *Strafford* should accuse her, and discover all he knew: So the Queen not only diverted the King from going to the Parliament, changing the speech into a message all writ with the King's own hand, and sent to the House of Lords by the Prince of *Wales*, [which *Hollis* had said, would have perhaps done as well, the King being apt to spoil things by an unacceptable manner:] But to the wonder of the whole world, the Queen prevailed with him to add that mean postscript, *if he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday*: Which was a very unhandsome giving up of the whole message. When it was communicated to both houses, the whole Court party was plainly against it: And so he fell truly by the Queen's means.

The mentioning this makes me add one particular concerning Archbishop *Laud*: When his impeachment was brought to the Lords bar, he apprehending how it would end, sent over *Warner*, Bishop of *Rochester*, with the keys of his closet and cabinet, that he might destroy or put out of the way all papers that might either hurt himself or any body else. He was at that work for three hours, till upon *Laud*'s being committed to the black rod a messenger went over to seal up his closet, who came after all was withdrawn. Among the writings he took away, it is believed the original *Magna Charta* passed by King *John* in the mead near *Stains* was one. This was found among *Warner*'s papers by his executor: And that descended to his son, and executor, Colonel *Lee*, who gave it to me. So it is now in my hands; and it came very fairly to me. For this conveyance of it we have nothing but conjecture.

I do not intend to prosecute the history of the wars. I have told a great deal relating to them in the memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. *Rushworth*'s collections contain many excellent materials: And now the first volume of the Earl of *Clarendon*'s history gives a faithful representation of the beginnings of the troubles, tho' writ in favour of the Court, and full of the best excuses that such ill things were capable of. I shall therefore only set out what I had particular reason to know, and what is not to be met with in books.

The new model of the Presbytery in *Scotland*.

The Kirk was now settled in *Scotland* with a new mixture of ruling elders; which, tho' they were taken from the *Geneva* pattern to assist or rather to be a check on the Ministers in the managing the parochial discipline, yet these never came to their assemblies till the year 1638, that they thought it necessary to make them first go and carry all the elections of the Ministers at the several presbyteries, and next come themselves and sit in the assemblies. The nobility and chief gentry offered themselves upon that occasion: And the Ministers, since they saw they were like to act in opposition to the King's orders, were glad to have so great a support. But the elders that now came to assist them beginning to take, as the Ministers thought, too much on them, they grew weary of such imperious masters: So they studied to work up the inferiour people to much zeal: And as they wrought any up to some measure of heat and knowledge, they brought them also into their eldership; and so

got a majority of hot zealots who depended on them. One out of these was deputed to attend on the judicatories. They had synods of all the clergy, in one or more counties who met twice a year: And a general assembly met once a year: And at parting that body named some, called the commission of the Kirk, who were to sit in the intervals to prepare matters for the next assembly, and to look into all the concerns of the church, to give warning of dangers, and to inspect all proceedings of the state as far as related to the matters of religion: By these means they became terrible to all their enemies. In their sermons, and chiefly in their prayers, all that pass'd in the state was canvassed: Men were as good as named, and either recommended or complained of to God as they were acceptable or odious to them. This grew up in time to an insufferable degree of boldness. The way that was given to it, when the King and the Bishops were there common themes, made that afterwards the humour could not be restrained: And it grew so petulant, that the pulpit was a scene of news and passion. For some years this was managed with great appearances of fervour by men of age and some authority: But when the younger and hotter zealots took it up, it became odious to almost all sort of people, except some sour enthusiasts, who thought all their impertinence was zeal and an effect of inspiration; which flowed naturally from the conceit of extemporary prayers being praying by the spirit.

Henderson, a minister of *Edenburgh*, was by much the wisest and gravest of them all: But as all his performances that I have seen are flat and heavy, so he found it was an easier thing to raise a flame than to quench it. He studied to keep his party to him: Yet he found he could not moderate the heat of some fiery spirits: So when he saw he could follow them no more, but that they had got the people out of his hands, he sunk both in body and mind, and died soon after. The person next to him was *Douglass*, believed to be descended from the royal family tho' the wrong way: There appeared an air of greatness in him, that made all that saw him inclined enough to believe he was of no ordinary descent. He was a reserved man: He had the scriptures by heart to the exactness of a *Jew*; for he was as a concordance: He was too calm and too grave for the furious men, but yet he was much depended on for his prudence. I knew him in his old age; and saw plainly, he was a slave to his popularity, and durst not own the free thoughts he had of some things for fear of offending th e people. The chief Ministers of the party.

I will not run out in giving the characters of the other leading preachers among them, such as *Dickson*, *Blair*, *Rutherford*, *Baily*, *Cant*, and the two *Gillispys*. They were men all of a sort: They affected great sublimities in devotion: They poured themselves out in their prayers with a loud voice, and often with many tears. They had but an ordinary proportion of learning among them; some thing of *Hebrew*, and very little *Greek*: Books of controversy with *Papists*, but above all with the *Arminians*, was the height of their study. A way of preaching by doctrine, reason, and use was that they set up on: And some of them affected a strain of stating cases of conscience, not with relation to moral actions, but to some reflections on their condition and temper: That was occasioned chiefly by their conceit of praying by the spirit, which every one could not attain to, or keep up to the same heat in at all times. The learning they recommended to their young divines were some *German* systems, some commentators on the scripture, books of controversy, and practical books: They were so careful to oblige them to make their round in these, that if they had no men of great learning among them, yet none were very ignorant: As if they had thought an equality in learning was necessary to keep up the parity of their Government. None could be suffered to preach as expectants, (as they called them,) but after a trial or two in private before the Ministers alone: Then two or three sermons were to be preached in publick, some more learnedly, some more practically: Then a head in divinity was to be common placed in *Latin*, and the person was to maintain *Theses* upon it: He was also to be tried in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and in scripture chronology. The questionary trial came last, every Minister asking such questions as he pleased. When any had pass'd thro' all these with approbation, which was done in a course of three or four months, he was allowed to preach when invited. And if he was presented or called to a Church, he was to pass thro' a new set of the same tryals. This made that there was a small circle of knowledge in which they were generally well instructed. True morality was little studied or esteemed by them: They took much pains among their people to maintain their authority: They affected all the ways of familiarity that were like to gain on them. Their studies, and other methods.

Their great severity.

They forced all people to sign the covenant: And the greatest part of the Episcopal Clergy, among whom there were two Bishops, came to them and renounced their former principles, and desired to be receiv'd into their body. At first they received all that offered themselves: But afterwards they repented of this: And the violent men among them were ever pressing the purging the Kirk, as they called it, that is the ejecting all the Episcopal Clergy. Then they took up the term of Malignants, by which all who differed from them were distinguished: But the strictness of piety and good life, which had gained them so much reputation before the war, began to wear off; and instead of that a fierceness of temper, and a copiousness of many long sermons, and much longer prayers, came to be the distinction of the party. This they carried even to the saying grace before and after meat some times to the length of a whole hour. But as every new war broke out, there was a visible abatement of even the outward shews of piety. Thus the war corrupted both sides. When the war broke out in *England*, the *Scots* had a great mind to go into it. The decayed nobility, the military men, and the ministers, were violently set on it. They saw what good quarters they had in the north of *England*. And they hoped the umpirage of the war would fall into their hands. The division appearing so near an equality in *England*, they reckoned they would turn the scale, and so be courted of both sides: And they did not doubt to draw great advantages from it, both for the Nation in general, and themselves in particular. Duke *Hamilton* was trusted by the King with the management of his affairs in that Kingdom, and had powers to offer, but so secretly that if discovered it could not be proved, for fear of disgusting the *English*, that if they would engage in the King's side he would consent to the uniting *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmerland*, to *Scotland*; and that *Newcastle* should be the seat of the Government; that the Prince of *Wales* should hold his Court always among them; that every third year the King should go among them; and every office in the King's household should in the third turn be given to a *Scotchman*. This I found not among Duke *Hamilton*'s papers: But the Earl of *Lauderdale* assured me of it, and that at the Isle of *Wight* they had all the Engagements from the King that he could give. Duke *Hamilton* quickly saw, it was a vain imagination to hope that Kingdom could be brought to espouse the King's quarrel. The inclination run strong the other way: All he hoped to succeed in was to keep them neuter for some time: And this he saw could not hold long: So after he had kept off their engaging with *England* all the year 1643, he and his friends saw it was in vain to struggle any longer. The course they all resolved on was, that the nobility should fall in heartily with the inclinations of the Nation to join with *England*, that so they might procure to themselves and their friends the chief commands in the army: And then, when they were in *England*, and that their army was as a distinct body separated from the rest of the Kingdom, it might be much easier to gain them to the King's service than it was at that time to work on the whole Nation.

Conditions offered to the *Scots*.

Montrose's undertakings.

This was not a very sincere way of proceeding: But it was intended for the King's service, and would probably have had the effect designed by it, if some accidents had not happen'd that changed the face of affairs, which are not rightly understood: And therefore I will open them clearly. The Earl of *Montrose* and a party of high Royalists were for entring into an open breach with the country in the beginning of the year 1643, but offered no probable methods of maintaining it; nor could they reckon themselves assured of any considerable party. They were full of undertakings: But when they were pressed to shew what concurrence might be depended on, nothing was offered but from the *Highlanders*: And on this wise men could not rely. So Duke *Hamilton* would not expose the King's affairs by such a desperate way of proceeding. Upon this they went to *Oxford*, and filled all people there with complaints of the treachery of the *Hamiltons*; and they pretended they could have secured *Scotland*, if their propositions had been entertained. This was but too suitable to the King's own inclinations, and to the humour that was then prevailing at *Oxford*. So when the two *Hamiltons* came up, they were not admitted to speak to the King: And it was believed, if the younger brother had not made his escape, that both would have suffered; for when the Queen heard of his escape, she with great commotion said, *Abercorn* has missed a Dukedom; for that Earl was a Papist, and next to the two brothers. They could have demonstrated, if heard, that they were sure of above two parts in three of the officers of the army; and did not doubt to have engaged the army in the King's cause. But the failing in this was

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not all. The Earl then made Marquis of *Montroſe* had powers given him ſuch as he deſired and was ſent down with them: But he could do nothing till the end of the year. A great body of the *Macdonalds* commanded by one Col. *Killoch* came over from *Ireland* to recover *Kentire*, the beſt country of all the *Highlands*, out of which they had been driven by the *Argile* family, who had poſſeſſed their country about fifty years. The head of theſe was the Earl of *Antrim*, who had married the Duke of *Buckingham*'s widow: And being a Papiſt, and having a great command in *Ulſter*, was much relied on by the Queen. He was the main perſon in the firſt rebellion, and was the moſt engaged in bloodſhed of any in the north: Yet he continued to correſpond with the Queen to the great prejudice of the King's affairs. When the Marquis of *Montroſe* heard they were in *Argileſhire*, he went to them, and told them, if they would let him lead them he would carry them into the heart of the Kingdom, and procure them better quarters and good pay: So he led them into *Perthſhire*. The Scots had at that time an army in *England*, and another in *Ireland*: Yet they did not think it neceſſary to call home any part of either, but deſpiſing the *Iriſh* and the *Highlanders*, they raiſed a tumultuary army, and put it under the command of ſome Lords noted for want of courage, and of others who wiſhed well to the other ſide. The Marquis of *Montroſe*'s men were deſperate, and met with little reſiſtance: So that ſmall body of the Covenanters army was routed. And here the Marquis of *Montroſe* got horſes and ammunition, having but three horſes before, and powder only for one charge. Then he became conſiderable: And he marched through the northern parts by *Aberdeen*. The Marquis of *Huntly* was in the King's intereſts; but would not join with him, tho' his ſons did. Aſtrology ruined him: He believed the ſtars, and they deceived him: He ſaid often, that neither the King, nor the *Hamilton*'s, nor *Montroſe* would proſper: He believed he ſhould outlive them all, and eſcape at laſt; as it happened in concluſion, as to outliving the others. He was naturally a gallant man: But the ſtars had ſo ſubdued him, that he made a poor figure during the whole courſe of the wars.

The Marquis of *Montroſe*'s ſucceſs was very miſchievous, and proved the ruin of the King's affairs: On which I ſhould not have depended entirely, if I had had this only from the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who was indeed my firſt author: But it was fully confirmed to me by the Lord *Hollis*, who had gone in with great heat into the beginnings of the war: But he ſoon ſaw the ill conſequences it already had, and the worſe that were like to grow with the progreſs of it: He had in the beginning of the year forty three, when he was ſent to *Oxford* with the propoſitions, taken great pains on all about the King to convince them of the neceſſity of their yielding in time; ſince the longer they ſtood out the conditions would be harder: And when he was ſent by the Parliament in the end of the year forty four, with other propoſitions, he and *Whitlock* entred into ſecret conferences with the King, of which ſome account is given by *Whitlock* in his memoirs. They with other commiſſioners that were ſent to *Oxford* poſſeſſed the King, and all that were in great credit with him, with this, that it was abſolutely neceſſary the King ſhould put an end to the war by a treaty: A new party of hot men was ſpringing up, that were plainly for changing the Government: They were growing much in the army, but were yet far from carrying any thing in the houſe: They had gained much ſtrength this ſummer: And they might make a great progreſs by the accidents that another year might produce: They confeſſed there were many things hard to be digeſted, that muſt be done in order to a peace: They asked things that were unreaſonable: But they were forced to conſent to thoſe demands: Otherwiſe they would have loſt their credit with the City and the people, who could not be ſatisfied without a very entire ſecurity, and a full ſatisfaction: But the extremity to which matters might be carried otherwiſe made it neceſſary to come to a peace on any terms whatſoever; ſince no terms could be ſo bad as the continuance of the war: The King muſt truſt them, tho' they were not at that time diſpoſed to truſt him ſo much as it were to be wiſhed: They ſaid farther, that if a peace ſhould follow, it would be a much eaſier thing to get any hard laws now moved for to be repealed, than it was now to hinder their being inſiſted on. With theſe things *Hollis* told me that the King and many of his counſellours, who ſaw how his affairs declined, and with what difficulty they could hope to continue the war another year, were ſatisfied. The King more particularly began to feel the inſolence of the military men, and of thoſe who were daily reproaching him with their ſervices; ſo that they were become as uneaſy to him as thoſe of *Weſtmin-*

Good advices given to the King.

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ſter had been formerly. But ſome came in the interval from Lord *Montroſs* with ſuch an account of what he had done, of the ſtrength he had, and of his hopes next ſummer, that the King was by that prevailed on to believe his affairs would mend, and that he might afterwards treat on better terms. This unhappily wrought ſo far, that the limitations he put on thoſe he ſent to treat at *Uxbridge* made the whole deſign miſcarry. That raiſed the ſpirits of thoſe that were already but too much exaſperated. The Marquis of *Montroſs* made a great progreſs the next year: But he laid no laſting foundation, for he did not make himſelf maſter of the ſtrong places or paſſes of the Kingdom. After his laſt and greateſt victory at *Kilſith* he was lifted up out of meaſure. The *Macdonalds* were every where fierce maſters, and ravenous plunderers: And the other *Highlanders*, who did not ſuch military executions, yet were good at robbing: And when they had got as much as they could carry home on their backs, they deſerted. The *Macdonalds* alſo left him to go and execute their revenge on the *Argile*'s country. The Marquis of *Montroſs* thought he was now maſter, but had no ſcheme how to fix his conqueſts: He waſted the eſtates of his enemies, chiefly the *Hamilton*'s; and went towards the borders of *England*, tho' he had but a ſmall force left about him: But he thought his name carried terrour with it. So he writ to the King that he had gone over the land from *Dan* to *Berſheba*. He prayed the King to come down in theſe words, *Come thou, and take the City, leſt I take it, and it be called by my name.* This letter was writ, but never ſent; for he was routed, and his papers taken, before he had diſpatch'd the courier. When his papers were taken, many letters of the King, and of others at *Oxford*, were found, as the Earl of *Crauford*, one appointed to read them, told me; which increaſed the diſguſts; But theſe were not publiſhed. Upon this occaſion many priſoners that had quarters given them were murdered in cold blood: And as they ſent them to ſome towns that had been ill uſed by Lord *Montroſs*'s army, the people in revenge fell on them and knock'd them on the head. Several perſons of quality were condemned for being with them: And they were proceeded againſt both with ſeverity and with indignities. The preachers thundred in their pulpits againſt all that did the work of the Lord deceitfully; and cried out againſt all that were for moderate proceedings, as guilty of the blood that had been ſhed. *Thine eye ſhall not pity, and thou ſhalt not ſpare*, were often inculcated after every execution: They triumphed with ſo little decency, that it gave all people very ill impreſſions of them. But this was not the worſt effect of Lord *Montroſs*'s expedition. It loſt the opportunity at *Uxbridge*: It alienated the *Scots* much from the King: It exalted all that were enemies to peace. Now they ſeemed to have ſome colour for all thoſe aſperſions they had caſt on the King, as if he had been in a correſpondence with the *Iriſh* rebels, when the worſt tribe of them had been thus employed by him. His affairs declined totally in *England* that ſummer: And Lord *Hollis* ſaid to me, all was owing to Lord *Montroſs*'s unhappy ſucceſſes.

But not followed.

Antrim's correſpondence with the King and Queen.

Upon this occaſion I will relate ſomewhat concerning the Earl of *Antrim*. I had in my hand ſeveral of his letters to the King in the year 1646, writ in a very confident ſtile. One was ſomewhat particular: He in a poſtſcript deſired the King to ſend the incloſed to the good woman, without making any excuſe for the preſumption; by which, as follows in the poſtſcript, he meant his wife, the Ducheſs of *Buckingham*. This made me more eaſy to believe a ſtory that the Earl of *Eſſex* told me he had from the Earl of *Northumberland*: Upon the Reſtoration, in the year 1660, Lord *Antrim* was thought guilty of ſo much bloodſhed, that it was taken for granted he could not be included in the indemnity that was to paſs in *Ireland*: Upon this he (Lord *Antrim*) ſeeing the Duke of *Ormond* ſet againſt him, came over to *London*, and was lodged at *Somerſet-Houſe*: And it was believed, that having no children he ſettled his eſtate on *Jermyn* then Earl of St. *Albans*: But before he came away, he had made a prior ſettlement in favour of his brother. He petitioned the King to order a Committee of Council to examine the warrants that he had acted upon. The Earl of *Clarendon* was for rejecting the petition, as containing a high indignity to the memory of King *Charles* the firſt: And ſaid plainly at Council table, that if any perſon had pretended to affirm ſuch a thing while they were at *Oxford*, he would either have been ſeverely puniſhed for it, or the King would ſoon have had a very thin Court. But it ſeemed juſt to ſee what he had to ſay for himſelf: So a Committee was named, of which the Earl of *Northumberland* was the chief. He produced to them ſome of the King's letters: But they did not come up to a full proof. In one of them the King wrote, that he had not then leiſure, but referred himſelf to the Queen's

Queen's letters, and ſaid, that was all one as if he writ himſelf. Upon this foundation he produced a ſeries of letters writ by himſelf to the Queen, in which he gave her an account of every one of theſe particulars that were laid to his charge, and ſhewed the grounds he went on, and deſired her directions to every one of theſe: He had anſwers ordering him to do as he did. This the Queen-mother eſpouſed with great zeal, and ſaid, ſhe was bound in honour to ſave him. I ſaw a great deal of that management, for I was then at Court. But it was generally believed, that this train of letters was made up at that time in a colluſion between the Queen and him: So a report was prepared to be ſigned by the Committee, ſetting forth that he had ſo fully juſtified himſelf in every thing that had been objected to him, that he ought not to be excepted out of the indemnity. This was brought firſt to the Earl of *Northumberland* to be ſigned by him; But he refuſed it, and ſaid, he was ſorry he had produced ſuch warrants, but he did not think they could ſerve his turn; for he did not believe any warrant from the King or Queen could juſtify ſo much bloodſhed, in ſo many black inſtances as were laid againſt him. Upon his refuſal the reſt of the Committee did not think fit to ſign the report: So it was let fall: And the King was prevailed on to write to the Duke of *Ormond*, telling him that he had ſo vindicated himſelf, that he muſt endeavour to get him to be included in the indemnity. That was done; and was no ſmall reproach to the King, that did thus ſacrifice his father's honour to his mother's importunity. Upon this the Earl of *Eſſex* told me, that he had taken all the pains he could to enquire into the original of the *Iriſh* maſſacre, but could never ſee any reaſon to believe the King had any acceſſion to it. He did indeed believe that the Queen hearkened to the propoſitions made by the *Iriſh*, who undertook to take the Government of *Ireland* into their hands, which they thought they could eaſily perform: And then, they ſaid, they would aſſiſt the King to ſubdue the hot ſpirits at *Weſtminſter*. With this the plot of the inſurrection began: And all the *Iriſh* believed the Queen encouraged it. But in the firſt deſign there was no thought of a maſſacre: That came in head as they were laying the methods of executing it: So, as thoſe were managed by the Prieſts, they were the chief men that ſet on the *Iriſh* to all the blood and cruelty that followed.

The original of the *Iriſh* maſſacre.

I know nothing in particular of the ſequel of the war, nor of all the confuſions that happened till the murder of King *Charles* the firſt: Only one paſſage I had from Lieutenant General *Drumond*, afterwards Lord *Strathallan*. He ſerved on the King's ſide: But he had many friends among thoſe who were for the Covenant: So the King's affairs being now ruined, he was recommended to *Cromwell* being then in a treaty with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, who was negotiating for ſome regiments to be levied and ſent over from *Scotland* to *Flanders*. He happened to be with *Cromwell* when the commiſſioners ſent from *Scotland* to proteſt againſt the putting the King to death came to argue the matter with him. *Cromwell* bad *Drumond* ſtay and hear their conference, which he did. They began in a heavy languid ſtyle to lay indeed great load on the King: But they ſtill inſiſted on that clauſe in the Covenant, by which they ſwore they would be faithful in the preſervation of his Majeſty's perſon: With this they ſhewed upon what terms *Scotland*, as well as the two Houſes, had engaged in the war; and what ſolemn declarations of their zeal and duty to the King they all along publiſhed; which would now appear, to the ſcandal and reproach of the chriſtian name, to have been falſe pretences, if when the King was in their power they ſhould proceed to extremities. Upon this *Cromwell* entered into a long diſcourſe of the nature of the regal power, according to the principles of *Mariana* and *Buchanan*: He thought a breach of truſt in a King ought to be puniſhed more than any other crime whatſoever: He ſaid as to their Covenant, they ſwore to the preſervation of the King's perſon in defence of the true religion: If then it appeared that the ſettlement of the true religion was obſtructed by the King, ſo that they could not come at it but by putting him out of the way, then their oath could not bind them to the preſerving him any longer. He ſaid alſo, their Covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cauſe, to condign puniſhment: And was not this to be executed impartially? What were all thoſe on whom publick juſtice had been done, eſpecially thoſe who ſuffered for joining with *Montroſe*, but ſmall offenders acting by commiſſion from the King, who was therefore the principal, and ſo the moſt guilty? *Drumond* ſaid, *Cromwell* had plainly the better of them at their own weapon, and upon their own principles. At this time presbytery was in its height at *Scotland*.

Cromwell argues with the *Scots* concerning the King's death.

The oppoſition of the General Aſſembly to the Parliament.

In October 1643, when the Parliament declared they would engage to reſcue the King from his impriſonment, and the Parliament of England from the force it was put under by the army, the Nobility were into the deſign, all except Lord Argyle. The King had ſigned an engagement to make good his aſſent to the Nation of the northern covenant, with the other conditions formerly mentioned; and particular favours were promiſed to every one that concurred in it. The Marquis of Argyle gave it out that the Miniſters, let them pretend what they would, had no ſincere intentions to their cauſe, but had engaged to ſerve the King on his own terms. He filled the preſbyters with ſuch jealouſies of this, that tho all the demands that they made for the ſecurity of their cauſe, and in aſſerting the grounds of the war, were complied with, yet they could not be ſatisfied, but ſtill ſaid the Miniſters were in a confederacy with the malignants in England, and did not intend to ſtand to what they promiſed. The General Aſſembly declared againſt it, as an unlawful confederacy with the enemies of God; and called it the Unlawful Engagement, which came to be the name commonly given to it in all their pulpits. They every where preached againſt it, and oppoſed the levies all they could by ſolemn denunciations of the wrath and curſe of God on all concerned in them. This was a ſtrange piece of oppoſition to the ſtate, little inferiour to what was pretended to, and put in practice by the Church of *Rome*.

The Miniſters made an inſurrection.

The ſouth-weſt counties of *Scotland* have ſeldom corn enough to ſerve them round the year: And the northern parts producing more than they need, thoſe in the weſt come in the ſummer to buy at *Leith* the ſtores that come from the north: And from a word *Whiggam*, uſed in driving their horſes, all that drove were called the *Whiggamors*, and ſhorter the *Whiggs*. Now in that year, after the news came down of Duke *Hamilton*'s defeat, the Miniſters animated their people to riſe, and march to *Edenburgh*: And they came up marching on the head of their pariſhes, with an unheard of fury, praying and preaching all the way as they came. The Marquis of *Argyle* and his party came and headed them, they being about 6000. This was called the *Whiggamore*'s inroad: And ever after that all that oppoſed the Court came in contempt to be called *Whigs*: And from *Scotland* the word was brought into *England*, where it is now one of our unhappy terms of diſtinction.

The Committee of their eſtates, with the force they had in their hands, could eaſily have diſſipated this undiſciplin'd herd. But they knowing their own weakneſs ſent to *Cromwell* deſiring his aſſiſtance. Upon that the Committee ſaw they could not ſtand before him: So they came to a treaty, and delivered up the Government to this new body. Upon their aſſuming it, they declared all who had ſerved or aſſiſted in the engagement incapable of any employment, till they had firſt ſatisfied the Kirk of the truth of their repentance, and made publick profeſſions of it. All Churches were upon that full of mock penitents, ſome making their acknowledgments all in tears to gain more credit with their new party. The Earl of *Lowdon*, that was Chancellour, had entred into ſolemn promiſes both to the King and the *Hamiltons*: But when he came to *Scotland*, his wife, a high covenanter, and an heireſs by whom he had both honour and eſtate, threatned him, if he went on that way, with a proceſs of adultery, in which ſhe could have had very copious proofs: He durſt not ſtand this, and ſo compounded the matter by the deſerting his friends, and turning over to the other ſide: Of which he made publick profeſſion in the Church of *Edenburgh* with many tears, confeſſing his weakneſs in yielding to the temptation of what had a ſhew of honour and loyalty, for which he expreſſed a hearty ſorrow. Thoſe that came in early with great ſhews of compunction got eaſier off: But thoſe who ſtood out long found it a harder matter to make their peace. *Cromwell* came down to *Scotland*, and ſaw the new model fully ſettled.

The treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*.

During his abſence from the ſcene, the treaty of the iſle of *Wight* was ſet on foot by the Parliament, who ſeeing the army at ſuch a diſtance took this occaſion of treating with the King. Sir *Henry Vane*, and others who were for a change of Government, had no mind to treat any more. But both city and country were ſo deſirous of a perſonal treaty, that it could not be reſiſted. *Vane*, *Pierpoint*, and ſome others went to the treaty on purpoſe to delay matters till the army could be brought up to *London*. All that wiſh'd well to the treaty prayed the King at their firſt coming to diſpatch the buſineſs with all poſſible haſte, and to grant the firſt day all that he could bring himſelf to grant on the laſt. *Hollis* and *Grimſton* told me, they had both on their knees begged this of the King. They ſaid, they knew *Vane* would ſtudy to

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draw out the treaty to a great length? And he, who declared for an unbounded liberty of conscience, would try to gain on the King's party by the offer of a toleration for the common prayer and the episcopal clergy. His design in that was to gain time, till *Cromwell* should settle Scotland and the north. But they said, if the King would frankly come in without the formality of papers backward and forward, and send them back sent they with the concessions that were absolutely necessary, they did not doubt but he should in a very few days be brought up with honour freedom and safety to the Parliament, and that matters should be brought to a prefent settlement. *Ashburnham*, who was then much trusted by the King, and employed in a negotiation with the presbyterian party, told me he had spoke often and earnestly to him in the same strain: But the King could not come to a resolution: And he still fancied, that in the struggle between the House of Commons and the Army both saw they needed him so much to give them the superiour strength, that he imagined by balancing them he would bring both sides into a greater dependence on himself, and force them to better terms. In this *Ashburnham* fostered the episcopal party, to the King's ruin as well as their own. But they still hated the Presbyterians as the first authors of the war; and seemed unwilling to think well of them, or to be beholding to them. Thus the treaty went on with a fatal slowness! And by the time it was come to some maturity, *Cromwell* came up with his army and overturned all.

Cromwell's dissimulation.

Upon this I will set down what Sir *Harbottle Grimston* told me a few weeks before his death: Whether it was done at this time or the year before I cannot tell: I rather believe the latter. When the House of Commons and the Army were a quarrelling, at a meeting of the officers it was proposed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. *Cromwell* upon that said, he was sure of the Army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the House of Commons, and he thought the Army only could do that. Two officers that were present brought an account of this to *Grimston*, who carried them with him to the Lobby of the House of Commons, they being resolved to justify it to the House. There was another debate then on foot: But *Grimston* diverted it, and said, he had a matter of privilege of the highest sort to lay before them: It was about the being and freedom of the House. So he charged *Cromwell* with the design of putting a force on the House: He had his witnesses at the door, and desired they might be examined: They were brought to the barr, and justified all that they had said to him, and gave a full relation of all that had pass'd at their meetings. When they withdrew, *Cromwell* fell down on his knees, and made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his zeal for the service of the house: He submitted himself to the providence of God, who it seems thought fit to exercise him with calumny and slander, but he committed his cause to him: This he did with great vehemence, and with many tears. After this strange and bold preamble he made so long a speech, justifying both himself and the rest of the officers, except a few that seemed inclined to return back to *Egypt*, that he wearied out the House, and wrought so much on his party, that what the witnesses had said was so little believed, that had it been moved *Grimston* thought that both he and they would have been sent to the *Tower*. But whether their guilt made them modest, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall: And there was no strength in the other side to carry it further. To compleat the scene, as soon as ever *Cromwell* got out of the House, he resolved to trust himself no more among them; but went to the Army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the House.

I had much discourse on this head with one who knew *Cromwell* well and all that set of men; and asked him how they could excuse all the prevarications, and other ill things of which they were visibly guilty in the conduct of their affairs. He told me, they believed there were great occasions in which some men were called to great services, in the doing of which they were excused from the common rules of morality: Such were the practices of *Ehud* and *Jael*, *Samson* and *David*: And by this they fancied they had a privilege from observing the standing rules. It is very obvious how far this principle may be carried, and how all justice and mercy may be laid aside on this pretence by every bold enthusiast. *Ludlow* in his memoirs justifies this force put on the Parliament, as much as he condemns the force that *Cromwell* and the Army afterwards put on the House: And he seems to lay this down for a maxim, that the military power ought always to be subject to the civil: And yet, without any sort of resentment for what he had done, he owns the share he had in the force put

put on the Parliament at this time. The plain reconciling of this is, that he thought when the Army judged the Parliament was in the wrong, they might use violence, but not otherwise: Which gives the army a superious authority, and an inspection into the proceedings of the Parliament. This shews how impossible it is to set up a Commonwealth in *England*; For that cannot be brought about but by a military force: And they will ever keep the Parliament in subjection to them; and to keep up their own authority.

The men chiefly engaged in the taking the King's life.

I will leave all that relates to the King's trial and death to common historians, knowing nothing that is particular of that great tranfaction, which was certainly one of the most amazing scenes in history. *Ireton* was the person that drove it on: For *Cromwell* was all the while in some suspence about it. *Ireton* had the principles and the temper of a *Cassius* in him: He stuck at nothing that might have turned *England* to a Commonwealth: And he found out *Coot* and *Bradshaw*, two bold lawyers, as proper instruments for managing it. *Fairfax* was much distracted in his mind, and changed purposes often every day. The Presbyterians and the body of the City were much against it, and were every where fasting and praying for the King's preservation. There was not above 8000 of the Army about the town: But these were selected out of the whole army, as the most engaged in enthusiasm: And they were kept at prayer in their way almost day and night, except when they were upon duty: So that they were wrought up to a pitch of fury, that struck a terrour into all people. On the other hand the King's party was without spirit: And, as many of themselves have said to me, they could never believe his death was really intended till it was too late. They thought all was a pageantry to strike a terrour, and to force the King to such concessions as they had a mind to extort from him.

The King's behaviour.

The King himself shewed a calm and a composed firmness, which amazed all people; and that so much the more, because it was not natural to him. It was imputed to a very extraordinary measure of supernatural assistance. Bishop *Juxon* did the duty of his function honestly, but with a dry coldness that could not raise the King's thoughts: So that it was owing wholly to somewhat within himself that he went thro' so many indignities with so much true greatness, without disorder or any sort of affectation. Thus he died greater than he had lived; and shewed, that which has been often observed of the whole race of the *Stewards*, that they bore misfortunes better than prosperity. His reign both in peace and war was a continual series of errours: So that it does not appear that he had a true judgment of things. He was out of measure set on following his humour, but unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, chiefly to the Queen. He had too high a notion of the regal power, and thought that every opposition to it was rebellion. He minded little things too much, and was more concerned in the drawing of a paper, than in fighting a battle. He had a firm aversion to Popery, but was much inclined to a middle way between Protestants and Papists, by which he lost the one without gaining the other. His engaging the Duke of *Rohan* in the war of *Rochelle*, and then assisting him so poorly, and forsaking him at last, gave an ill character of him to all the Protestants abroad. The Earl of *Lauderdale* told me, the Duke of *Rohan* was at *Geneva*, where he himself was, when he receiv'd a very long letter or rather a little book from my father, which gave him a copious account of the beginning of the troubles in *Scotland*. He translated it to the Duke of *Rohan*, who expressed a vehement indignation at the Court of *England* for their usage of him: Of which this was the account he then gave.

The affair of *Rochelle*.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had a secret conversation with the Queen of *France*, of which the Queen-mother was very jealous, and possessed the King with such a sense of it, that he was ordered immediately to leave the Court. Upon his return to *England* under this affront he possessed the King with such a hatred of that Court, that the Queen was ill used on her coming over, and all her servants were sent back. He told him also that the Protestants were so ill used, and so strong, that if he would protect them they would involve that Kingdom in new wars; which he represented as so glorious a beginning of his reign, that the King without weighing the consequence of it sent one to treat with the Duke of *Rohan* about it. Great assistance was promised by sea: So a war was resolved on, in which the share that our Court had is well enough known. But the infamous part was, that *Richlieu* got the King of *France* to make his Queen write an obliging letter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, assuring him that, if he would let *Rochelle* fall without assisting it, he should have leave to come over, and should settle the whole matter of the religion

according

according to their edicts. This was a ſtrange proceeding: But *Cardinal Richlieu* could turn that weak King as he pleas'd. Upon this the Duke made that ſhameful campaign of the iſle of *Rhe*. But finding next winter that he was not to be ſuffered to go over into *France*, and that he was abuſed into a falſe hope, he reſolved to have followed that matter with more vigour, when he was ſtabbed by *Felton*.

There is another ſtory told of the King's conduct during the peaceable part of his reign, which I had from *Halewyn* of *Dort*, who was one of the judges in the Court of *Holland*, and was the wiſeſt and greateſt man I knew among them. He told me, he had it from his father, who being then the chief man of *Dort* was of the States, and had the ſecret communicated to him. When *Iſabella Clara Eugenia* grew old, and began to decline, a great many of her council, apprehending what miſeries they would fall under when they ſhould be again in the hands of the *Spaniards*, formed a deſign of making themſelves a free Common-wealth, that, in imitation of the union among the Cantons of *Switzerland* that were of both religions, there ſhould be a perpetual confederacy between them and the States of the ſeven provinces. This they communicated to *Henry Frederick* Prince of *Orange*, and to ſome of the States, who approved of it, but thought it neceſſary to engage the King of *England* in it. The Prince of *Orange* told the *Engliſh* Embaſſadour, that there was a matter of great conſequence that was fit to be laid before the King; but it was of ſuch a nature, and ſuch perſons were concerned in it, that it could not be communicated unleſs the King would be pleaſed to promiſe abſolute ſecrecy for the preſent. This the King did: And then the Prince of *Orange* ſent him the whole ſcheme. The ſecret was ill kept: Either the King truſted it to ſome who diſcovered it, or the paper was ſtollen from him; for it was ſent over to the Court of *Bruxells*: One of the Miniſtry loſt his head for it: And ſome took the alarm ſo quickly they got to *Holland* out of danger. After this the Prince of *Orange* had no commerce with our Court, and often lamented that ſo great a deſign was ſo unhappily loſt. He had as ill an opinion of the King's conduct of the war; for when the Queen came over, and brought ſome of the generals with her, the Prince ſaid, after he had talked with them, (as the late King told me,) he did not wonder to ſee the affairs of *England* decline as they did, ſince he had talked with the King's generals.

A deſign of making the *Spaniſh Netherlands* a Common-wealth.

I will not enter farther into the military part: For I remember an advice of Marſhall *Scomberg*'s, never to meddle in the relation of military matters. He ſaid, ſome affected to relate thoſe affairs in all the terms of war, in which they committed great errours that expoſed them to the ſcorn of all commanders, who muſt deſpiſe relations that pretend to an exactneſs when there were blunders in every part of them.

In the King's death the ill effect of extreme violent counſels diſcovered itſelf. *Ireton* hoped that by this all men concerned in it would become irreconcileable to monarchy, and would act as deſperate men, and deſtroy all that might revenge that blood. But this had a very different effect. Something of the ſame nature had happened in lower inſtances before: But they were not the wiſer for it. The Earl of *Strafford*'s death made all his former errours be forgot: It raiſed his character, and caſt a laſting odium on that way of proceeding; whereas he had ſunk in his credit by any cenſure lower than death, and had been little pitied, if not thought juſtly puniſhed. The like effect followed upon Archbiſhop *Laud*'s death. He was a learned, a ſincere and zealous man, regular in his own life, and humble in his private deportment; but was a hot, indiſcreet man, eagerly purſuing ſome matters that were either very inconſiderable or miſchievous, ſuch as ſetting the communion table by the eaſt walls of churches, bowing to it, and calling it the Altar, the ſuppreſſing the *Walloons* privileges, the breaking of lectures, the encouraging of ſports on the Lord's day, with ſome other things that were of no value: And yet all the zeal and heat of that time was laid out on theſe. His ſeverity in the Star-chamber and in the High-Commiſſion-Court; but above all his violent and indeed inexcuſable injuſtice in the proſecution of Biſhop *Williams*, were ſuch viſible blemiſhes, that nothing but the putting him to death in ſo unjuſt a manner could have raiſed his character; which indeed it did to a great degree of ſetting him up as a pattern, and the eſtabliſhing all his notions as ſtandards, by which judgments are to be made of men whether they are true to the church or not. His diary, tho' it was a baſe thing to publiſh it, repreſents him as an abject fawner on the Duke of *Buckingham*, and as a ſuperſtitious regarder of dreams: His defence of himſelf, writ with ſo much care when he was in the *Tower*, is a very mean perfor-

The ill effects of violent counſels.

mance. He intended in that to make an appeal to the world. In moſt particulars he excuſes himſelf by this, that he was but one of many, who either in Council, Star-chamber, or High-Commiſſion voted illegal things. Now tho' this was true, yet a chief Miniſter, and one in high favour, determines the reſt ſo much, that they are generally little better than machines acted by him. On other occaſions he ſays, the thing was proved but by one witneſs. Now, how ſtrong ſoever this defence may be in law, it is of no force in an appeal to the World; for if a thing is true, it is no matter how full or how defective the proof is. The thing that gave me the ſtrongeſt prejudice againſt him in that book is, that after he had ſeen the ill effects of his violent counſels, and had been ſo long ſhut up, and ſo long at leiſure to reflect on what had paſs'd in the hurry of paſſion in the exaltation of his proſperity, he does not in any one part of that great Work acknowledge his own errours, nor mix in it any wiſe or pious reflections on the ill uſage he met with, or the unhappy ſteps he had made: So that while his enemies did really magnify him by their inhuman proſecution, his friends *Heylin* and *Wharton* have as much leſſened him, the one by writing his life, and the other by publiſhing his vindication of himſelf.

The account of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ.

But the recoiling of cruel counſels on the authors of them never appeared more eminently than in the death of King *Charles* the firſt, whoſe ſerious and chriſtian deportment in it made all his former errours be entirely forgot, and raiſed a compaſſionate regard to him, that drew a laſting hatred on the actors, and was the true occaſion of the great turn of the nation in the year 1660. This was much heightened by the publiſhing of his book called Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, which was univerſally believed to be his own: And that coming out ſoon after his death had the greateſt run in many impreſſions that any book has had in our age. There was in it a nobleneſs and juſtneſs of thought with a greatneſs of ſtyle, that made it to be look'd on as the beſt writ book in the *Engliſh* language: And the piety of the prayers made all people cry out againſt the murder of a Prince, who thought ſo ſeriouſly of all his affairs in his ſecret meditations before God. I was bred up with a high veneration of this book: And I remember that, when I heard how ſome denied it to be his, I asked the Earl of *Lothian* about it, who both knew the King very well, and loved him little: He ſeemed confident it was his own work; for he ſaid, he had heard him ſay a great many of thoſe very periods that he found in that book. Being thus confirmed in that perſuaſion, I was not a little ſurpriſed, when in the year 1673, in which I had a great ſhare of favour and free converſation with the then Duke of *York*, afterwards King *James* the ſecond, as he ſuffered me to talk very freely to him about matters of religion, and as I was urging him with ſomewhat out of his father's book, he told me that book was not of his father's writing, and that the letter to the Prince of *Wales* was never brought to him. He ſaid, Dr. *Gawden* writ it: After the reſtoration he brought the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Earl of *Southampton*, both to the King and to himſelf, who affirmed that they knew it was his writing; and that it was carried down by the Earl of *Southampton* and ſhewed the King during the treaty of *Newport*, who read it, and approved of it as containing his ſenſe of things. Upon this he told me, that tho' *Sheldon* and the other Biſhops oppoſed *Gawden*'s promotion becauſe he had taken the Covenant, yet the merits of that ſervice carried it for him notwithſtanding the oppoſition made to it. There has been a great deal of diſputing about this book: Some are ſo zealous for maintaining it to be the King's, that they think a man falſe to the Church that doubts it to be his: Yet the evidence ſince that time brought to the contrary has been ſo ſtrong, that I muſt leave that under the ſame uncertainty under which I found it: Only this is certain, that *Gawden* never writ any thing with that force, his other writings being ſuch, that no man from a likeneſs of ſtyle would think him capable of writing ſo extraordinary a book as that is.

The *Scots* treat with King *Charles* the ſecond.

Upon the King's death the *Scots* proclaimed his ſon King, and ſent over Sir *George Wincam*, that married my great aunt, to treat with him while he was in the iſle of *Jerſey*. The King entred into a negotiation with them, and ſent him back with general aſſurances of conſenting to every reaſonable propoſition that they ſhould ſend him. He named the *Hague* for the place of treaty, he being to go thither in a few days. So the *Scots* ſent over Commiſſioners, the chief of whom were the Earls of *Caſſiles* and *Lothian*, the former of theſe was my firſt wife's father, a man of great vertue, and of a conſiderable degree of good underſtanding: He was ſo ſincere, that he

he would ſuffer no man to take his words in any other ſenſe than as he meant them: He adhered firmly to his inſtructions, but with ſo much candour, that King *Charles* retained very kind impreſſions of it to his life's end. The man then in the greateſt favour with the King was the Duke of *Buckingham:* He was wholly turned to mirth and pleaſure: He had the art of turning perſons or things into ridicule beyond any man of the age: He poſſeſſed the young King with very ill principles both as to religion and morality, and with a very mean opinion of his father, whoſe ſtiffneſs was with him a frequent ſubject of raillery. He prevailed with the King to enter into a treaty with the *Scots*, tho' that was vehemently oppoſed by almoſt all the reſt that were about him, who preſſed him to adhere ſteddily to his father's maxims and example.

When the King came to the *Hague*, *William* Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who had left *Scotland*, entred into a great meaſure of favour and confidence with him. The Marquis of *Montroſe* came likewiſe to him, and undertook if he would follow his counſels to reſtore him to his Kingdoms by main force: But when the King deſired the Prince of *Orange* to examine the methods which he propoſed, he entertained him with a recital of his own performances and of the credit he was in among the people; and ſaid, the whole nation would riſe if he went over, tho' accompanied only with a page. He deſired of the King nothing but power to act in his name, with a ſupply in money, and a letter recommending him to the King of *Denmark* for a ſhip to carry him over, and for ſuch arms as he could ſpare. With that the King gave him the Garter. He got firſt to *Orkney*, and from thence into the Highlands of *Scotland*; but could perform nothing of what he had undertaken. At laſt he was betrayed by one of thoſe to whom he truſted himſelf, *Mackland* of *Aſſin*, and was brought over a priſoner to *Edenburgh*. He was carried thro' the ſtreets with all the infamy that brutal men could contrive: And in a few days he was hanged on a very high gibbet: And his head and quarters were ſet up in divers places of the Kingdom. His behaviour under all that barbarous uſage was as great and firm to the laſt, looking on all that was done to him with a noble ſcorn, as the fury of his enemies was black and univerſally deteſted. This cruelty raiſed a horrour in all ſober people againſt thoſe who could inſult over ſuch a man in misfortunes. The triumphs that the preachers made on this occaſion rendered them odious, and made Lord *Montroſe* to be both more pitied and lamented than otherwiſe he could have been. This happened while the *Scots* commiſſioners were treating with the King at the *Hague*. The violent party in *Scotland* were for breaking off the treaty upon it, tho' by the date of Lord *Montroſe*'s commiſſion it appeared to have been granted before the treaty was begun: But it was carried not to recall their commiſſioners: Nor could the King on the other hand be prevailed on by his own Court to ſend them away upon this cruelty to a man who had acted by his commiſſion, and yet was ſo uſed. The treaty was quickly concluded: The King was in no condition to ſtruggle with them, but yielded to all their demands, of taking the Covenant, and ſuffering none to be about him but ſuch as took it. He ſailed home to *Scotland* in ſome *Dutch* men of war with which the Prince of *Orange* furniſhed him, with all the ſtock of money and arms that his credit could raiſe. That indeed would not have been very great, if the Prince of *Orange* had not joined his own to it. The Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Lauderdale* were ſuffered to go home with him: But ſoon after his landing an order came to put them from him: The King complained of this: But Duke *Hamilton* at parting told him, he muſt prepare for things of a harder digeſtion: He ſaid, at preſent he could do him no ſervice: The Marquis of *Argile* was then in abſolute credit: Therefore he deſired that he would ſtudy to gain him, and give him no cauſe of jealouſy on his account. This King *Charles* told me himſelf, as a part of Duke *Hamilton*'s character. The Duke of *Buckingham* took all the ways poſſible to gain Lord *Argile* and the Miniſters; Only his diſſolute courſe of life was exceſſive ſcandalous; which to their great reproach they connived at, becauſe he adviſed the King to put himſelf wholly into their hands. The King wrought himſelf into as grave a deportment as he could: He heard many prayers and ſermons, ſome of a great length. I remember in one faſt day there were ſix ſermons preached without intermiſſion. I was there my ſelf, and not a little weary of ſo tedious a ſervice. The King was not allowed not ſo much as to walk abroad on ſundays: And if at any time there had been any gaiety at Court, ſuch as dancing or playing at cards, he was ſeverely reproved for it. This was managed with ſo much rigour, and ſo little diſcretion, that it contri-

Montroſe's offers.

And death.

contributed not a little to beget in him an averſion to all ſort of ſtrictneſs in religion. All that had acted on his father's ſide were order'd to keep at a great diſtance from him: And becauſe the common people ſhewed ſome affection to the King, the crouds that preſs'd to ſee him were alſo kept off from coming about him. *Cromwell* was not idle: But ſeeing the *Scots* were calling home their King, and knowing that from thence he might expect an invaſion into *England*, he reſolved to prevent them, and ſo marched into *Scotland* with his army. The *Scots* brought together a very good army: The King was ſuffered to come once to ſee it, but not to ſtay in it; for they were afraid he might gain too much upon the ſoldiers: So he was ſent away.

The defeat at *Dunbar*.

The army was indeed one of the beſt that ever *Scotland* had brought together: But it was ill commanded: For all that had made defection from their cauſe, or that were thought indifferent as to either ſide, which they called deteſtable neutrality, were put out of commiſſion. The preachers thought it an army of ſaints, and ſeemed well aſſured of ſucceſs. They drew near *Cromwell*, who being preſſed by them retired towards *Dunbar*, where his ſhips and proviſions lay. The *Scots* followed him, and were poſted on a hill about a mile from thence, where there was no attacking them. *Cromwell* was then in great diſtreſs, and looked on himſelf as undone. There was no marching towards *Berwick*, the ground was too narrow: Nor could he come back into the country without being ſeparated from his ſhips, and ſtarving his army. The leaſt evil ſeemed to be to kill his horſes, and put his army on board, and ſail back to *Newcaſtle*; which, in the diſpoſition that *England* was in at that time would have been all their deſtruction, for it would have occaſioned an univerſal inſurrection for the King. They had not above three days forage for their horſes. So *Cromwell* called his officers to a day of ſeeking the Lord, in their ſtyle. He loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards: He ſaid, he felt ſuch an enlargement of heart in prayer, and ſuch quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. After prayer they walked in the Earl of *Roxburgh*'s gardens that lay under the hill: And by proſpective glaſſes they diſcerned a great motion in the *Scottiſh* Camp: Upon which *Cromwell* ſaid, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us. *Leſley* was in the chief command: But he had a committee of the States to give him his orders, among whom *Wariſtoun* was one. Theſe were weary of lying in the fields, and thought that *Leſley* made not haſte enough to deſtroy thoſe Sectaries; for ſo they came to call them. He told them, by lying there all was ſure; but that by engaging in action with gallant and deſperate men all might be loſt: Yet they ſtill called on him to fall on. Many have thought that all this was treachery done on deſign to deliver up our army to *Cromwell*, ſome laying it upon *Leſley*, and others upon my uncle. I am perſuaded there was no treachery in it: Only *Wariſtoun* was too hot, and *Leſley* was too cold, and yielded too eaſily to their humours, which he ought not to have done. They were all the night employed in coming down the hill: And in the morning, before they were put in order, *Cromwell* fell upon them. Two regiments ſtood their ground, and were almoſt all killed in their ranks: The reſt did run in a moſt ſhameful manner: So that both their artillery and baggage were loſt, and with theſe a great many priſoners were taken, ſome thouſands in all. *Cromwell* upon this advanced to *Edenburgh*, where he was received without any oppoſition: And the caſtle that might have made a long reſiſtance did capitulate. So all the ſouthern part of *Scotland* came under contribution to *Cromwell*. *Sterlin* was the advanced garriſon on the King's ſide. He himſelf retired to St. *Johnſtoun*. A Parliament was called that ſat for ſome time at *Sterlin*, and for ſome time at St. *Johnſtoun*, in which a full indemnity was paſs'd, not in the language of a pardon but of an act of approbation: Only all that joined with *Cromwell* were declar'd traitors. But now the way of raiſing a new army was to be thought on.

Diſputes about the admitting of all perſons to ſerve their country.

A queſtion had been propoſed both to the committee of States and to the commiſſioners of the Kirk, whether in this extremity thoſe who had made defection, or had been hitherto too backward in the work, might not upon the profeſſion of their repentance be received into publick truſt, and admitted to ſerve in the defence of their country. To this anſwers were diſtinctly given by two reſolutions: The one was, that they ought to be admitted to make profeſſion of their repentance: And the other was, that after ſuch profeſſions made they might be received to defend and ſerve their country.

Upon

Upon this a great diviſion followed in the Kirk: Thoſe who adhered to theſe reſolutions were called the publick Reſolutioners: But againſt theſe ſome of thoſe bodies proteſted, and they, together with thoſe who adhered to them, were called the Proteſtors. On the one hand it was ſaid, that every government might call out all that were under its protection to its defence: This ſeemed founded on the law of nature and of nations: And, if men had been miſled, it was a ſtrange cruelty to deny room for repentance: This was contrary to the nature of God and to the Goſpel, and was a likely mean to drive them to deſpair: Therefore after two years time it ſeemed reaſonable to allow them to ſerve according to their birthright in Parliament, or in other hereditary offices, or in the army; from all which they had been excluded by an act made in the year 1649, which ranged them in different claſſes, and was from thence called the act of claſſes. But the Proteſtors objected againſt all this, that to take in men of known enmity to the cauſe was a ſort of betraying it, becauſe it was the putting it in their power to betray it; that to admit them into a profeſſion of repentance was a profanation, and a mocking of God: It was viſible, they were willing to comply with theſe terms, tho' againſt their conſcience, only to get into the army: Nor could they expect a bleſſing from God on an army ſo conſtituted. And as to this particular they had great advantage; for this mock penitence was indeed a matter of great ſcandal. When theſe reſolutions were paſs'd with this proteſtation, a great many of the five weſtern counties, *Cliddiſdale*, *Renfrew*, *Air*, *Galloway* and *Nithiſdale*, met, and formed an aſſociation apart, both againſt the army of Sectaries, and againſt this new defection in the Kirk party. They drew a remonſtrance againſt all the proceedings in the treaty with the King, when, as they ſaid, it was viſible by the commiſſion he granted to *Montroſe* that his heart was not ſincere: And they were alſo againſt the tendring him the Covenant, when they had reaſon to believe he took it not with a reſolution to maintain it, ſince his whole deportment and private converſation ſhewed a ſecret enmity to the work of God: And, after an inviduous enumeration of many particulars, they imputed the ſhameful defeat at *Dunbar* to their prevaricating in theſe things; and concluded with a deſire, that the King might be excluded from any ſhare in the adminiſtration of the Government, and that his cauſe might be put out of the ſtate of the quarrel with the army of the Sectaries. This was brought to the committee of the States at St. *Johnſtoun*, and was ſeverely inveighed againſt by Sir *Thomas Nicholſon*, the King's advocate or attorney general there, who had been till then a zealous man of their party: But he had lately married my ſiſter, and my father had great influence on him. He prevailed ſo, that the remonſtrance was condemned as diviſive, factious, and ſcandalous: But that the people might not be too much moved with theſe things, a declaration was prepared to be ſet out by the King for the ſatisfying of them. In it there were many hard things. The King owned the ſin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family: He acknowledged the bloodſhed in the late wars lay at his father's door: He expreſſed a deep ſenſe of his own ill education, and the prejudices he had drunk in againſt the cauſe of God, of which he was now very ſenſible: He confeſſed all the former parts of his life to have been a courſe of enmity to the work of God: He repented of his commiſſion to *Montroſe*, and of every thing he had done that gave offence: And with ſolemn proteſtations he affirmed, that he was now ſincere in his declaration, and that he would adhere to it to the end of his life in *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*.

Great hardſhips put on the King.

The King was very uneaſy when this was brought to him. He ſaid, he could never look his mother in the face if he paſs'd it. But when he was told it was neceſſary for his affairs, he reſolved to ſwallow the pill without farther chewing it. So it was publiſhed, but had no good effect; for neither ſide believed him ſincere in it. It was thought a ſtrange impoſition, to make him load his father's memory in ſuch a manner. But, while the King was thus beſet with the high and more moderate Kirk parties, the old Cavaliers ſent to him, offering that if he would caſt himſelf into their hands they would meet him near *Dundee* with a great body. Upon this the King, growing weary of the ſad life he led, made his eſcape in the night, and came to the place appointed: But it was a vain undertaking; for he was met by a very inconſiderable body at *Clova*, the place of rendezvous. Thoſe at St. *Johnſtoun* being troubled at this, ſent Col. *Montgomery* after him, who came up and preſs'd him to return very rudely: So the King came back. But this had a very good effect. The government ſaw now the danger of uſing him ill, which might provoke him

to desperate courses: After that, he was used as well as that kingdom in so ill a state was capable of. He saw the necessity of courting the Marquis of *Argile*, and therefore made him great offers: At last he talked of marrying his daughter. Lord *Argile* was cold and backwark: He saw the King's heart lay not to him: So he looked on all offers, but as so many snares. His son, the Lord *Lorn*, was captain of the guards: And he made his court more dextrously; for he brought all persons that the King had a mind to speak with at all hours to him, and was in all respects not only faithful but zealous. Yet this was suspected as a colluſion between the father and the son. The King was crowned on the first of *January*: And there he again renewed the Covenant: And now all people were admitted to come to him, and to serve in the army. The two armies lay peaceably in their winter quarters. But when the summer came on, a body of the *English* pass'd the *Frith*, and landed in *Fife*. So the King, having got up all the forces he had expected, resolved on a march into *England*. *Scotland* could not maintain another year's war. This was a desperate resolution: But there was nothing else to be done.

I will not pursue the relation of the march to *Worcester*, nor the total defeat given the King's army on the third of *September*, the same day in which *Dunbar* fight had been fought the year before. These things are so well known, as is also the King's escape, that I can add nothing to the common relations that have been over and over made of them. At the same time that *Cromwell* followed the King into *England*, he left *Monk* in *Scotland* with an army sufficient to reduce the rest of the Kingdom. The town of *Dundee* made a rash and ill considered resistance: It was after a few days siege taken by storm: Much blood was shed, and the town was severely plundered: No other place made any resistance. I remember well of three regiments coming to *Aberdeen*. There was an order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Most of them were Independents and Anabaptists: They were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved. But they never disturbed the publick assemblies in the churches but once. They came and reproached the preachers for laying things to their charge that were false. I was then present: The debate grew very fierce: At last they drew their swords: But there was no hurt done: Yet *Cromwell* displaced the governour for not punishing this.

Scotland was subdued by *Monk*.

When the low-countries in *Scotland* were thus reduced, some of the more zealous of the nobility went to the Highlands in the year 1653. The Earl of *Glencairn*, a grave and sober man, got the tribe of the *Macdonalds* to declare for the King. To these the Lord *Lorn* came with about a thousand men: But the jealousy of the father made the son be suspected. The Marquis of *Argile* had retired into his country when the King marched into *England*; and did not submit to *Monk* till the year 52. Then he received a garrison: But Lord *Lorn* surprised a ship that was sent about with provisions to it, which helped to support their little ill-formed army. Many gentlemen came to them: And almost all the good horses of the Kingdom were stollen, and carried up to them. They made a body of about 3000: Of these they had about 500 horse. They endured great hardships; for those parts were not fit to entertain men that had been accustomed to live softly. The Earl of *Glencairn* had almost spoiled all: For he took much upon him: And upon some suspicion he ordered Lord *Lorn* to be clapt up, who had notice of it, and prevented it by an escape: Otherwise they had fallen to cut one another's throats, instead of marching to the enemy. The Earl of *Belcarras*, a vertuous and knowing man but somewhat morose in his humour, went also among them. They differed in their counsels: Lord *Glencairn* was for falling into the low-countries: And he began to fancy he should be another *Montrose*. *Belcarras* on the other hand was for keeping in their fastnesses: They made a shew of a body for the King, which they were to keep up in some reputation as long as they could, till they could see what assistance the King might be able to procure them from beyond sea of men, money and arms; whereas if they went out of those fast grounds, they could not hope to stand before such a veteran and well disciplined army as *Monk* had; and if they met with the least check, their tumultuary body would soon melt away.

A body stood out in the Highlands.

Among others one Sir *Robert Murray*, that had married Lord *Belcarras*'s sister, came among them: He had served in *France*, where he had got into such a degree of favour with *Cardinal Richlieu*, that few strangers were ever so much considered by him as he was. He was raised to be a Collonel there, and came over for recruits when

Sir *Robert Murray*'s character.

when the King was with the *Scotch* army at *Newcaſtle*. There he grew into high favour with the King; and laid a deſign for his eſcape, of which I have given an account in Duke *Hamilton*'s memoirs: He was the moſt univerſally beloved and eſteemed by men of all ſides and ſorts, of any man I have ever known in my whole life. He was a pious man, and in the midſt of armies and courts he ſpent many hours a day in devotion. He had gone thro' the eaſy parts of mathematicks, and knew the hiſtory of nature beyond any man I ever yet knew. He had a genius much like *Peïriski*, as he is deſcribed by *Gaſſendi*. He was afterwards the firſt former of the Royal ſociety, and its firſt preſident; and while he lived he was the life and ſoul of that body. He had an equality of temper in him that nothing could alter; and was in practice the only Stoick I ever knew. He had a great tincture of one of their principles; for he was much for abſolute decrees. He had a moſt diffuſed love to all mankind, and he delighted in every occaſion of doing good, which he managed with great diſcretion and zeal. He had a ſuperiority of genius and comprehenſion to moſt men: And had the plaineſt, but withal the ſofteſt, way of reproving, chiefly young people, for their faults that I ever met with. Sir *Robert Murray* was in ſuch credit in that little army, that Lord *Glencairn* took a ſtrange courſe to break it, and to ruin him. A letter was pretended to be found at *Antwerp*, as writ by him to *William Murray* of the bed-chamber, that had been whipping boy to King *Charles* the firſt, and upon that had grown up to a degree of favour and confidence that was very particular: He had a leud creature there, whom he turned off: And ſhe to be revenged on him framed this plot againſt him. This ill forged letter gave an account of a bargain Sir *Robert* had made with *Monk* for killing the King, which was to be executed by Mr. *Murray*: So he prayed him in his letter to make haſte and diſpatch it. This was brought to the Earl of *Glencairn*: So Sir *Robert* was ſeverely queſtioned upon it, and put in arreſt: And it was ſpread about thro' a rude army that he intended to kill the King, hoping it ſeems that ſome of theſe wild people believing it would have fallen upon him without uſing any forms. Upon this occaſion Sir *Robert* practiſed in a very eminent manner his true chriſtian philoſophy, without ſhewing ſo much as a cloud in his whole behaviour.

The Earl of *Belcarras* left the Highlands, and went to the King; and ſhewed him the neceſſity of ſending a military man to command that body, to whom they would ſubmit more willingly than to any of the Nobility. *Midletoun* was ſent over, who was a gallant man and a good officer: He had firſt ſerved on the Parliament's ſide: But he turned over to the King, and was taken at *Worceſter* fight, but made his eſcape out of the Tower. He upon his coming over did for ſome time lay the heats that were among the Highlanders; and made as much of that face of an army for another year as was poſſible.

Meſſages ſent to the King.

Drumond was ſent by him to *Paris* with an invitation to the King to come among them; for they had aſſurances ſent them, that the whole Nation was in a diſpoſition to riſe with them: And *England* was beginning to grow weary of their new government, the Army and the Parliament being on ill terms. The *Engliſh* were alſo engaged in a war with the States: And the *Dutch* upon that account might be inclined to aſſiſt the King to give a diverſion to their enemies forces. *Drumond* told me, that upon his coming to *Paris* he was called to the little Council that was then about the King: And when he had delivered his meſſage, Chancellour *Hide* asked him, how the King would be accommodated if he came among them: He anſwered, not ſo well as was fitting, but they would all take care of him to furniſh him with every thing that was neceſſary. He wondered that the King did not check the Chancellour in his demand; for he ſaid, it looked ſtrange to him, that when they were hazarding their lives to help him to a crown, he ſhould be concerned for accommodation. He was ſent back with good words and a few kind letters. In the end of the year 1654 *Morgan* marched into the Highlands, and had a ſmall engagement with *Midletoun*, which broke that whole matter, of which all people were grown weary; for they had no proſpect of ſucceſs, and the low countries were ſo over-run with robberies on the pretence of going to aſſiſt the Highlanders, that there was an univerſal joy at the diſperſing of that little unruly army.

The ſtate of *Scotland* during the uſurpation.

After this the country was kept in great order: Some caſtles in the Highlands had garriſons put in them, that were ſo careful in their diſcipline, and ſo exact to their rules, that in no time the Highlands were kept in better order than during the uſurpation. There was a conſiderable force of about 7 or 8000 men kept in *Scotland*:

land: Theſe were paid exactly, and ſtrictly diſciplined. The pay of the army brought ſo much money into the Kingdom, that it continued all that while in a very flouriſhing ſtate. *Cromwell* built three citadels, at *Leith*, *Air*, and *Inverneſs*, beſides many little forts. There was good juſtice done, and vice was ſuppreſs'd and puniſhed; ſo that we always reckon thoſe eight years of uſurpation a time of great peace and proſperity. There was alſo a ſort of union of the three Kingdoms in one Parliament, where *Scotland* had its repreſentative. The Marquis of *Argile* went up one of our commiſſioners.

Diſputes among the Covenanters.

The next ſcene I muſt open relates to the church, and the heats raiſed in it by the publick reſolutions, and the proteſtation made againſt them. New occaſions of diſpute aroſe. A General Aſſembly was in courſe to meet; and ſate at St. *Andrews*: So the commiſſion of the Kirk wrote a circular letter to all the Presbyteries, ſetting forth all the grounds of their reſolutions, and complaining of thoſe who had proteſted againſt them; upon which they deſired that they would chuſe none of thoſe who adhered to the proteſtation to repreſent them in the next aſſembly. This was only an advice, and had been frequently practiſed in the former years: But now it was highly complained of, as a limitation on the freedom of elections, which inferred a nullity on all their proceedings: So the Proteſtors renewed their proteſtation againſt the meeting upon a higher point, diſowning that authority which hitherto they had magnified as the higheſt tribunal in the church, in which they thought Chriſt was in his throne. Upon this a great debate followed, and many books were written in a courſe of ſeveral years. The Publick men ſaid, this was the deſtroying of Presbytery, if the leſſer number did not ſubmit to the greater: It was a ſort of Prelacy, if it was pretended that votes ought rather to be weighed than counted: Parity was the eſſence of their conſtitution: And in this all people ſaw they had clearly the better of the argument. The Proteſtors urged for themſelves, that, ſince all Proteſtants rejected the pretence of infallibility, the major part of the church might fall into errours, in which caſe the leſſer number could not be bound to ſubmit to them: They complained of the many corrupt Clergy-men who were yet among them, who were leavened with the old leaven, and did on all occaſions ſhew what was ſtill at heart notwithſtanding all their outward compliance: (For the epiſcopal Clergy, that had gone into the Covenant and Presbytery to hold their livings, ſtruck in with great heat to inflame the controverſy: And it appeared very viſibly that Presbytery, if not held in order by the civil power, could not be long kept in quiet:) If in the ſupream Court of judicature the majority did not conclude the matter, it was not poſſible to keep up their beloved parity: It was confeſſed that in doctrinal points the leſſer number was not bound to ſubmit to the greater: But in the matters of mere government it was impoſſible to maintain the Presbyterian form on any other bottom.

As this debate grew hot, and they were ready to break out into cenſures on both ſides, ſome were ſent down from the Commonwealth of *England* to ſettle *Scotland*: Of theſe Sir *Henry Vane* was one. The Reſolutioners were known to have been more in the King's intereſt: So they were not ſo kindly looked on as the Proteſtors. Some of the *Engliſh* junćto moved, that pains ſhould be taken to unite the two parties. But *Vane* oppoſed this with much zeal: He ſaid, would they heal the wound that they had given themſelves, which weakened them ſo much? The ſetting them at quiet could have no other effect, but to heal and unite them in their oppoſition to their authority: He therefore moved, that they might be left at liberty to fight out their own quarrels, and be kept in a greater dependence on the temporal authority, when both ſides were forced to make their appeal to it: So it was reſolved to ſuffer them to meet ſtill in their Presbyteries and Synods, but not in General Aſſemblies, which had a greater face of union and authority.

This advice was followed: So the diviſion went on. Both ſides ſtudied when any church became vacant to get a man of their own party to be choſen to ſucceed in the election: And upon theſe occaſions many tumults happened: In ſome of them ſtones were thrown, and many were wounded, to the great ſcandal of religion. In all theſe diſputes the Proteſtors were the fiercer ſide: For being leſs in number they ſtudied to make that up with their fury. In one point they had the other at a great advantage, with relation to their new maſters who required them to give over praying for the King. The Proteſtors were weary of doing it, and ſubmitted very readily: But the others ſtood out longer; and ſaid, it was a duty lying on them by the Covenant,

Covenant, ſo they could not let it fall. Upon that the *Engliſh* Council ſet out an order, that ſuch as ſhould continue to pray for the King ſhould be denied the help of law to recover their tithes, or as they called them their ſtipends. This touched them in a ſenſible point: But, that they might not ſeem to act upon the civil authority, they did enact it in their Presbyteries, that ſince all duties did not oblige at all times, therefore conſidering the preſent juncture, in which the King could not protect them, they reſolved to diſcontinue that piece of duty. This expoſed them to much cenſure, ſince ſuch a carnal conſideration as the force of law for their benefices, (which all regard but too much tho' few will own it,) ſeemed to be that which determined them.

This great breach among them being rather encouraged than ſuppreſſed by thoſe who were in power, all the methods imaginable were uſed by the Proteſtors to raiſe their credit among the people. They preached often, and very long; and ſeemed to carry their devotions to a greater ſublimity than others did. Their conſtant topick was, the ſad defection and corruption of the judicatories of the church, and they often propoſed ſeveral expedients for purging it. The truth was they were more active, and their performances were livelier, than the Publick men. They were in nothing more ſingular than in their communions. In many places the ſacrament was diſcontinued for ſeveral years; where they thought the magiſtracy, or the more eminent of the pariſh, were engaged in what they called the defection, which was much more looked at than ſcandal given by bad lives. But where the greateſt part was more ſound, they gave the ſacrament with a new and unuſual ſolemnity. On the *Wedneſday* before they held a faſt day with prayers and ſermons for about eight or ten hours together: On the *Saturday* they had two or three preparation ſermons: And on the Lord's day they had ſo very many, that the action continued above twelve hours in ſome places: And all ended with three or four ſermons on *Monday* for thankſgiving. A great many Miniſters were brought together from ſeveral parts: And high pretenders would have gone 40 or 50 miles to a noted communion. The crouds were far beyond the capacity of their churches, or the reach of their voices: So at the ſame time they had ſermons in two or three different places: And all was performed with great ſhew of zeal. They had ſtories of many ſequel converſions that were wrought on theſe occaſions.

Methods taken on both ſides.

It is ſcarce credible what an effect this had among the people, to how great a meaſure of knowledge they were brought, and how readily they could pray *extempore*, and talk of divine matters. All this tended to raiſe the credit of the Proteſtors. The Reſolutioners tried to imitate them in theſe practices: But they were not thought ſo ſpiritual, nor ſo ready at them: So the others had the chief following. Where the judicatories of the church were near an equality of the men of both ſides, there were perpetual janglings among them: At laſt they proceeded to deprive men of both ſides, as they were the majority in the judicatories: But becauſe the poſſeſſion of the church, and the benefice, was to depend on the orders of the temporal Courts, both ſides made their application to the privy Council that *Cromwell* had ſet up in *Scotland*: And they were by them referred to *Cromwell* himſelf. So they ſent deputies up to *London*. The Proteſtors went in great numbers: They came neater both to the principles, and to the temper that prevailed in the Army: So they were looked on as the better men, on whom, by reaſon of the firſt riſe of the difference, the government might more certainly depend: Whereas the others were conſidered as more in the King's intereſts.

The Reſolutioners ſent up one *Sharp*, who had been long in *England*, and was an active and eager man: He had a very ſmall proportion of learning, and was but an indifferent preacher: But having ſome acquaintance with the Presbyterian Miniſters at *London*, whom *Cromwell* was then courting much by reaſon of their credit in the City, he was by an errour that proved fatal to the whole party ſent up in their name to *London*; where he continued for ſome years ſolliciting their concerns, and making himſelf known to all ſorts of people. He ſeemed more than ordinary zealous for Presbytery. And, as *Cromwell* was then deſigning to make himſelf King, Dr. *Wilkins* told me he often ſaid to him, no temporal government could have a ſure ſupport without a national church that adhered to it, and he thought *England* was capable of no conſtitution but epiſcopacy, to which, he told me, he did not doubt but *Cromwell* would have turned, as ſoon as the deſign of his Kingſhip was ſettled. Upon this *Wilkins* ſpoke to *Sharp*, that it was plain by their breach that Presbytery

could not be managed so as to maintain order among them, and that an episcopacy must be brought in to settle them: But *Sharp* could not bear the discourse, and rejected it with horror. I have dwelt longer on this matter, and opened it more fully than was necessary, if I had not thought that this may have a good effect on the reader, and shew him how impossible it is in a party to maintain peace and order, if the magistrate does not interpose. And if he does that will be cried out upon by the zealots of both sides, as abominable Erastianism.

Some of *Cromwell*'s Maxims

From these matters I go next to set down some particulars that I know concerning *Cromwell*, that I have not yet seen in books. Some of these I had from the Earls of *Carlisle* and *Orrery*: The one had been the captain of his guards: And the other had been the president of his council in *Scotland*. But he from whom I learned the most was *Stouppe*, a *Grison* by birth, then Minister of the *French* Church in the *Savoy*, and afterwards a brigadeer general in the *French* armies: A man of intrigue, but of no vertue: He adhered to the Protestant religion as to outward appearance: He was much trusted by *Cromwell* in foreign affairs; in which *Cromwell* was oft at a loss, and having no foreign language, but the little latin that stuck to him from his education, which he spoke very vitiously and scantily, had not the necessary means of informing himself.

When *Cromwell* first assumed the government, he had three great parties of the Nation all against him, the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Republican party. The last was the most set on his ruin, looking on him as the person that had perfidiously broke the House of Commons, and was setting up for himself. He had none to rely on but the Army: Yet that enthusiastick temper, that he had taken so much pains to raise among them, made them very intractable: Many of the chief officers were broken, and imprisoned by him: And he flattered the rest the best he could. He went on in his old way of long and dark discourses, sermons, and prayers. As to the Cavalier party, he was afraid both of assassination and other plottings from them. As to the former of these he took a method that proved very effectual: He said often and openly, that in a war it was necessary to return upon any side all the violent things that any of the one side did to the other: This was done for preventing greater mischief, and for bringing men to fair war: Therefore, he said, assassinations were such detestable things that he would never begin them: But if any of the King's party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an assassinating war of it, and destroy the whole family: And he pretended he had instruments to execute it, whensoever he should give order for it. The terrour of this was a better security to him than his guards.

The other as to their plottings was the more dangerous. But he understood that one Sir *Richard Willis* was Chancellour *Hide*'s chief confident, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party submitted, looking on him as an able and wise man in whom they confided absolutely. So he found a way to talk with him: He said, he did not intend to hurt any of the party: His design was rather to save them from ruin: They were apt after their cups to run into foolish and ill concerted plots, which signified nothing but to ruin those who engaged in them: He knew they consulted him in every thing: All he desired of him was to know all their plots, that he might so disconcert them that none might ever suffer for them: If he clapt any of them up in prison, it should only be for a little time: And they should be interrogated only about some trifling discourse, but never about the business they had been engaged in. He offered *Willis* whatever he would accept of, and to give it when or as he pleased. He durst not ask or take above 200 pound a year. None was trusted with this but his secretary *Thurlo*, who was a very dextrous man at getting intelligence.

Thus *Cromwell* had all the King's party in a net. He let them dance in it at pleasure: And upon occasions clapt them up for a short while: But nothing was ever discovered that hurt any of them. In conclusion, after *Cromwell*'s death, *Willis* continued to give notice of every thing to *Thurlo*. At last, when the plot was laid among the Cavaliers for a general insurrection, the King was desired to come over to that which was to be raised in *Suffex*. He was to have landed near *Chichester*, all by *Willis*'s management: And a snare was laid for him, in which he would probably have been caught, if *Morland*, *Thurlo*'s under secretary, who was a prying man, had not discovered the correspondence between his Master and *Willis*, and warned the King of his danger. Yet it was not easy to perswade those who had trusted *Willis* so much,

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and who thought him faithful in all reſpects, to believe that he could be guilty of ſo black a treachery: So *Morland*'s advertiſement was look'd on as an artifice to create jealouſy. But he to give a full conviction obſerved where the ſecretary laid ſome letters of advice, on which he ſaw he relied moſt, and getting the key of that cabinet in his hand to ſeal a letter with a ſeal that hung to it, he took the impreſſion of it in wax, and got a key to be made from it, by which he opened the cabinet, and ſent over ſome of the moſt important of thoſe letters. The hand was known, and this artful but black treachery was diſcovered: So the deſign of the riſing was laid aſide. Sir *George Booth* having engaged at the ſame time to raiſe a body in *Cheſhire*, two ſeveral meſſengers were ſent to him to let him know the deſign could not be executed at the time appointed: But both theſe perſons were ſuſpected by ſome garriſons thro' which they muſt paſs, as giving no good account of themſelves in a time of jealouſy, and were ſo long ſtopt, that they could not give him notice in time: So he very gallantly performed his part: But not being ſeconded he was ſoon cruſhed by *Lambert*. Thus *Willis* loſt the merit of great and long ſervices. This was one of *Cromwell*'s maſter-pieces.

As for the Presbyterians, they were ſo apprehenſive of the fury of the Commonwealth party, that they thought it a deliverance to be reſcu'd out of their hands: Many of the Republicans begun to profeſs Deiſm: And almoſt all of them were for deſtroying all Clergy-men, and for breaking every thing that looked like the union of a national church. They were for pulling down the churches, for diſcharging the tithes, and for leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or reſtraint. *Cromwell* aſſured the Presbyterians, he would maintain a publick miniſtry with all due encouragement; and he joined them in a commiſſion with ſome Independents, to be the triers of all thoſe who were to be admitted to benefices. Theſe diſpoſed alſo of all the churches that were in the gift of the Crown, of the Biſhops, and of the Cathedral Churches: So this ſoftened them.

He ſtudied to divide the Commonwealth party among themſelves, and to ſet the Fifth-monarchy men and the Enthuſiaſts againſt thoſe who pretended to little or no religion, and acted only upon the principles of civil liberty; ſuch as *Algernoon Sidney*, *Henry Nevill*, *Martin*, *Widman*, and *Harrington*. The Fifth-monarchy men ſeemed to be really on expectation every day when *Chriſt* ſhould appear: *John Goodwin* headed theſe, who firſt brought in *Arminianiſm* among the ſectaries, for he was for liberty of all ſorts. *Cromwell* hated that doctrine: For his beloved notion was, that once a child of God was always a child of God: Now he had led a very ſtrict life for above eight years together before the war: So he comforted himſelf much with his reflections on that time, and on the certainty of perſeverance. But none of the preachers were ſo thorough-paced for him as to temporal matters, as *Goodwin* was; for he not only juſtified the putting the King to death, but magnified it as the gloriouſeſt action men were capable of. He filled all people with ſuch expectation of a glorious thouſand years ſpeedily to begin, that it looked like a madneſs poſſeſſing them.

It was no eaſy thing for *Cromwell* to ſatisfy thoſe, when he took the power into his own hands; ſince that looked like a ſtep to Kingſhip, which *Goodwin* had long repreſented as the great Antichriſt, that hindered Chriſt being ſet on his throne. To theſe he ſaid, and as ſome have told me, with many tears, that he would rather have taken a ſhepherd's ſtaff than the Protectorſhip, ſince nothing was more contrary to his genius than a ſhew of greatneſs: But he ſaw it was neceſſary at that time to keep the Nation from falling into extream diſorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy: And therefore he only ſtept in between the living and the dead, as he phraſed it, in that interval, till God ſhould direct them on what bottom they ought to ſettle: And he aſſured them, that then he would ſurrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the ſorrow with which he was affected while under that ſhew of dignity. To men of this ſtamp he would enter into the terms of their old equality, ſhutting the door, and making them ſit down covered by him, to let them ſee how little he valued thoſe diſtances that for form's ſake he was bound to keep up with others. Theſe diſcourſes commonly ended in a long prayer. Thus with much ado he managed the republican enthuſiaſts. The other Republicans he called the Heathens, and profeſſed he could not ſo eaſily work upon them. He had ſome chaplains of all ſorts: And he begun in his latter years to be gentler towards thoſe of the church of *England*. They had their meetings in ſeveral places about *London* without any diſturbance from him. In concluſion, even the Papiſts courted him: And he

His deſign for the Kingſhip.

he with great diſſimulation carried things with all ſorts of people farther than was thought poſſible, conſidering the difficulties he met with in all his Parliaments: But it was generally believed that his life and all his arts were exhauſted at once, and that if he had lived much longer he could not have held things together.

The debates came on very high for ſetting up a King. All the lawyers, chiefly *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Fountain*, and *St. Johns*, were vehemently for this. They ſaid, no new government could be ſettled legally but by a King, who ſhould paſs bills for ſuch a form as ſhould be agreed on. Till then all they did was like building upon ſand: Still men were in danger of a revolution: And in that caſe all that had been done would be void of itſelf, as contrary to a law yet in being and not repealed. Till that was done, every man that had been concerned in the war, and in the blood that was ſhed, chiefly the King's, was ſtill obnoxious: And no warrants could be pleaded, but what were founded on or approved of by a law paſs'd by King, Lords, and Commons. They might agree to truſt this King as much as they pleaſed, and to make his power determine as ſoon as they pleaſed, ſo that he ſhould be a *Felo de ſe*, and conſent to an act, if need were, of extinguiſhing both name and thing for ever. And as no man's perſon was ſafe till that was done, ſo they ſaid all the grants and ſeals that had been made were null and void: All men that had gathered or diſpoſed of the publick money were for ever accountable. In ſhort, this point was made out beyond the poſſibility of anſwering it, except upon enthuſiaſtick principles. But by that ſort of men all this was called a miſtruſting of God, and a truſting to the arm of fleſh: They had gone out, as they ſaid, in the ſimplicity of their hearts to fight the Lord's battles, to whom they had made the appeal: He had heard them, and appeared for them, and now they could truſt him no longer: They had pulled down monarchy with the monarch, and would they now build that up which they had deſtroyed: They had ſolemnly vowed to God to be true to the Commonwealth, without a King or Kingſhip: And under that vow, as under a banner, they had fought and prevailed: But now they muſt be ſecure, and in order to that go back to *Egypt*: They thought, it was rather a happineſs that they were ſtill under a legal danger: This might be a mean to make them more cautious and diligent: If Kings were invaders of God's right, and uſurpers upon mens liberties, why muſt they have recourſe to ſuch a wicked engine? Upon theſe grounds they ſtood out: And they looked on all that was offered about the limiting this King in his power, as the gilding the pill: The aſſertors of thoſe laws that made it neceſſary to have a King would no ſooner have one, than they would bring forth out of the ſame ſtore-houſe all that related to the power and prerogative of this King: Therefore they would not hearken to any thing that was offered on that head, but rejected it with ſcorn. Many of them began openly to ſay, if we muſt have a King in conſequence of ſo much law as was alledged, why ſhould we not rather have that King to whom the law certainly pointed than any other? The Earl of *Orrery* told me, that, coming one day to *Cromwell* during thoſe heats, and telling him he had been in the City all that day, *Cromwell* asked him what news he had heard there: The other anſwered, that he was told he was in treaty with the King, who was to be reſtored and to marry his daughter. *Cromwell* expreſſing no indignation at this, Lord *Orrery* ſaid, in the ſtate to which things were brought, he ſaw not a better expedient: They might bring him in on what terms they pleaſed: And *Cromwell* might retain the ſame authority he then had with leſs trouble. *Cromwell* anſwered, the King can never forgive his father's blood. *Orrery* ſaid, he was one of many that were concerned in that, but he would be alone in the merit of reſtoring him. *Cromwell* replied, he is ſo damnably debauched he would undo us all; and ſo turned to another diſcourſe without any emotion, which made *Orrery* conclude he had often thought of that expedient.

Before the day in which he refuſed the offer of the Kingſhip that was made to him by the Parliament, he had kept himſelf on ſuch a reſerve that no man knew what anſwer he would give. It was thought more likely he would accept of it: But that which determined him to the contrary was, that, when he went down in the morning to walk in St. *James*'s park, *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* were waiting for him: The one had married his daughter, and the other his ſiſter. With theſe he entered into much diſcourſe on the ſubject, and argued for it: He ſaid, it was a tempting of God to expoſe ſo many worthy men to death and poverty, when there was a certain way to ſecure them. The others inſiſted ſtill on the oaths they had taken. He ſaid, theſe oaths were againſt the power and tyranny of Kings, but not againſt

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the four letters that made the word King. In concluſion, they, believing from his diſcourſe that he intended to accept of it, told him, they ſaw great confuſions would follow on it: And as they could not ſerve him to ſet up the idol they had put down, and had ſworn to keep down, ſo they would not engage in any thing againſt him, but would retire and look on. So they offered him their commiſſions, ſince they were reſolved not to ſerve a King: He deſired they would ſtay till they heard his anſwer. It was believed, that he, ſeeing two perſons ſo near him ready to abandon him, concluded that many others would follow their example; and therefore thought it was too bold a venture. So he refuſed it, but accepted of the continuance of his Protectorſhip. Yet, if he had lived out the next winter, as the debates were to have been brought on again, ſo it was generally thought he would have accepted of the offer. And it is yet a queſtion what the effect of that would have been. Some have thought it would have brought on a general ſettlement, ſince the law and the ancient government were again to take place: Others have fancied juſt the contrary, that it would have engaged the army, ſo that they would either have deſerted the ſervice, or have revolted from him, and perhaps have killed him in the firſt fray of the tumult. I will not determine which of theſe would have moſt probably happened. In theſe debates ſome of the Cavalier party, or rather their children, came to bear ſome ſhare. They were then all zealous Commonwealths-men, according to the directions ſent them from thoſe about the King. Their buſineſs was to oppoſe *Cromwell* on all his demands, and ſo to weaken him at home and expoſe him abroad. When ſome of the other party took notice of this great change, from being the abettors of prerogative to become the patrons of liberty, they pretended their education in the Court and their obligation to it had engaged them that way; but now ſince that was out of doors, they had the common principles of human nature and the love of liberty in them. By this mean as the old republicans aſſiſted and protected them, ſo at the ſame time they ſtrengthened the faction againſt *Cromwell*. But theſe very men at the Reſtoration ſhook of this diſguiſe, and reverted to their old principles for a high prerogative and abſolute power. They ſaid they were for liberty, when it was a mean to diſtreſs one who they thought had no right to govern; but when the government returned to its old channel, they were ſtill as firm to all prerogative notions, and as great enemies to liberty as ever.

Cromwell's engagement with France.

I go next to give an account of *Cromwell's* tranſactions with relation to foreign affairs. He laid it down for a maxim to ſpare no coſt or charge in order to procure him intelligence. When he underſtood what dealers the *Jews* were every where in that trade that depends on news, the advancing money upon high or low intereſts in proportion to the riſque they run or the gain to be made as the times might turn, and in the buying and ſelling of the actions of money ſo advanced, he, more upon that account than in compliance with the principle of toleration, brought a company of them over to *England*, and gave them leave to build a Synagogue. All the while that he was negotiating this, they were ſure and good ſpies for him, eſpecially with relation to *Spain* and *Portugal*. The Earl of *Orrery* told me, he was once walking with him in one of the galleries of *Whitehall*, and a man almoſt in rags came in view: He preſently diſmiſs'd Lord *Orrery*, and carried that man into his cloſet; who brought him an account of a great ſum of money that the *Spaniards* were ſending over to pay their army in *Flanders*, but in a *Dutch* man of war: And he told him the places of the ſhip in which the money was lodged. *Cromwell* ſent an expreſs immediately to *Smith*, afterwards Sir *Jeremy Smith*, who lay in the *Downs*, telling him that within a day or two ſuch a *Dutch* ſhip would paſs the channel, whom he muſt viſit for the *Spaniſh* money, which was contraband goods, we being then in war with *Spain*. So when the ſhip paſs'd by *Dover*, *Smith* ſent and demanded leave to ſearch him. The *Dutch* captain anſwered none but his maſters might ſearch him. *Smith* ſent him word, he had ſet up an hour-glaſs, and if before that was run out he did not ſubmit to the ſearch, he would force it. The Captain ſaw it was in vain to ſtruggle, and ſo all the money was found. Next time that *Cromwell* ſaw *Orrery*, he told him he had his intelligence from that contemptible man he ſaw him go to ſome days before. He had on all occaſions very good intelligence: He knew every thing that paſs'd in the King's little Court: And yet none of his ſpies were diſcovered, but one only.

The greateſt difficulty on him in his foreign affairs was, what ſide to chuſe, *France* or *Spain*. The Prince of *Conde* was then in the *Netherlands* with a great many Pro-

teſtants about him. He ſet the *Spaniards* on making great ſteps towards the gaining *Cromwell* into their intereſts. *Spain* ordered their Ambaſſadour to compliment him: He was eſteem'd one of their ableſt men: His name was *Don Alonſo de Cardenas*: He offered that if *Cromwell* would join with them, they would engage themſelves to make no peace till he ſhould recover *Calais* again to *England*. This was very agreeable to *Cromwell*, who thought it would recommend him much to the Nation, if he could reſtore that town again to the *Engliſh* Empire, after it had been a hundred years in the hands of the *French*. *Mazarin* hearing of this ſent one over to negotiate with him, but at firſt without a character: And, to outbid the *Spaniard*, he offered to aſſiſt *Cromwell* to take *Dunkirk*, which was a place of much more importance. The Prince of *Conde* ſent over likewiſe to offer *Cromwell* to turn Proteſtant; and, if he would give him a fleet with good troops, he would make a deſcent in *Guienne*, where he did not doubt but that he ſhould be aſſiſted by the Proteſtants; and that he ſhould ſo diſtreſs *France*, as to obtain ſuch conditions for them, and for *England*, as *Cromwell* himſelf ſhould dictate. Upon this offer *Cromwell* ſent *Stoupe* round all *France*, to talk with their moſt eminent men, to ſee into their ſtrength, into their preſent diſpoſition, the oppreſſions they lay under, and their inclinations to truſt the Prince of *Conde*. He went from *Paris* down the *Loire*, then to *Bourdeaux*, from thence to *Montauban*, and croſs the ſouth of *France* to *Lions*: He was inſtructed to talk to them only as a traveller, and to aſſure them of *Cromwell*'s zeal and care for them, which he magnified every where. The Proteſtants were then very much at their eaſe: For *Mazarin*, who thought of nothing but to enrich his family, took care to maintain the edicts better than they had been in any time formerly. So *Stoupe* returned, and gave *Cromwell* an account of the eaſe they were then in, and of the reſolution to be quiet. They had a very bad opinion of the Prince of *Conde*, as a man who ſought nothing but his own greatneſs, to which they believed that he was ready to ſacrifice all his friends, and every cauſe that he eſpouſed. This ſettled *Cromwell* as to that particular. He alſo found that the Cardinal had ſuch ſpies on that Prince, that he knew every meſſage that had paſſed between them: Therefore he would have no farther correſpondence with him: He ſaid upon that to *Stoupe*, *Stultus eſt, & garrulus, & venditur à ſuis Cardinali*. That which determined him afterwards in the choice was this: He found the parties grew ſo ſtrong againſt him at home, that he ſaw if the King or his brother were aſſiſted by *France* with an army of *Huguenots* to make a deſcent in *England*, which was threatned if he ſhould join with *Spain*, this might prove very dangerous to him, who had ſo many enemies at home and ſo few friends. This particular conſideration with relation to himſelf made great impreſſion on him; for he knew the *Spaniards* could give thoſe Princes no ſtrength, nor had they any Proteſtant ſubjects to aſſiſt them in any ſuch deſign. Upon this occaſion King *James* told me, that among other prejudices he had at the Proteſtant religion this was one, that both his brother and himſelf, being in many companies in *Paris incognito*, where they met many Proteſtants, he found they were all alienated from them, and were great admirers of *Cromwell*: So he believed they were all rebels in their heart. I anſwered, that foreigners were no other way concerned in the quarrels of their neighbours, than to ſee who could or would aſſiſt them: The coldneſs they had ſeen formerly in the Court of *England* with relation to them, and the zeal which was then expreſſed, muſt naturally make them depend on one that ſeemed reſolved to protect them. As the negotiation went on between *France* and *England*, *Cromwell* would have the King and his brother diſmiſs'd the Kingdom. *Mazarin* conſented to this; for he thought it more honourable, that the *French* King ſhould ſend them away of his own accord, than that it ſhould be done purſuant to an article with *Cromwell*. Great excuſes were made for doing it: They had ſome money given them, and were ſent away loaded with promiſes of conſtant ſupplies that were never meant to be performed: And they retired to *Colen*; for the *Spaniards* were not yet out of hope of gaining *Cromwell*. But when that vaniſhed, they invited them to *Bruxells*, and they ſettled great appointments on them; in their way, which was always to promiſe much, how little ſoever they could perform. They alſo ſettled a pay for ſuch of the ſubjects of the three Kingdoms as would come and ſerve under our Princes: But few came, except from *Ireland*: Of theſe ſome regiments were formed. But though this gave them a great and laſting intereſt in our Court, eſpecially in King *James*'s, yet they did not much to deſerve it.

Before King *Charles* left *Paris* he changed his religion, but by whoſe perſuaſion is not yet known: Only Cardinal *de Retz* was on the ſecret, and Lord *Aubigney* had a great hand in it. It was kept a great ſecret. Chancellour *Hide* had ſome ſuſpicion of it, but would never ſuffer himſelf to believe it quite. Soon after the Reſtoration that Cardinal came over in diſguiſe, and had an audience of the King: What paſs'd is not known. The firſt ground I had to believe it was this: The Marquis *de Roucy*, who was the man of the greateſt family in *France* that continued Proteſtant to the laſt, was much preſſed by that Cardinal to change his religion: He was his Kinſman and his particular friend. Among other reaſons one that he urged was, that the Proteſtant religion muſt certainly be ruined, and that they could expect no protection from *England*, for to his certain knowledge both the Princes were already changed. *Roucy* told this in great confidence to his Miniſter, who after his death ſent an advertiſement of it to my ſelf. Sir *Allen Broderick*, a great confident of the Chancellour's, who from being very atheiſtical became in the laſt years of his life an eminent penitent, as he was a man of great parts, with whom I had lived long in great confidence, on his death-bed ſent me likewiſe an account of this matter, which he believed was done in *Fountainbleau*, before King *Charles* was ſent to *Colen*. As for King *James*, it ſeems he was not reconciled at that time: For he told me, that being in a Monaſtery in *Flanders*, a Nun deſired him to pray every day, that if he was not in the right way God would bring him into it: And he ſaid, the impreſſion theſe words made on him never left him till he changed. *The King turned Papiſt.*

To return to *Cromwell:* While he was ballancing in his mind what was fit for him to do, *Gage*, who had been a Prieſt, came over from the *Weſt-Indies*, and gave him ſuch an account of the feebleneſs as well as of the wealth of the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts, as made him conclude that it would be both a great and an eaſy conqueſt to ſeize on their dominions. By this he reckoned he would be ſupplied with ſuch a treaſure, that his government would be eſtabliſhed before he ſhould need to have any recourſe to a Parliament for money. *Spain* would never admit of a peace with *England* between the tropicks: So he was in a ſtate of war with them as to thoſe parts, even before he declared war in *Europe*. He upon that equipped a Fleet with a force ſufficient, as he hoped, to have ſeized *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*. And *Gage* had aſſured him, that ſucceſs in that expedition would make all the reſt fall into his hands. *Stoupe*, being on another occaſion called to his cloſet, ſaw him one day very intent in looking on a Map, and in meaſuring diſtances. *Stoupe* ſaw it was a Map of the Bay of *Mexico*, and obſerved who printed it. So, there being no diſcourſe upon that ſubject, *Stoupe* went next day to the Printer to buy the Map. The Printer denied he had printed it. *Stoupe* affirmed he had ſeen it. Then, he ſaid, it muſt be only in *Cromwell*'s hand; for he only had ſome of the Prints, and had given him a ſtrict charge to ſell none till he had leave given him. So *Stoupe* perceived there was a deſign that way. And when the time of ſetting out the fleet came on, all were in a gaze whither it was to go: Some fancied it was to rob the Church of *Loretto*, which did occaſion a fortification to be drawn round it: Others talked of *Rome* itſelf; for *Cromwell*'s preachers had this often in their mouths, that if it were not for the diviſions at home he would go and ſack *Babylon:* Others talked of *Cadiz*, tho' he had not yet broke with the *Spaniards*. The *French* could not penetrate into the ſecret. *Cromwell* had not finiſhed his alliance with them: So he was not bound to give them an account of the expedition. All he ſaid upon it was, that he ſent out the fleet to guard the ſeas, and to reſtore *England* to its dominion on that element. *Stoupe* happened to ſay in a company, he believed the deſign was on the *Weſt-Indies*. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, hearing that, ſent for him very privately, to ask him upon what ground he ſaid it: And he offered to lay down 10000 *l.* if he could make any diſcovery of that. *Stoupe* owned to me he had a great mind to the money; and fancied he betrayed nothing if he did diſcover the grounds of theſe conjectures, ſince nothing had been truſted to him: But he expected greater matters from *Cromwell*, and ſo kept the ſecret; and ſaid only, that in a diverſity of conjectures that ſeemed to him more probable than any others. But the Ambaſſadour made no account of that; nor did he think it worth the writing to *Don John*, then at *Bruxells*, about it. *Cromwell's* deſign on the *Weſt-Indies.*

Stoupe writ it over as his conjecture to one about the Prince of *Conde*, who at firſt hearing it was perſuaded that muſt be the deſign, and went next day to ſuggeſt it to *Don John:* But *Don John* relied ſo much on the Ambaſſadour, that this made no impreſſion. And indeed all the Miniſters whom he employed knew that they were

were not to disturb him with troublesome news: Of which King *Charles* told a pleasant story. One whom *Don John* was sending to some Court in *Germany* coming to the King to ask his commands, he desired him only to write him news: The *Spaniard* asked him, whether he would have true or false news: And, when the King seemed amazed at the question, he added, if he writ him true news the King must be secret, for he knew he must write news to *Don John* that would be acceptable, true or false: When the Ministers of that Court shewed that they would be served in such a manner, it is no wonder to see how their affairs have declined. This matter of the fleet continued a great secret. And some months after that *Stoupe* being accidentally with *Cromwell*, one came from the fleet thro' *Ireland* with a letter. The bearer looked like one that brought no welcome news. And as soon as *Cromwell* had read the letter, he dismissed *Stoupe*, who went immediately to the Earl of *Leicester*, then Lord *Lisle*, and told him what he had seen. He being of *Cromwell*'s Council went to *Whitehall*, and came back, and told *Stoupe* of the descent made on *Hispaniola*, and of the misfortune that had happened. It was then late, and was the post-night for *Flanders*. So *Stoupe* writ it as news to his correspondent, some days before the *Spanish* Ambassadour knew any thing of it. *Don John* was amazed at the news, and had never any regard for the Ambassadour after that; but had a great opinion of *Stoupe*, and ordered the Ambassadour to make him theirs at any rate. The Ambassadour sent for him, and asked him, now that it appeared he had guessed right, what were his grounds: And when he told what they were, the Ambassadour owned he had reason to conclude as he did upon what he saw. And upon that he made great use of *Stoupe*: But he himself was never esteemed after that so much as he had been. This deserved to be set down so particularly, since by it it appears that the greatest design may be discover'd by an undue carelessness. The Court of *France* was amazed at the undertaking, and was glad that it had miscarried; for the Cardinal said, if he had suspected it, he would have made peace with *Spain* on any terms, rather than to have given way to that which would have been such an addition to *England*, as must have brought all the wealth of the world into their hands. The fleet took *Jamaica*: But that was a small gain, tho' much magnified to cover the failing of the main design. The war after that broke out, in which *Dunkirk* was indeed taken, and put in *Cromwell*'s hand: But the trade of *England* suffered more in that, than in any former war: So he lost the heart of the city of *London* by that means.

His zeal for the Protestant religion.

Cromwell had two signal occasions given him to shew his zeal in protecting the Protestants abroad. The Duke of *Savoy* raised a new persecution of the *Vaudois*: So *Cromwell* sent to *Mazarin*, desiring him to put a stop to that; adding, that he knew well they had that Duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleased: And if they did not he must presently break with them. *Mazarin* objected to this as unreasonable: He promised to do good offices: But he could not be obliged to answer for the effects they might have. This did not satisfy *Cromwell*: So they obliged the Duke of *Savoy* to put a stop to that unjust fury: and *Cromwell* raised a great sum for the *Vaudois*, and sent over *Morland* to settle all their concerns, and to supply all their losses. There was also a tumult in *Nismes*, in which some disorder had been committed by the *Huguenots*: And they, apprehending severe proceedings upon it, sent one over with great expedition to *Cromwell*, who sent him back to *Paris* in an hour's time with a very effectual letter to his Ambassadour, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be pass'd over, or to come away immediately. *Mazarin* complained of this way of proceeding, as too imperious: But the necessity of their affairs made him yield. These things raised *Cromwell*'s character abroad, and made him be much depended on.

His Ambassadour in *France* at this time was *Lockhart*, a *Scotchman*, who had married his niece, and was in high favour with him, as he well deserved to be. He was both a wise and a gallant man, calm and vertuous, and one that carried the generosities of friendship very far. He was made governour of *Dunkirk*, and Ambassadour at the same time. But he told me, that when he was sent afterwards Ambassadour by King *Charles*, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid him in *Cromwell*'s time.

A great design for the interest of the Protestant religion.

Stoupe told me of a great design *Cromwell* had intended to begin his Kingship with, if he had assumed it: He resolved to set up a Council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation *de Propaganda fide* at *Rome*. He intended it should consist of seven councellours, and four secretaries for different provinces. These were

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the first, *Rome*, *Switzerland*, and the *Valleys*: The *Palatinate* and the other Calvinists were the second: *Germany*, the *North*, and *Turkey* were the third: And the *East* and *West-Indies* were the fourth. The secretaries were to have 500 *l.* salary apiece, and to keep a correspondence every where, to know the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means protected and assisted. *Stoupe* was to have the first Province. They were to have a fund of 10000 *l.* a year at their disposal for ordinary emergences, but to be farther supplied as occasions should require it. *Chelsea* college was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building, that had been at first raised to be a college for writers of controversy. I thought it was not fit to let such a project as this be quite lost: It was certainly a noble one: But how far he would have pursued it must be left to conjecture.

Some passages in *Cromwell's* life.

Stoupe told me a remarkable passage in his employment under *Cromwell*. *Stoupe* had desired all that were under the Prince of *Conde* to let him know some news, in return of that he writ to them. So he had a letter from one of them, giving an account of an *Irishman* newly gone over, who had said he would kill *Cromwell*, and that he was to lodge in *King-street Westminster*. With this *Stoupe* went to *Whitehall*. *Cromwell* being then at Council, he sent him a note, letting him know that he had a business of great consequence to lay before him. *Cromwell* was then upon a matter that did so entirely possess him, that he, fancying it was only some piece of foreign intelligence, sent *Thurlo* to know what it might be. *Stoupe* was troubled at this but could not refuse to shew him his letter. *Thurlo* made no great matter of it: He said, they had many such advertisements sent them, which signified nothing but to make the world think the Protector was in danger of his life: And the looking too much after these things had an appearance of fear, which did ill become so great a man. *Stoupe* told him, *King-street* might be soon searched. *Thurlo* answered, if we find no such person, how shall we be laught at? Yet he ordered him to write again to *Bruxells*, and promise any reward if a more particular discovery could be made. *Stoupe* was much cast down, when he saw that a piece of intelligence which he hoped might have made his fortune was so little considered. He wrote to *Bruxells*: But he had no more from thence, but a confirmation of what had been writ formerly to him. And *Thurlo* did not think fit to make any search, or any farther inquiry into it: Nor did he so much as acquaint *Cromwell* with it. *Stoupe*, being uneasy at this, told Lord *Lisle* of it: And it happened that, a few weeks after, *Sindercomb's* design of assassinating *Cromwell* near *Brentford*, as he was going to *Hampton-court*, was discovered. When he was examined, it appeared that he was the person set out in the letters from *Bruxells*. So *Lisle* said to *Cromwell*, this is the very man of whom *Stoupe* had the notice given him. *Cromwell* seemed amazed at this; and sent for *Stoupe*, and in great wrath reproached him for his ingratitude in concealing a matter of such consequence to him. *Stoupe* upon this shewed him the letter he had received; and put him in mind of the note he had sent in to him, which was immediately after he had the first letter, and that he had sent out *Thurlo* to him. At that *Cromwell* seemed yet more amazed; and sent for *Thurlo*, to whose face *Stoupe* affirmed the matter: Nor did he deny any part of it; but only said, that he had many such advertisements sent him, in which till this time he had never found any truth. *Cromwell* replied sternly, that he ought to have acquainted him with it, and left him to judge of the importance of it. *Thurlo* desired to speak in private with *Cromwell*. So *Stoupe* was dismis'd, and went away not doubting but *Thurlo* would be disgraced. But, as he understood from *Lisle* afterward, *Thurlo* shewed *Cromwell* such instances of his care and fidelity on all such occasions, and humbly acknowledged his errour in this matter, but imputed it wholly to his care both for his honour and quiet, that he pacified him entirely: And indeed he was so much in all *Cromwell's* secrets, that it was not safe to disgrace him without destroying him; and that it seems *Cromwell* could not resolve on. *Thurlo* having mattered this point, that he might farther justify his not being so attentive as he ought to have been, did so much search into *Stoupe's* whole deportment, that he possessed *Cromwell* with such an ill opinion of him, that after that he never treated him with any confidence. So he found how dangerous it was even to preserve a Prince, (so he called him) when a Minister was wounded in the doing of it; and that the Minister would be too hard for the Prince, even tho' his own safety was concerned in it.

These are all the memorable things that I have learnt concerning *Cromwell*; of whom so few have spoken with any temper, some commending, and others condemning

ning him, and both out of meaſure, that I thought a juſt account of him, which I had from ſure hands, might be no unacceptable thing. He never could ſhake off the roughneſs of his education and temper: He ſpoke always long and very ungracefully. The enthuſiaſt and the diſſembler mixed ſo equally in a great part of his deportment, that it was not eaſy to tell which was the prevailing character. He was indeed both, as I underſtood from *Wilkins* and *Tillotſon*, the one having married his ſiſter, and the other his niece. He was a true enthuſiaſt, but with the principle formerly mentioned, from which he might be eaſily led into all the practices both of falſhood and cruelty: Which was, that he thought moral laws were only binding on ordinary occaſions, but that upon extraordinary ones theſe might be ſuperſeded. When his own deſigns did not lead him out of the way, he was a lover of juſtice and vertue, and even of learning, tho' much decried at that time.

His moderation in government.

He ſtudied to ſeek out able and honeſt men, and to employ them: And ſo having heard that my father had a very great reputation in *Scotland* for piety and integrity, tho' he knew him to be a royaliſt, he ſent to him, deſiring him to accept of a judge's place, and to do juſtice in his own country, hoping only that he would not act againſt his government; but he would not preſs him to ſubſcribe or ſwear to it. My father refuſed it in a pleaſant way. When he who brought the meſſage was running out into *Cromwell*'s commendation, my father told a ſtory of a Pilgrim in Popery, who came to a church where one Saint *Kilmaclotius* was in great reverence: So the Pilgrim was bid pray to him: But he anſwered, he knew nothing of him, for he was not in his breviary: But when he was told how great a Saint he was, he prayed this collect; *O ſancte Kilmacloti, tu nobis hactenus es incognitus, hoc ſolum à te rogo, ut ſi bona tua nobis non proſint, ſaltem mala ne noceant.* My father replied, that he deſired no other favour of him but leave to live privately, without the impoſitions of oaths and ſubſcriptions: And ever after he lived in great quiet. And this was an inſtance of it: *Overton* one of *Cromwell*'s major generals, who was a high Republican, being for ſome time at *Aberdeen*, where we then lived, my father and he were often together: In particular they were ſhut up alone for about two hours the night after the order came from *Cromwell* to take away *Overton*'s commiſſions, and to put him in arreſt. Upon that *Howard*, afterward Earl of *Carliſle*, being ſent down to enquire into all the plots that thoſe men had been in, heard of this long privacy: But, when with that he heard what my father's character was, he made no farther enquiry into it; but ſaid, *Cromwell* was very uneaſy when any good man was queſtioned for any thing.

His publick ſpirit.

This gentleneſs had in a great meaſure quieted people's minds with relation to him. And his maintaining the honour of the Nation in all foreign countries gratifyed the vanity which is very natural to *Engliſhmen*; of which he was ſo careful, that tho' he was not a crowned head, yet his Ambaſſadours had all the reſpects paid them which our King's Ambaſſadours ever had: He ſaid, the dignity of the Crown was upon the account of the Nation, of which the King was only the repreſentative head; ſo the Nation being ſtill the ſame, he would have the ſame regards paid to his Miniſters.

Another inſtance of this pleaſed him much. *Blake* with the fleet happened to be at *Malaga* before he made war upon *Spain:* And ſome of his ſeamen went aſhore, and met the Hoſtie carried about; and not only paid no reſpect to it, but laughed at thoſe who did: So one of the Prieſts put the people on reſenting this indignity; and they fell upon them, and beat them ſeverely. When they returned to their ſhip they complained of this uſage: And upon that *Blake* ſent a trumpet to the Viceroy, to demand the Prieſt who was the chief inſtrument in that ill uſage. The Viceroy anſwered, he had no authority over the Prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of him. *Blake* upon that ſent him word, that he would not enquire who had the power to ſend the Prieſt to him, but if he were not ſent within three hours he would burn their town: And they, being in no condition to reſiſt him, ſent the Prieſt to him, who juſtified himſelf upon the petulant behaviour of the ſeamen. *Blake* anſwered, that if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place at which he touched: But he took it ill, that he ſet on the *Spaniards* to do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an *Engliſhman* was only to be puniſhed by an *Engliſhman:* And ſo he treated the Prieſt civilly, and ſent him back, being ſatisfied that he had him at his mercy.

Cromwell was much delighted with this, and read the letters in Council with great satisfaction; and said, he hoped he should make the name of an *Englishman* as great as ever that of a *Roman* had been. The States of *Holland* were in such dread of him, that they took care to give him no sort of umbrage: And when at any time the King or his brothers came to see their sister, the Princess royal, within a day or two after they used to send a deputation to let them know that *Cromwell* had required of the States that they should give them no harbour. King *Charles*, when he was seeking for colours for the war with the *Dutch* in the year 1672, urged it for one, that they suffered some of his rebels to live in their Provinces. *Borel*, then their Ambassadour, answered, that it was a maxim of long standing among them, not to enquire upon what account strangers came to live in their country, but to receive them all, unless they had been concerned in conspiracies against the Persons of Princes. The King told him upon that, how they had used both himself and his brother. *Borel*, in great simplicity, answered: *Ha! sire, c'estoit une autre chose: Cromwell estoit un grand homme, & il se faisoit craindre & par terre & par mer.* This was very rough. The King's answer was: *Je me feray craindre aussy à mon tour:* But he was scarce as good as his word.

All the world was afraid of him.

Cromwell's favourite alliance was with *Sweden*. *Carolus Gustavus* and he lived in great conjunction of counsels. Even *Algernoon Sidney*, who was not inclined to think or speak well of Kings, commended him to me; and said, he had just notions of publick liberty; and added, that Queen *Christina* seemed to have them likewise. But she was much changed from that, when I waited on her at *Rome*; for she complained of us as a factious Nation, that did not readily comply with the commands of our Princes. All *Italy* trembled at the name of *Cromwell*, and seemed under a panick fear as long as he lived. His fleet scoured the *Mediterranean*: And the *Turks* durst not offend him; but deliver'd up *Hide*, who kept up the character of an Ambassadour from the King there, and was brought over and executed for it. The putting the brother of the King of *Portugal's* Ambassadour to death for murder, was the carrying justice very far; since, tho' in the strictness of the law of nations it is only the Ambassadour's own person that is exempted from any authority but his master's that sends him, yet the practice had gone in favour of all that the Ambassadour owned to belong to him. *Cromwell* shewed his good understanding in nothing more, than in seeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but most particularly for the Courts of law, which gave a general satisfaction.

Thus he lived, and at last died, on his auspicious third of *September*, of so slight a sickness, that his death was not looked for. He had two sons, and four daughters. His sons were weak, but honest men. *Richard*, the eldest, tho' declared Protector in pursuance of a nomination pretended to be made by *Cromwell*, the truth of which was much questioned, was not at all bred for business, nor indeed capable of it. He was innocent of all the ill his father had done: So there was no prejudice lay against him: And both the Royalists and the Presbyterians fancied he favoured them, tho' he pretended to be an Independent. But all the Commonwealth party cried out upon his assuming the Protectorship, as a high usurpation; since whatever his father had from his Parliaments was only personal, and so fell with him: Yet in opposition to this the City of *London*, and all the Counties and Cities almost in *England*, sent him addresses congratulatory, as well as condoling. So little do these pompous appearances of respect signify. *Tillotson* told me, that a week after *Cromwell's* death he being by accident at *Whitehall*, and hearing there was to be a fast that day in the household, he out of curiosity went into the presence chamber where it was held. On the one side of a table *Richard* with the rest of *Cromwell's* family were placed, and six of the preachers were on the other side: *Thomas Goodwin*, *Owen*, *Carril* and *Sterry* were of the number. There he heard a great deal of strange stuff, enough to disgust a man for ever of that enthusiastick boldness. God was as it were reproached with *Cromwell's* services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. *Goodwin*, who had pretended to assure them in a prayer that he was not to die, which was but a very few minutes before he expired, had now the impudence to say to God, *thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived*. *Sterry* praying for *Richard*, used those indecent words, next to blasphemy, *make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person*. *Richard* was put on giving his father a pompous funeral, by which his debts encreased so upon him, that he was soon run out of all credit. When the Parliament met, his party tried to get a recognition of his Protectorship,

The ruin of his family

tectorſhip: But it ſoon appeared, they had no ſtrength to carry it. *Hedworth*, who married *Ireton*'s Widow, ſet up a Council of officers: And theſe reſolved to lay aſide *Richard*, who had neither genius nor friends, neither treaſure nor army to ſupport him. He deſired only ſecurity for the debts he had contracted; which was promiſed, but not performed. And ſo without any ſtruggle he withdrew, and became a private man. And as he had done hurt to no body, ſo no body did ever ſtudy to hurt him, by a rare inſtance of the inſtability of human greatneſs, and of the ſecurity of innocence. His brother had been made by the father Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and had the moſt ſpirit of the two; but he could not ſtand his ground, when his brother quitted his. One of *Cromwell*'s daughters was married to *Claypole*, and died a little before himſelf: Another was married to the Earl of *Falconbridge*, a wiſe and worthy woman, more likely to have maintained the poſt than either of her brothers; according to a ſaying that went of her, that thoſe who wore breeches deſerved petticoats better, but if thoſe in petticoats had been in breeches they would have held faſter. The other daughter was married, firſt to the Earl of *Warwick*'s heir, and afterwards to one *Ruſſel*. They were both very worthy perſons.

Great diſorders followed.

Upon *Richard*'s leaving the ſtage, the Commonwealth was again ſet up: And the Parliament which *Cromwell* had broke was brought together: But the army and they fell into new diſputes: So they were again broke by the army: And upon that the Nation was like to fall into great convulſions. The enthuſiaſts became very fierce, and talked of nothing but the deſtroying all the records and the law, which they ſaid had been all made by a ſucceſſion of Tyrants and Papiſts: So they reſolved to model all anew by a levelling and a ſpiritual government of the Saints. There was ſo little ſenſe in this, that *Nevil* and *Harrington* with ſome others ſet up in *Weſtminſter* a meeting to conſider of a form of government that ſhould ſecure liberty, and yet preſerve the Nation. They ran chiefly on having a Parliament elected by ballot, in which the Nation ſhould be repreſented according to the proportion of what was paid in taxes towards the publick expence: And by this Parliament a Council of twenty four was to be choſen by ballot: And every year eight of theſe were to be changed, and might not again be brought into it, but after an interval of three years: By theſe the Nation was to be governed: And they were to give an account of the adminiſtration to the Parliament every year. This meeting was a matter of diverſion and ſcorn, to ſee a few perſons take upon them to form a ſcheme of government: And it made many conclude it was neceſſary to call home the King, that ſo matters might again fall into their old channel. *Lambert* became the man on whom the army depended moſt. Upon his forcing the Parliament, great applications were made to *Monk* to declare for the Parliament: But under this the declaring for the King was generally underſtood. Yet he kept himſelf under ſuch a reſerve, that he declared all the while in the moſt ſolemn manner for a Commonwealth, and againſt a ſingle perſon, in particular againſt the King: So that none had any ground from him to believe he had any deſign that way. Some have thought that he intended to try, if it was poſſible, to ſet up for himſelf: Others rather believed, that he had no ſettled deſign any way, and reſolved to do as occaſion ſhould be offered to him. The *Scottiſh* Nation did certainly hope he would bring home the King. He drew the greateſt part of the army towards the borders, where *Lambert* advanced towards him with 7000 horſe. *Monk* was ſtronger in foot: But being apprehenſive of engaging on diſadvantage, he ſent *Clarges* to the Lord *Fairfax* for his advice and aſſiſtance, who returned anſwer by Dr. *Fairfax*, afterwards ſecretary to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and aſſured him he would raiſe *Yorkſhire* on the firſt of *January*. And he deſired him to preſs upon *Lambert*, in caſe that he ſhould ſend a detachment into *Yorkſhire*. On the firſt of *January*, *Fairfax* appeared with about a 100 gentlemen and their ſervants. But ſo much did he ſtill maintain his great credit with the Army, that the night after the *Iriſh* Brigade, that conſiſted of 1200 horſe and was the rear of *Lambert*'s army, came over to him. Upon that *Lambert* retreated, finding his army was ſo little ſure to him, and reſolved to march back to *London*. He was followed by *Monk*, who when he came to *Yorkſhire* met with *Fairfax*, and offered to reſign the chief command to him. The Lord *Fairfax* refuſed it, but preſs'd *Monk* to declare for a free Parliament: Yet in that he was ſo reſerved to him, that *Fairfax* knew not how to depend on him. But as *Lambert* was making haſte up, his army mouldered away, and he himſelf was brought up a priſoner, and was put in the Tower of *London*. Yet not long after he made his eſcape, and gathered a few troops about him in *Northamp-*

*Northampton*ſhire. But theſe were ſoon ſcattered: For *Ingoldsby*, tho' one of the King's judges, raiſed *Buckingham*ſhire againſt him. And ſo little force ſeemed now in that party, that with very little oppoſition *Ingoldsby* took him priſoner, and brought him into *Northampton*: Where *Lambert*, as *Ingoldsby* told me, entertained him with a pleaſant reflection for all his misfortunes. The people were in great crouds applauding and rejoycing for the ſucceſs. So *Lambert* put *Ingoldsby* in mind of what *Cromwell* had ſaid to them both, near that very place, in the year 1650, when they with a body of the officers were going down after their army that was marching to *Scotland*, the people all the while ſhouting and wiſhing them ſucceſs: *Lambert* upon that ſaid to *Cromwell*, he was glad to ſee they had the Nation on their ſide: *Cromwell* anſwered, do not truſt to that; for theſe very perſons would ſhout as much if you and I were going to be hanged. *Lambert* ſaid, he looked on himſelf as in a fair way to that, and began to think *Cromwell* propheſied.

Upon the diſperſing *Lambert*'s army, *Monk* marched ſouthward, and was now the object of all mens hope. At *London* all ſorts of people began to cabal together, Royaliſts, Presbyterians, and Republicans. *Hollis* told me, the Presbyterians preſſed the Royaliſts to be quiet, and to leave the game in their hands; for their appearing would give jealouſy, and hurt that which they meant to promote. He and *Aſhly Cooper*, *Grimſtone* and *Anneſly*, met often with *Manchester*, *Roberts*, and the reſt of the Presbyterian party: And the Miniſters of *London* were very active in the City: So that when *Monk* came up, he was preſſed to declare himſelf. At firſt he would only declare for the Parliament that *Lambert* had forced. But there was then a great fermentation all over the Nation. *Monk* and the Parliament grew jealous of one another, even while they tried who could give the beſt words, and expreſs their confidence in the higheſt terms of one another. I will purſue the relation of this tranſaction no farther: For this matter is well known.

The King had gone in Autumn 1659 to the meeting at the *Pyrenees*, where Cardinal *Mazarin* and *Don Lewis de Haro* were negotiating a peace. He applied himſelf to both ſides, to try what aſſiſtance he might expect upon their concluding the peace. It was then known, that he went to Maſs ſometimes, that ſo he might recommend himſelf the more effectually to both Courts: Yet this was carried ſecretly, and was confidently denied. *Mazarin* ſtill talked to *Lockhart* upon the foot of the old confidence: For he went thither to watch over the treaty; tho' *England* was now in ſuch convulſions, that no Miniſter from thence could be much conſidered, unleſs it was upon his own account. But matters were ripening ſo faſt towards a revolution in *England*, that the King came back to *Flanders* in all haſte, and went from thence to *Breda*. *Lockhart* had it in his power to have made a great fortune, if he had begun firſt, and had brought the King to *Dunkirk*. As ſoon as the peace of the *Pyrenees* was made, he came over and found *Monk* at *London*, and took all the pains he could to penetrate into his deſigns. But *Monk* continued ſtill to proteſt to him in the ſolemneſt manner poſſible, that he would be true to the Commonwealth, and againſt the Royal family. *Lockhart* went away, perſuaded that matters would continue ſtill in the ſame ſtate: So that when his old friend *Midletoun* writ to him to make his own terms, if he would invite the King to *Dunkirk*, he ſaid, he was truſted by the Commonwealth, and could not betray it.

All turn to the King's ſide.

The Houſe of Commons put *Monk* on breaking the gates of the City of *London*, not doubting but that would render him ſo odious to them, that it would force him to depend wholly on themſelves. He did it: And ſoon after he ſaw how odious he was become by it. So conceiving a high indignation at thoſe who had put him on ſuch an ungracious piece of ſervice, he ſent about all that night to the Miniſters and other active citizens, aſſuring them that he would quickly repair that errour, if they would forgive it. So the turn was ſudden: For the City ſent and invited him to dine the next day at *Guildhall*: And there he declared for the members whom the Army had forced away in the year 47 and 48, who were known by the name of *ſecluded members*. And ſome happening to call the body that then ſat at *Weſtminſter* the Rump of a Parliament, a ſudden humour run like a madneſs through the whole City, of roaſting the Rumps of all ſorts of animals. And thus the City expreſſed themſelves ſufficiently. Thoſe at *Weſtminſter* had no ſupport: So they fell unpitied, and unregarded. The ſecluded members came, and ſate down among them. But all they could do was to give orders for the ſummoning a new Parliament to meet the firſt of *May*: And ſo they declared themſelves diſſolved.

Care taken to manage the Army.

There was ſtill a murmuring in the Army. So great care was taken to ſcatter them in wide quarters, and not to ſuffer too many of thoſe who were ſtill for the old cauſe to lie near one another. The well and the ill affected were ſo mixed, that in caſe of any inſurrection ſome might be ready at hand to aſſiſt them. They changed the officers that were ill affected, who were not thought fit to be truſted with the commanding thoſe of their own ſtamp; and ſo created a miſtruſt between the officers and the ſoldiers. And above all they took care to have no more troops than was neceſſary about the City: And theſe were the beſt affected. This was managed with great diligence and skill: And by this conduct it was, that the great turn was brought about without the leaſt tumult or bloodſhed, which was beyond what any perſon could have imagined. Of all this *Monk* had both the praiſe and the reward; tho' I have been told a very ſmall ſhare of it belonged to him. Admiral *Montague* was then in chief command at ſea, newly returned from the *Sound*, where he and *de Ruyter*, upon the orders they received from their Maſters, had brought the two northern Kings to a peace, the King of *Sweden* dying as it was a making up. He was ſoon gained to be for the King; and dealt ſo effectually with the whole Fleet, that the turn there was as ſilently brought about, without any revolt or oppoſition, as it had been in the Army. The Republicans went about like madmen, to rouſe up their party. But their time was paſt. All were either as men amazed or aſleep. They had neither the skill, nor the courage to make any oppoſition. The elections of Parliament men run all the other way. So they ſaw their buſineſs was quite loſt, and they felt themſelves ſtruck as with a ſpirit of giddineſs. And then every man thought only how to ſave or ſecure himſelf. And now they ſaw how deceitful the argument from ſucceſs was, which they had uſed ſo oft, and triumphed ſo much upon. For whereas ſucceſs in the field, which was the foundation of their argument, depended much upon the conduct and courage of armies, in which the will of man had a large ſhare, here was a thing of another nature: A Nation, that had run on long in ſuch a fierce oppoſition to the Royal family, was now turned as one man to call home the King.

The Nation had one great happineſs during the long courſe of the civil war, that no foreigners had got footing among them. *Spain* was ſinking to nothing: *France* was under a baſe-ſpirited Miniſter: And both were in war all the while. Now a peace was made between them. And very probably, according to what is in *Mazarin*'s letters, they would have joined forces to have reſtored the King. The Nation was by this means entirely in its own hands: And now returning to its wits was in a condition to put every thing in joint again: Whereas, if foreigners had been poſſeſſed of any important place, they might have had a large ſhare of the management, and would have been ſure of taking care of themſelves. Enthuſiaſm was now languid: For that owing its mechanical force to the livelineſs of the blood and ſpirits, men in diſorder and depreſſed could not raiſe in themſelves thoſe heats, with which they were formerly wont to tranſport both themſelves and others. Chancellour *Hide* was all this while very buſy: He ſent over Dr. *Morley*, who talked much with the Presbyterians of moderation in general, but would enter into no particulars: Only he took care to let them know he was a *Calviniſt*: And they had the beſt opinion of ſuch of the Church of *England* as were of that perſuaſion. *Hide* wrote in the King's name to all the leading men, and got the King to write a great many letters in a very obliging manner. Some that had been faulty ſent over conſiderable preſents, with aſſurances that they would redeem all that was paſt with their zeal for the future. Theſe were all accepted of. Their money was alſo very welcome; for the King needed money when his matters were on that criſis and he had ſo many tools at work. The management of all this was ſo entirely the Chancellour's ſingle performance, that there was ſcarce any other that had ſo much as a ſhare in it with him. He kept a regiſter of all the King's promiſes, and of his own; and did all that lay in his power afterwards to get them all to be performed. He was alſo all that while giving the King many wiſe and good advices. But he did it too much with the air of a governour, or of a lawyer. Yet then the King was wholly in his hands.

A new Parliament.

I need not open the ſcene of the new Parliament, (or Convention, as it came afterwards to be called, becauſe it was not ſummoned by the King's writ: Such unanimity appeared in their proceedings, that there was not the leaſt diſpute among them, but upon one ſingle point: Yet that was a very important one. *Hale*, afterwards the famous Chief Juſtice, moved that a Committee might be appointed to look into the propo-

propoſitions that had been made, and the conceſſions that had been offered by the late King during the war, particularly at the treaty of *Newport*, that from thence they might digeſt ſuch propoſitions as they ſhould think fit to be ſent over to the King. This was ſeconded, but I do not remember by whom. It was foreſeen, that ſuch a motion might be ſet on foot: So *Monk* was inſtructed how to anſwer it, whenſoever it ſhould be propoſed. He told the Houſe, that there was yet, beyond all mens hope, an univerſal quiet all over the Nation; but there were many incendiaries ſtill on the watch, trying where they could firſt raiſe the flame. He ſaid, he had ſuch copious informations ſent him of theſe things, that it was not fit they ſhould be generally known: He could not anſwer for the peace, either of the Nation or of the Army, if any delay was put to the ſending for the King: What need was there of ſending propoſitions to him? Might they not as well prepare them, and offer them to him, when he ſhould come over? He was to bring neither army nor treaſure with him, either to fright them or to corrupt them. So he moved, that they would immediately ſend commiſſioners to bring over the King: And ſaid, that he muſt lay the blame of all the blood or miſchief that might follow on the heads of thoſe, who ſhould ſtill inſiſt on any motion that might delay the preſent ſettlement of the Nation. This was echo'd with ſuch a ſhout over the Houſe, that the motion was no more inſiſted on.

This was indeed the great ſervice that *Monk* did. It was chiefly owing to the poſt he was in, and to the credit he had gained: For as to the Reſtoration itſelf, the tide run ſo ſtrong, that he only went into it dexterouſly enough, to get much fame, and great rewards, for that which will have ſtill a great appearance in hiſtory. If he had died ſoon after, he might have been more juſtly admired, becauſe leſs known, and ſeen only in one advantageous light: But he lived long enough to make it known, how falſe a judgment men are apt to make upon outward appearance. To the King's coming in without conditions may be well imputed all the errours of his reign. And when the Earl of *Southampton* came to ſee what he was like to prove, he ſaid once in great wrath to Chancellour *Hide*, it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not poſſeſſed them in all his letters with ſuch an opinion of the King, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power either to do himſelf or them any miſchief, which was like to be the effect of their truſting him ſo entirely. *Hide* anſwered, that he thought the King had ſo true a judgment, and ſo much good nature, that when the age of pleaſure ſhould be over, and the idleneſs of his exile, which made him ſeek new diverſions for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would have ſhaken off thoſe entanglements. I muſt put my reader in mind, that I leave all common tranſactions to ordinary books, if at any time I ſay things that occur in any books, it is partly to keep the thread of the narration in an unintangled method, and partly, becauſe I neither have heard nor read thoſe things in books; or at leaſt, I do not remember to have read them ſo clearly and ſo particularly as I have related them. I now leave a mad and confuſed ſcene, to open a more auguſt and ſplendid one.

They called home the King without a treaty.

THE

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK II.

Of the first Twelve Years of the Reign of KING Charles II. *from the Year* 1660 *to the Year* 1673.

DIVIDE King *Charles*'s reign into two books, not so much because, consisting of twenty four years, it fell, if divided at all, naturally to put twelve years, in a book: But I have a much better reason for it, since as to the first twelve years, tho' I knew the affairs of *Scotland* very authentically, yet I had only such a general knowledge of the affairs of *England* as I could pick up at a distance: Whereas I lived so near the scene, and had indeed such a share in several parts of it, during the last twelve years, that I can write of these with much more certainty, as well as more fully, than of the first twelve. I will therefore enlarge more particularly, within the compass that I have fixed for this book, on the affairs of *Scotland*; both out of the inbred love that all men have for their native country, and more particularly, that I may leave some

1660.

1660.

useful instructions to those of my own order and profession by representing to them the conduct of the Bishops of *Scotland:* For having observed with more than ordinary niceness all the errours that were committed, both at the first setting up of Episcopacy, and in the whole progress of its continuance in *Scotland* till it was again overturned there, I am enabled to let all that matter in a full view and in a clear light.

Many went over to the *Hague.*

As soon as it was fixed that the King was to be restored, a great many went over to make their court: Among these *Sharp*, who was employed by the Presbyterians of *Scotland*, was one. He carried with him a letter from the Earl of *Glencairn* to *Hyde*, made soon after Earl of *Clarendon*, recommending him as the only person capable to manage the design of setting up Episcopacy in *Scotland*: Upon which he was received into great confidence. Yet, as he had observed very carefully the success of *Monk*'s solemn protestations against the King and for a Commonwealth, it seems he was so pleased with the original that he resolved to copy after it, without letting himself be diverted from it by scruples: For he stuck neither at solemn protestations, both by word of mouth and by letters (of which I have seen many proofs,) nor at appeals to God of his sincerity in acting for the Presbytery both in prayers and on other occasions, joining with these many dreadful imprecations on himself if he did prevaricate. He was all the while maintained by the Presbyterians as their agent, and continu'd to give them a constant account of the progress of his negotiation in their service, while he was indeed undermining it. This piece of craft was so visible, he having repeated his protestations to as many persons as then grew jealous of him, that when he threw off the mask, about a year after this, it laid a foundation of such a character of him, that nothing could ever bring people to any tolerable thoughts of a man, whose dissimulation and treachery was so well known, and of which so many proofs were to be seen under his own hand.

The Nation was over-run with vice and drunkenness.

With the Restoration of the King a spirit of extravagant joy spread over the Nation, that brought on with it the throwing off the very professions of vertue and piety: All ended in entertainments and drunkenness, which over-run the three Kingdoms to such a degree, that it very much corrupted all their morals. Under the colour of drinking the King's health, there were great disorders and much riot every where: And the pretences of religion, both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest but no less pernicious enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matter to the prophane mockers of true piety. Those who had been concerned in the former transactions thought, they could not redeem themselves from the censures and jealousies that those brought on them by any method that was more sure and more easy, than by going into the stream, and laughing at all religion, telling or making stories to expose both themselves and their party as impious and ridiculous.

The King's character.

The King was then thirty years of age, and, as might have been supposed, past the levities of youth and the extravagance of pleasure. He had a very good understanding. He knew well the state of affairs both at home and abroad. He had a softness of temper that charmed all who came near him, till they found how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promises; in which he was liberal to excess, because he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of importunites, and to silence all farther pressing upon him. He seemed to have no sense of religion: Both at prayers and sacrament he, as it were, took care to satisfy people, that he was in no sort concerned in that about which he was employed. So that he was very far from being an hypocrite, unless his assisting at those performances was a sort of hypocrisy, (as no doubt it was:) But he was sure not to encrease that by any the least appearance of religion. He said once to my self, he was no atheist, but he could not think God would make a man miserable only for taking a little pleasure out of the way. He disguised his Popery to the last. But when he talked freely, he could not help letting himself out against the liberty that under the Reformation all men took of enquiring into matters of religion: For from their enquiring into matters of religion they carried the humour farther, to enquire into matters of state. He said often, he thought government was a much safer and easier thing where the authority was believed infallible, and the faith and submission of the people was implicite: About which I had once much discourse with him. He was affable and easy, and loved to be made so by all about him. The great art of keeping him long was, the being easy, and the making every thing easy to him. He had made

such

such observations on the *French* government, that he thought a King who might be checkt, or have his Ministers called to an account by a Parliament, was but a King in name. He had a great compass of knowledge, tho' he was never capable of much application or study. He understood the Mechanicks and Physick; and was a good Chymist, and much set on several preparations of Mercury, chiefly the fixing it. He understood navigation well: But above all he knew the architecture of ships so perfectly, that in that respect he was exact rather more than became a Prince. His apprehension was quick, and his memory good. He was an everlasting talker. He told his stories with a good grace: But they came in his way too often. He had a very ill opinion both of men and women; and did not think that there was either sincerity or chastity in the world out of principle, but that some had either the one or the other out of humour or vanity. He thought that no body did serve him out of love: And so he was quits with all the world, and loved others as little as he thought they loved him. He hated business, and could not be easily brought to mind any. But when it was necessary, and he was set to it, he would stay as long as his Ministers had work for him. The ruine of his reign, and of all his affairs, was occasioned chiefly by his delivering himself up at his first coming over to a mad range of pleasure. One of the race of the *Villers*, then married to *Palmer*, a Papist, soon after made Earl of *Castlemain*, who afterwards being separated from him was advanced to be Duchess of *Cleveland*, was his first and longest mistress, by whom he had five children. She was a woman of great beauty, but most enormously vitious and ravenous; foolish but imperious, very uneasy to the King, and always carrying on intrigues with other men, while yet she pretended she was jealous of him. His passion for her and her strange behaviour toward him, did so disorder him, that often he was not master of himself, nor capable of minding business, which in so critical a time required great application: But he did then so entirely trust the Earl of *Clarendon*, that he left all to his care, and submitted to his advices as to so many oracles. 1660.

Clarendon's character.

The Earl of *Clarendon* was bred to the Law, and was like to grow eminent in his profession when the wars began. He distinguished himself so in the House of Commons, that he became considerable, and was much trusted all the while the King was at *Oxford*. He stayed beyond sea following the King's fortune till the Restoration; and was now an absolute favourite, and the chief or the only Minister, but with too magisterial a way. He was always pressing the King to mind his affairs, but in vain. He was a good Chancellour, only a little too rough, but very impartial in the administration of justice. He never seemed to understand foreign affairs well: And yet he meddled too much in them. He had too much levity in his wit, and did not always observe the decorum of his post. He was high, and was apt to reject those who addressed themselves to him with too much contempt. He had such a regard to the King, that when places were disposed of, even otherwise than as he advised, yet he would justify what the King did, and disparage the pretensions of others, not without much scorn; which created him many enemies. He was indefatigable in business, tho' the gout did often disable him from waiting on the King: Yet, during his credit, the King came constantly to him when he was laid up by it.

Ormond's character.

The next man in favour with the King was the Duke of *Ormond*: A man every way fitted for a Court: Of a graceful appearance, a lively wit, and a cheerful temper: A man of great expence, decent even in his vices, for he always kept up the form of religion. He had gone through many transactions in *Ireland* with more fidelity than success. He had made a treaty with the *Irish*, which was broken by the great body of them, tho' some few of them adhered still to him. But the whole *Irish* Nation did still pretend that, tho' they had broke the agreement first, yet he, or rather the King in whose name he had treated with them, was bound to perform all the articles of the treaty. He had miscarried so in the siege of *Dublin*, that it very much lessened the opinion of his military conduct. Yet his constant attendance on his master, his easiness to him, and his great sufferings for him, raised him to be Lord Steward of the Household, and Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. He was firm to the Protestant religion, and so far firm to the laws, that he always gave good advice: But when bad ones were followed, he was not for complaining too much of them.

Southampton's character.

The Earl of *Southampton* was next to these. He was a man of great vertue, and of very good parts. He had a lively apprehension, and a good judgment. He had merited much by his constant adhering to the King's interest during the war, and by the large supplies he had sent him every year during his exile; for he had a great estate,

1660. eſtate, and only three daughters to inherit it. He was Lord Treaſurer? But he grew ſoon weary of buſineſs; for as he was ſubject to the ſtone, which returned often and violently upon him, ſo he retained the principles of liberty, and did not go into the violent meaſures of the Court. When he ſaw the King's temper, and his way of managing, or rather of ſpoiling buſineſs, he grew very uneaſy, and kept himſelf more out of the way than was conſiſtent with that high poſt. The King ſtood in ſome awe of him; and ſaw how popular he would grow, if put out of his ſervice: And therefore he choſe rather to bear with his ill humour and contradiction, than to diſmiſs him. He left the buſineſs of the treaſury wholly in the hands of his ſecretary, Sir *Philip Warwick*, who was an honeſt but a weak man; underſtood the common road of the treaſury, he was an incorrupt man, and during ſeven years management of the treaſury made but an ordinary fortune out of it. Before the Reſtoration the Lord Treaſurer had but a ſmall ſalary, with an allowance for a table; but he gave, or rather ſold, all the ſubaltern places, and made great profits out of the eſtate of the Crown: But now, that eſtate being gone, and the Earl of *Southampton* diſdaining to ſell places, the matter was ſettled ſo, that the Lord Treaſurer was to have 8000 *l.* a year, and the King was to name all the ſubaltern officers. It continued to be ſo all his time: But ſince that time the Lord Treaſurer has both the 8000 *l.* and a main hand in the diſpoſing of thoſe places.

Shaftſbury's character.

The man that was in the greateſt credit with the Earl of *Southampton* was Sir *Anthony Aſhly Cooper*, who had married his niece, and became afterwards ſo conſiderable that he was raiſed to be Earl of *Shaftſbury*. And ſince he came to have ſo great a name, and that I knew him for many years in a very particular manner, I will dwell a little longer on his character; for it was of a very extraordinary compoſition. He began to make a conſiderable figure very early. Before he was twenty he came into the Houſe of Commons, and was on the King's ſide; and undertook to get *Wiltſhire* and *Dorſetſhire* to declare for him: But he was not able to effect it. Yet Prince *Maurice* breaking articles to a Town that he had got to receive him, furniſhed him with an excuſe to forſake that ſide, and to turn to the Parliament. He had a wonderful faculty in ſpeaking to a popular aſſembly, and could mix both the facetious and the ſerious way of arguing very agreeably. He had a particular talent to make others truſt to his judgment, and depend on it: And he brought over ſo many to a ſubmiſſion to his opinion, that I never knew any man equal to him in the art of governing parties, and of making himſelf the head of them. He was as to religion a Deiſt at beſt: He had the dotage of Aſtrology in him to a high degree: He told me, that a *Dutch* doctor had from the ſtars foretold him the whole ſeries of his life. But that which was before him, when he told me this, proved falſe, if he told me true: For he ſaid, he was yet to be a greater man than he had been. He fancied, that after death our ſouls lived in ſtars. He had a general knowledge of the ſlighter parts of learning, but underſtood little to the bottom: So he triumphed in a rambling way of talking, but argued ſlightly when he was held cloſe to any point. He had a wonderful faculty at oppoſing, and running things down; but had not the like force in building up. He had ſuch an extravagant vanity in ſetting himſelf out, that it was very diſagreeable. He pretended that *Cromwell* offered to make him King. He was indeed of great uſe to him in withſtanding the enthuſiaſts of that time. He was one of thoſe who preſs'd him moſt to accept of the Kingſhip, becauſe, as he ſaid afterwards, he was ſure it would ruin him. His ſtrength lay in the knowledge of *England*, and of all the conſiderable men in it. He underſtood well the ſize of their underſtandings, and their tempers: And he knew how to apply himſelf to them ſo dextrouſly, that, tho' by his changing ſides ſo often it was very viſible how little he was to be depended on, yet he was to the laſt much truſted by all the diſcontented party. He was not aſhamed to reckon up the many turns he had made: And he valued himſelf on the doing it at the propereſt ſeaſon, and in the beſt manner. This he did with ſo much vanity, and ſo little diſcretion, that he loſt many by it. And his reputation was at laſt run ſo low, that he could not have held much longer, had he not died in good time, either for his family or for his party: The former would have been ruined, if he had not ſaved it by betraying the latter.

Angleſey's character.

Another man, very near of the ſame ſort, who paſſed thro' many great employments, was *Annesly*, advanced to be Earl of *Angleſey*; who had much more knowledge, and was very learned, chiefly in the law. He had the faculty of ſpeaking indefatigably

bly upon every ſubject: But he ſpoke ungracefully; and did not know that he was not good at raillery, for he was always attempting it. He underſtood our government well, and had examined far into the original of our conſtitution. He was capable of great application: And was a man of a grave deportment; but ſtuck at nothing, and was aſhamed of nothing. He was neither loved nor truſted by any man or any ſide: And he ſeemed to have no regard to common decencies: But ſold every thing that was in his power: And ſold himſelf ſo often, that at laſt the price fell ſo low, that he grew uſeleſs. 1660.

Hollis was a man of great courage, and of as great pride: He was counted for many years the head of the Presbyterian party. He was faithful and firm to his ſide, and never changed thro' the whole courſe of his life. He engaged in a particular oppoſition to *Cromwell* in the time of the war. They hated one another equally. *Hollis* ſeemed to carry this too far: For he would not allow *Cromwell* to have been either wiſe or brave; but often applied *Solomon*'s obſervation to him, *That the battel was not to the ſtrong, nor favour to the man of underſtanding, but that time and chance happened to all men.* He was well verſed in the records of Parliament: And argued well, but too vehemently; for he could not bear contradiction. He had the ſoul of an old ſtubborn *Roman* in him. He was a faithful but a rough friend, and a ſevere but fair enemy. He had a true ſenſe of religion: And was a man of an unblamable courſe of life, and of a ſound judgment when it was not biaſſed by paſſion. He was made a Lord for his merits in bringing about the Reſtoration. *Hollis*'s character.

The Earl of *Mancheſter* was made Lord Chamberlain: A man of a ſoft and obliging temper, of no great depth, but univerſally beloved, being both a vertuous and a generous man. The Lord *Roberts* was made Lord Privy Seal, afterwards Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and at laſt Lord Preſident of the Council. He was a man of a more moroſe and cynical temper, juſt in his adminiſtration, but vitious under the appearances of vertue: Learned beyond any man of his quality, but intractable, ſtiff and obſtinate, proud and jealous. *Mancheſter*'s character. *Roberts*'s character.

Theſe five, whom I have named laſt, had the chief hand in engaging the Nation in the deſign of the Reſtoration. They had great credit, chiefly with the Preſbyterian party, and were men of much dexterity. So the thanks of that great turn was owing to them: And they were put in great poſts by the Earl of *Clarendon*'s means. By which he loſt moſt of the Cavaliers, who could not bear the ſeeing ſuch men ſo highly advanced, and ſo much truſted.

At the King's firſt coming over, *Monk* and *Mountague* were the moſt conſidered. They both had the Garter. The one was made Duke of *Albemarle*, and the other Earl of *Sandwich*, and had noble eſtates given them. *Monk* was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature. They both asked, and ſold all that was within their reach, nothing being denied them for ſome time; till he became ſo uſeleſs, that little perſonal regard could be paid him. But the King maintained ſtill the appearances of it: For the appearance of the ſervice he did him was ſuch, that the King thought it fit to treat him with great diſtinction, even after he ſaw into him, and deſpiſed him. He took care to raiſe his kinſman *Grenvill*, who was made Earl of *Bath* and Groom of the Stole, a man who thought of nothing but of getting and ſpending money. The Duke of *Albemarle* raiſed two other perſons. One was *Clarges*, his wife's brother, who was an honeſt but haughty man. He became afterwards a very conſiderable Parliament man, and valued himſelf on his oppoſing the Court, and on his frugality in managing the publick money; for he had *Cromwell*'s œconomy ever in his mouth, and was always for reducing the expence of the war to the modeſty and parſimony of thoſe times. Many thought he carried this too far: But it made him very popular. After he was become very rich himſelf by the publick money, he ſeemed to take care that no body elſe ſhould grow as rich as he was in that way. Another man raiſed by the Duke of *Albemarle* was *Morrice*, who was the perſon that had prevailed with *Monk* to declare for the King. Upon that he was made Secretary of State. He was very learned, but full of pedantry and affectation. He had no true judgment about foreign affairs. And the Duke of *Albemarle*'s judgment of them may be meaſured by what he ſaid, when he found the King grew weary of *Morrice*, but that in regard to him had no mind to turn him out; He did not know what was neceſſary for a good Secretary of State in which he was defective, for he could ſpeak *French* and write ſhort hand. *Clarges*'s character. *Morrice*'s character.

Nicolas was the other Secretary, who had been employed by King *Charles* the firſt during the war, and had ſerved him faithfully, but had no underſtanding in foreign affairs. *Nicolas*'s character.

1660.

Arlington's character.

affairs. He was a man of vertue, but could not fall into the King's temper, or become acceptable to him. So not long after the Reſtoration, *Bennet*, advanced afterwards to be Earl of *Arlington*, was by the intereſt of the Popiſh party made Secretary of State; and was admitted into ſo particular a confidence, that he began to raiſe a party in oppoſition to the Earl of *Clarendon*. He was a proud man. His parts were ſolid, but not quick. He had the art of obſerving the King's temper, and managing it beyond all the men of that time. He was believed a Papiſt. He had once profeſſed it: And when he died, he again reconciled himſelf to that Church. Yet in the whole courſe of his miniſtry, he ſeemed to have made it a maxim, that the King ought to ſhew no favour to Popery, but that all his affairs would be ſpoiled if ever he turned that way; which made the Papiſts become his mortal enemies, and accuſe him as an apoſtate, and the betrayer of their intereſts. His chief friend was *Charles Berkely*, made Earl of *Falmouth*, who without any viſible merit, unleſs it was the managing the King's amours, was the moſt abſolute of all the King's favourites: And, which was peculiar to himſelf, he was as much in the Duke of *York's* favour as in the King's. *Berkely* was generous in his expence: And it was thought, if he had outlived the lewdneſs of that time, and come to a more ſedate courſe of life, he would have put the King on great and noble deſigns. This I ſhould have thought more likely, if I had not had it from the Duke, who had ſo wrong a taſte, that there was reaſon to ſuſpect his judgment both of men and things. *Bennet* and *Berkely* had the management of the miſtriſs. And all the Earl of *Clarendon's* enemies came about them: The chief of whom were the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Briſtol*.

Buckingham's character.

The firſt of theſe was a man of noble preſence. He had a great livelineſs of wit, and a peculiar faculty of turning all things into ridicule with bold figures and natural deſcriptions. He had no ſort of literature: Only he was drawn into chymiſtry: And for ſome years he thought he was very near the finding the philoſopher's ſtone; which had the effect that attends on all ſuch men as he was, when they are drawn in, to lay out for it. He had no principles of religion, vertue, or friendſhip. Pleaſure, frolick, or extravagant diverſion was all that he laid to heart. He was true to nothing, for he was not true to himſelf. He had no ſteadineſs nor conduct: He could keep no ſecret, nor execute any deſign without ſpoiling it. He could never fix his thoughts, nor govern his eſtate, tho' then the greateſt in *England*. He was bred about the King: And for many years he had a great aſcendent over him: But he ſpake of him to all perſons with that contempt, that at laſt he drew a laſting diſgrace upon himſelf. And he at length ruined both body and mind, fortune and reputation equally. The madneſs of vice appeared in his perſon in very eminent inſtances; ſince at laſt he became contemptible and poor, ſickly, and ſunk in his parts, as well as in all other reſpects, ſo that his converſation was as much avoided as ever it had been courted. He found the King, when he came from his travels in the year 45, newly come to *Paris*, ſent over by his father when his affairs declined: And finding the King enough inclined to receive ill impreſſions, he, who was then got into all the impieties and vices of the age, ſet himſelf to corrupt the King, in which he was too ſucceſsful, being ſeconded in that wicked deſign by the Lord *Percy*. And to compleat the matter, *Hobbs* was brought to him, under the pretence of inſtructing him in mathematicks: And he laid before him his ſchemes, both with relation to religion and politicks, which made deep and laſting impreſſions on the King's mind. So that the main blame of the King's ill principles, and bad morals, was owing to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Briſtol's character.

The Earl of *Briſtol* was a man of courage and learning, of a bold temper and a lively wit, but of no judgment nor ſteadineſs. He was in the Queen's intereſt during the war at *Oxford*. And he ſtudied to drive things paſt the poſſibility of a treaty, or any reconciliation; fancying that nothing would make the military men ſo ſure to the King, as his being ſure to them, and giving them hopes of ſharing the confiſcated eſtates among them; whereas, he thought, all diſcourſes of treaty made them feeble and fearful. When he went beyond ſea he turned Papiſt. But it was after a way of his own: For he loved to magnify the difference between the Church and the Court of *Rome*. He was eſteemed a very good ſpeaker: But he was too copious, and too florid. He was ſet at the head of the popiſh party, and was a violent enemy of the Earl of *Clarendon*.

Lauderdale's character.

Having now ſaid as much as ſeems neceſſary to deſcribe the ſtate of the Court and Miniſtry at the Reſtoration, I will next give an account of the chief of the *Scots*, and

and of the parties that were formed among them. The Earl of *Lauderdale*, afterwards made Duke, had been for many years a zealous Covenanter: But in the year forty ſeven he turned to the King's intereſts; and had continued a priſoner all the while after *Worceſter* fight, where he was taken. He was kept for ſome years in the tower of *London*, in *Portland* caſtle, and in other priſons, till he was ſet at liberty by thoſe who called home the King. So he went over to *Holland*. And ſince he continued ſo long, and contrary to all mens opinions in ſo high a degree of favour and confidence, it may be expected that I ſhould be a little copious in ſetting out his character; for I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill appearance: He was very big: His hair red, hanging odly about him: His tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to: And his whole manner was rough and boiſterous, and very unfit for a Court. He was very learned, not only in *Latin*, in which he was a maſter, but in *Greek* and *Hebrew*. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almoſt all the hiſtorians ancient and modern: So that he had great materials. He had with theſe an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpoliſhed expreſſion. He was a man, as the Duke of *Buckingham* called him to me, of a blundering underſtanding. He was haughty beyond expreſſion, abject to thoſe he ſaw he muſt ſtoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of paſſion that carried him often to fits like madneſs, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to ſtudy to convince him: That would rather provoke him to ſwear, he would never be of another mind: He was to be let alone: And perhaps he would have forgot what he had ſaid, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldeſt friend and the violenteſt enemy I ever knew: I felt it too much not to know it. He at firſt ſeemed to deſpiſe wealth: But he deliver'd himſelf afterwards to luxury and ſenſuality: And by that means he ran into a vaſt expence, and ſtuck at nothing that was neceſſary to ſupport it. In his long impriſonment he had great impreſſions of religion on his mind: But he wore theſe out ſo entirely, that ſcarce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that he thought would pleaſe the King, and his bold offering at the moſt deſperate counſels, gained him ſuch an intereſt in the King, that no attempt againſt him nor complaint of him could ever ſhake it, till a decay of ſtrength and underſtanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much againſt Popery and arbitrary government: And yet by a fatal train of paſſions and intereſt he made way for the former, and had almoſt eſtabliſh'd the latter. And, whereas ſome by a ſmooth deportment made the firſt beginnings of tyranny leſs diſcernible and unacceptable, he by the fury of his behaviour heightned the ſeverity of his miniſtry, which was liker the cruelty of an inquiſition than the legality of juſtice. With all this he was a presbyterian, and retained his averſion to King *Charles* I. and his party to his death. 1660.

Crawford's character.

The Earl of *Crawford* had been his fellow priſoner for ten years. And that was a good title for maintaining him in the poſt he had before, of being Lord Treaſurer. He was a ſincere but weak man, paſſionate and indiſcreet, and continued ſtill a zealous Presbyterian.

Rothes's character.

The Earl, afterwards Duke of *Rothes*, had married his daughter, and had the merit of a long impriſonment likewiſe to recommend him: He had a ready dexterity in the management of affairs, with a ſoft and inſinuating addreſs: He had a quick apprehenſion with a clear judgment: He had no advantage of education, no ſort of Literature: Nor had he travelled abroad: All in him was mere nature.

Tweedale's character.

The Earl of *Tweedale* was another of Lord *Lauderdale*'s friends. He was early engaged in buſineſs, and continued in it to a great age. He underſtood all the intereſts and concerns of *Scotland* well: He had a great ſtock of knowledge, with a mild and obliging temper. He was of a blameleſs, or rather an exemplary, life in all reſpects. He had looſe thoughts both of civil and eccleſiaſtical government; and ſeemed to think, that what form ſoever was uppermoſt was to be complied with. He had been in *Cromwell*'s Parliament, and had abjured the Royal family, which lay heavy on him. But the diſputes about the guardianſhip of the Ducheſs of *Monmouth* and her elder ſiſter, to which he pretended in the right of his wife who was their father's ſiſter againſt her mother who was Lord *Rothes*'s ſiſter, drew him into that compliance which brought a great cloud upon him: Tho' he was in all other reſpects the ableſt and worthieſt man of the nobility: Only he was too cautious and fearful.

D. Hamilton's character.

A ſon of the Marquis of *Douglas*, made Earl of *Selkirk*, had married the heireſs of the family of *Hamilton*, who by her father's patent was Ducheſs of *Hamilton*: And when the heireſs of a title in *Scotland* marries one not equal to her in rank, it is ordi-

1660. ordinary at her desire to give her husband the title for life: So he was made Duke of *Hamilton*. He then past'd for a soft man, who minded nothing but the recovery of that family from the great debts under which it was sinking, till it was raised up again by his great management. After he had compassed that, he became a more considerable man. He wanted all sort of polishing: He was rough and sullen, but candid and sincere. His temper was boisterous, neither fit to submit nor to govern. He was mutinous when out of power, and imperious in it. He wrote well, but spoke ill: For his judgment when calm, was better than his imagination. He made himself a great master in the knowledge of the laws, of the history, and of the families of *Scotland*; and seemed always to have a regard to justice, and the good of his country: But a narrow and selfish temper brought such an habitual meanness on him, that he was not capable of designing or undertaking great things.

Kincairdin's character.

Another man of that side, that made a good figure at that time, was *Bruce*, afterwards Earl of *Kincairdin*, who had married a daughter of Mr. *Somuelsych* in *Holland*. And by that means he had got acquaintance with our Princes beyond sea, and had supplied them liberally in their necessities. He was both the wisest and the worthiest man that belonged to his country, and fit for governing any affairs but his own; which he by a wrong turn, and by his love for the publick, neglected to his ruin; for they consisting much in works, coals, salt, and mines, required much care; and he was very capable of it, having gone far in mathematicks, and being a great master of mechanicks. His thoughts went slow, and his words came much slower: But a deep judgment appeared in every thing he said or did. He had a noble zeal for justice, in which even friendship could never biass him. He had solid principles of religion and vertue, which shewed themselves with great lustre on all occasions. He was a faithful friend, and a merciful enemy. I may be perhaps inclined to carry his character too far; for he was the first man that entred into friendship with me. We continued for seventeen years in so entire a friendship, that there was never either reserve or mistake between us all the while till his death. And it was from him that I understood the whole secret of affairs; for he was trusted with every thing. He had a wonderful love to the King; and would never believe me, when I warned him, what he might look for, if he did not go along with an abject compliance in every thing. He found it true in conclusion. And the love he bore the King made his disgrace sink deeper in him, than became such a philosopher, or so good a christian as he was.

The general character of the old Cavaliers.

I now turn to another set of men, of whom the Earls of *Middletoun* and *Glencairn* were the chief. They were followed by the herd of the Cavalier party, who were now very fierce and full of courage over their cups, tho' they had been very discreet managers of it in the field, and in time of action. But now every one of them boasted that he had killed his thousands. And all were full of merit, and as full of high pretensions, far beyond what all the wealth and revenues of *Scotland* could answer. The subtilest of all Lord *Middletoun*'s friends was Sir *Archibald Primerose*: A man of long and great practice in affairs; for he and his father had served the Crown successively an hundred years all but one, when he was turned out of employment. He was a dextrous man in business: He had always expedients ready at every difficulty. He had an art of speaking to all men according to their sense of things: And so drew out their secrets while he concealed his own: For words went for nothing with him. He said every thing that was necessary to persuade those he spoke to, that he was of their mind; and did it in so genuine a way that he seemed to speak his heart. He was always for soft counsels, and slow methods: And thought that the chief thing that a great man ought to do was, to raise his family and his kindred, who naturally stick to him; for he had seen so much of the world, that he did not depend much on friends, and so took no care in making any. He always advised the Earl of *Middletoun* to go slowly in the King's business; but to do his own effectually, before the King should see he had no farther occasion for him. That Earl had another friend, who had more credit with him, though *Primerose* was more necessary for managing a Parliament: He was Sir *John Fletcher*, made the King's Advocate or Attorney General: For *Nicholson* was dead. *Fletcher* was a man of a generous temper, who despised wealth, except as it was necessary to support a vast expence. He was a bold and fierce man, who hated all mild proceedings, and could scarce speak with decency or patience to those of the other side. So that he was looked on by all that had been faulty in the late times, as an Inquisitor General. On the other hand *Primerose* took money liberally, and was the intercessor for all who made such effectual applications to him.

Primerose's character.

Fletcher's character.

The

1660.

Advices offered in *Scottiſh* affairs.

The firſt thing that was to be thought on, with relation to *Scottiſh* affairs, was the manner in which offenders in the late times were to be treated: For all were at mercy. In the letter the King writ from *Breda* to the Parliament of *England* he had promiſed a full indemnity for all that was paſt, excepting only thoſe who had been concerned in his father's death: To which the Earl of *Clarendon* perſuaded the King to adhere in a moſt ſacred manner; ſince the breaking of faith in ſuch a point was that which muſt for ever deſtroy confidence, and the obſerving all ſuch promiſes ſeemed to be a fundamental maxim in government, which was to be maintained in ſuch a manner, that not ſo much as a ſtretch was to be made in it. But there was no promiſe made for *Scotland*: So all the Cavaliers, as they were full of revenge, hoped to have the eſtates of thoſe who had been concerned in the late wars divided among them. The Earl of *Lauderdale* told the King, on the other hand, that the *Scottiſh* nation had turned eminently, tho' unfortunately, to ſerve his father in the year forty eight; that they had brought himſelf among them, and had loſt two armies in his ſervice, and had been under nine years oppreſſion on that account; that they had encouraged and aſſiſted *Monk* in all he did: They might be therefore highly diſguſted, if they ſhould not have the ſame meaſure of grace and pardon that he was to give *England*. Beſides, the King, while he was in *Scotland*, had in the Parliament of *Sterling* paſs'd a very full act of indemnity, tho' in the terms and with the title of an act of approbation. It is true, the records of that Parliament were not extant, but had been loſt in the confuſion that followed upon the reduction of that Kingdom: Yet the thing was ſo freſh in every man's memory, that it might have a very ill effect, if the King ſhould proceed without a regard to it. There was indeed another very ſevere act made in that Parliament againſt all that ſhould treat or ſubmit to *Cromwell*, or comply in any ſort with him: But, he ſaid, a difference ought to be made between thoſe who during the ſtruggle had deſerted the ſervice and gone over to the enemy, of which number it might be fit to make ſome examples, and the reſt of the kingdom, who upon the general reduction had been forced to capitulate: It would be hard to puniſh any for ſubmitting to a ſuperior force, when they were in no condition to reſiſt it. This ſeemed reaſonable: And the Earl of *Clarendon* acquieſced in it. But the Earl of *Midletoun* and his party complained of it, and deſired that the Marquis of *Argile*, whom they charged with an acceſſion to the King's murder, and ſome few of thoſe who had joined in the remonſtrance while the King was in *Scotland*, might be proceeded againſt. The Marquis of *Argile*'s craft made them afraid of him: And his Eſtate made them deſire to divide it among them. His ſon, the Lord *Lorn*, was come up to Court, and was well received by the King: For he had adhered ſo firmly to the King's intereſt, that he would never enter into any engagements with the Uſurpers: And upon every new occaſion of jealouſy he had been clapt up. In one of his impriſonments he had a terrible accident from a cannon bullet, which the ſoldiers were throwing to exerciſe their ſtrength, and by a recoil ſtruck him in the head, and made ſuch a fracture in his ſkull, that the operation of the trapan, and the cure, was counted one of the greateſt performances of ſurgery at that time. The difference between his father and him went on to a total breach; ſo that his father was ſet upon the diſinheriting him of all that was ſtill left in his power. Upon the Reſtoration the Marquis of *Argile* went up to the Highlands for ſome time, till he adviſed with his friends what to do, who were divided in opinion. He writ by his ſon to the King, asking leave to come and wait on him. The King gave an anſwer that ſeemed to encourage it, but did not bind him to any thing. I have forgot the words: There was an equivocating in them that did not become a Prince: But his ſon told me, he wrote them very particularly to his father, without any advice of his own. Upon that the Marquis of *Argile* came up ſo ſecretly, that he was within *White-hall*, before his enemies knew any thing of his journey. He ſent his ſon to the King to beg admittance. But inſtead of that he was ſent to the Tower. And orders were ſent down for clapping up three of the chief Remonſtrators. Of theſe *Wariſtoun* was one: But he had notice ſent him before the meſſenger came: So he made his eſcape, and went beyond ſea, firſt to *Hamburgh*. He had been long courted by *Cromwell*, and had ſtood at a diſtance from him for ſeven years: But in the laſt year of his government he had gone into his counſels, and was ſummoned as one of his Peers to the other Houſe, as it was called. He was after that put into the Council of ſtate after *Richard* was put out: And then he ſat in another court put up by

For a general indemnity.

Argile ſent to the Tower.

1660. *Lambert* and the Army, called the Committee of ſafety. So there was a great deal againſt him. *Stainton*, one of *Cromwell's* Lords, was alſo ſent a priſoner to *Scotland*. And thus it was reſolved to make a few examples in the Parliament that was to be called, as ſoon as the King could be got to prepare matters for it. It was reſolved on, to reſtore the King's authority to the ſame ſtate it was in before the wars, and to raiſe ſuch a force as might be neceſſary to ſecure the quiet of that kingdom for the future.

The citadels in *Scotland* demoliſh'd.

It was a harder point, what to do with the citadels that were built by *Cromwell*, and with the *Engliſh* garriſons that were kept in them. Many ſaid, it was neceſſary to keep that kingdom in that ſubdued ſtate; at leaſt till all things were ſettled, and that there was no more danger from thence. The Earl of *Clarendon* was of this mind. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* laid before the King, that the conqueſt *Cromwell* had made of *Scotland* was for their adhering to him: He might then judge what they would think, who had ſuffered ſo much and ſo long on his account, if the ſame thraldome ſhould be now kept up by his means: It would create an univerſal diſguſt. He told the King, that the time might come, in which he would wiſh rather to have *Scotch* garriſons in *England*: It would become a national quarrel, and loſe the affections of the country to ſuch a degree, that perhaps they would join with the garriſons, if any diſjointing happen'd in *England* againſt him: Whereas, without any ſuch badge of ſlavery, *Scotland* might be ſo managed, that they might be made entirely his. The Earl of *Midletoun* and his party durſt not appear for ſo unpopular a thing. So it was agreed on, that the citadels ſhould be evacuated and ſlighted, as ſoon as the money could be raiſed in *England* for paying and disbanding the Army. Of all this the Earl of *Lauderdale* was believed the chief adviſer. So he became very popular in *Scotland*.

Diſputes concerning Epiſcopacy.

The next thing that fell under conſideration was the Church, and whether Biſhops were to be reſtored or not. The Earl of *Lauderdale* at his firſt coming to the King ſtuck firm to Presbytery. He told me, the King ſpoke to him to let that go, for it was not a religion for gentlemen. He being really a Presbyterian, but at the ſame time reſolving to get into the King's confidence, ſtudied to convince the King by a very ſubtil method to keep up Presbytery ſtill in *Scotland*. He told him, that both King *James* and his father had ruined their affairs by engaging in the deſign of ſetting up Epiſcopacy in that kingdom: And by that means *Scotland* became diſcontented, and was of no uſe to them: Whereas the King ought to govern them according to the grain of their own inclinations, and to make them ſure to him: He ought, inſtead of endeavouring an uniformity in both kingdoms, to keep up the oppoſition between them, and rather to encreaſe than to allay that hatred that was between them: And then the *Scots* would be ready, and might be eaſily brought to ſerve him upon any occaſion of diſpute he might afterwards have with the Parliament of *England*: All things were then ſmooth: But that was the honey moon, and it could not laſt long: Nothing would keep *England* more in awe, than if they ſaw *Scotland* firm in their duty and affection to him: Whereas nothing gave them ſo much heart, as when they knew *Scotland* was diſjointed: It was a vain attempt to think of doing any thing in *England* by means of the *Iriſh*, who were a deſpicable people, and had a ſea to paſs: But *Scotland* could be brought to engage for the King in a more ſilent manner, and could ſerve him more effectually. He therefore laid it down for a maxim, from which the King ought never to depart, that *Scotland* was to be kept quiet and in good humour, that the oppoſition of the two kingdoms was to be kept up and heighten'd: And then the King might reckon on every man capable of bearing arms in *Scotland*, as a liſted ſoldier, who would willingly change a bad country for a better. This was the plan he laid before the King. I cannot tell, whether this was to cover his zeal for Presbytery, or on deſign to encourage the King to ſet up arbitrary government in *England*.

To fortify theſe advices he wrote a long letter in white ink to a Daughter of the Earl of *Caſſilis*, Lady *Margaret Kennedy*, who was in great credit with the party, and was looked on as a very wiſe and good woman, and was out of meaſure zealous for them. I married her afterwards, and after her death found this letter among her papers: In which he expreſſed great zeal for the cauſe: He ſaw the King was indifferent in the matter: But he was eaſy to thoſe who preſſed for a change: Which, he ſaid, nothing could ſo effectually hinder, as the ſending up many men of good ſenſe, but without any noiſe, who might inform the King of the averſion the nation had

had to that government, and assure him that, if in that point he would be easy to them, he might depend upon them as to every thing else; and particularly, if he stood in need of their service in his other dominions: But he charged her to trust very few of the Ministers with this, and to take care that *Sharp* might know nothing of it; For he was then jealous of him. This had all the effect that the Earl of *Lauderdale* intended by it. The King was no more jealous of his favouring Presbytery; but looked on him as a fit instrument to manage *Scotland*, and to serve him in the most desperate designs: And on this all his credit with the King was founded. In the mean time *Sharp*, seeing the King cold in the matter of Episcopacy, thought it was necessary to lay the Presbyterians asleep, to make them apprehend no danger to their government, and to engage the Publick Resolutioners to proceed against all the Protesters; that so those who were like to be the most inflexible in the point of Episcopacy might be censured by their own party, and by that means the others might become so odious to the more violent Presbyterians, that thereby they might be the more easily disposed to submit to Episcopacy, or at least might have less credit to act against it. So he, being press'd by those who employed him to procure somewhat from the King that might look like a confirmation of their government, and put to silence all discourses of an intended change, obtained by the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s means, that a letter should be writ by the King to the Presbytery of *Edenburgh*, to be communicated by them to all the other Presbyteries in *Scotland*, in which he confirmed the General Assemblies that sate at St. *Andrews* and *Dundee* while he was in *Scotland*, and that had confirmed the publick resolutions; in which he ordered them to proceed to censure all those who had then protested against them, and would not now submit to them. The King did also confirm their Presbyterian government, as it was by law established. This was signed, and sent down without communicating it to the Earl of *Midletoun* or his party. But as soon as he heard of it, he thought *Sharp* had betrayed the design; and sent for him, and charged him with it. *Sharp* said, in his own excuse, that somewhat must be done for quieting the Presbyterians, who were beginning to take the allarm: That might have produced such applications, as would perhaps make some impression on the King: Whereas now all was secured, and yet the King was engaged to nothing; for his confirming their government, as it was established by law, could bind him no longer than while that legal establishment was in force: So the reversing of that would release the King. This allayed the Earl of *Midletoun*'s displeasure a little. Yet *Primerose* told me, he spoke often of it with great indignation, since it seemed below the dignity of a King thus to equivocate with his people, and to deceive them. It seemed, that *Sharp* thought it not enough to cheat the party himself, but would have the King share with him in the fraud. This was no honourable step to be made by a King, and to be contrived by a Clergyman. The letter was received with transports of joy: The Presbyterians reckoned they were safe, and began to proceed severely against the Protesters: To which they were set on by some aspiring men, who hoped to merit by the heat expressed on this occasion. And if *Sharp*'s impatience to get into the Archbishoprick of St. *Andrew*'s had not wrought too strong on him, it would have given a great advantage to the restitution of Episcopacy, if a General Assembly had been called, and the two parties had been let loose on one another: That would have shewn the impossibility of maintaining the government of the Church in a parity, and the necessity of setting a superiour order over them for keeping them in unity and peace.

1660.

A Ministry settled in *Scotland*.

The King settled the Ministry in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Midletoun* was declared the King's Commissioner for holding the Parliament, and General of the forces that were to be raised: The Earl of *Glencairn* was made Chancellour: The Earl of *Lauderdale* was Secretary of State: The Earl of *Rothes* President of the Council: The Earl of *Crawford* was continued in the Treasury: *Primerose* was Clark Register, which is very like the place of Master of the Rolls in *England*. The rest depended on these. But the Earls of *Midletoun* and *Lauderdale* were the two heads of the parties. The Earl of *Midletoun* had a private instruction, which, as *Lauderdale* told me, was not communicated to him, to try the inclinations of the Nation for Episcopacy, and to consider of the best method of setting it up. This was drawn from the King by the Earl of *Clarendon*: For he himself was observed to be very cold in it, while these things were doing. *Primerose* got an order from the King to put up all the publick registers of *Scotland*, which *Cromwell* had brought up, and lodged in the Tower of *London*, as a pawn upon that Kingdom, in imitation of what King *Edward* the first was said to have

1660. have done when he ſubdued that Nation. They were now put up in fifty hogſheds: And a ſhip was ready to carry them down. But it was ſuggeſted to Lord *Clarendon*, that the original Covenant ſigned by the King, and ſome other declarations under his hand, were among them. And he, apprehending that at ſome time or other an ill uſe might have been made of theſe, would not ſuffer them to be ſhipped till they were viſited: Nor would he take *Primeroſe*'s promiſe of ſearching for theſe carefully, and ſending them up to him. So he ordered a ſearch to be made. None of the papers he looked for were found. But ſo much time was loſt, that the ſummer was ſpent: So they were ſent down in winter: And by ſome eaſterly guſts the ſhip was caſt away near *Berwick*. So we loſt all our Records. And we have nothing now but ſome fragments in private hands to rely on, having made at that time ſo great a ſhipwreck of all our authentick writings. This heightened the diſpleaſure the Nation had at the deſigns then on foot.

A Council propoſed to ſit at Court for *Scottiſh* affairs.

The main thing, upon which all other matters depended, was the method in which the affairs of *Scotland* were to be conducted. The Earl of *Clarendon* moved, that there might be a Council ſettled to ſit regularly at *Whitehall* on *Scottiſh* affairs, to which every one of the *Scotch* Privy Council that happened to be on the place ſhould be admitted: But with this addition, that, as two *Scotch* Lords were called to the *Engliſh* Council, ſo ſix of the *Engliſh* were to be of the *Scotch* Council. The effect of this would have been, that whereas the *Scotch* Counſellours had no great force in *Engliſh* affairs, the *Engliſh*, as they were men of great credit with the King, and were always on the place, would have the government of the affairs of *Scotland* wholly in their hands. This probably would have ſaved that Nation from much injuſtice and violence, when there was a certain method of laying their grievances before the King: Complaints would have been heard, and matters well examined: *Engliſhmen* would not, and durſt not, have given way to crying oppreſſion, and illegal proceedings: For tho' theſe matters did not fall under the cogniſance of an *Engliſh* Parliament, yet it would have very much blaſted a man's credit who ſhould have concurred in ſuch methods of government as were put in practice afterwards in that Kingdom: Therefore all people quickly ſaw how wiſe a project this was, and how happy it would have proved, if affairs had ſtill gone in that channel. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* oppoſed this with all his ſtrength. He told the King, it would quite deſtroy the ſcheme he had laid before him, which muſt be managed ſecretly, and by men that were not in fear of the Parliament of *England*, nor obnoxious to it. He ſaid to all *Scotch-men*, this would make *Scotland* a province to *England*, and ſubject it to *Engliſh* Counſellours, who knew neither the laws nor the intereſts of *Scotland*, and yet would determine every thing relating to it: And all the wealth of *Scotland* would be employed to bribe them, who, having no concern of their own in the affairs of that Kingdom, muſt be ſuppoſed capable of being turned by private conſiderations. To the Presbyterians he ſaid, this would infallibly bring in, not only Epiſcopacy, but every thing elſe from the *Engliſh* pattern. Men who had neither kindred nor eſtates in *Scotland* would be biaſſed chiefly by that which was moſt in vogue in *England*, without any regard to the inclinations of the *Scots*. Theſe things made great impreſſions on the *Scottiſh* Nation. The King himſelf did not much like it. But the Earl of *Clarendon* told him, *Scotland*, by a ſecret and ill management, had begun the embroilment in his father's affairs, which could never have happened, if the affairs of that Kingdom had been under a more equal inſpection: If *Scotland* ſhould again fall into new diſorders, he muſt have the help of *England* to quiet them: And that could not be expected, if the *Engliſh* had no ſhare in the conduct of matters there. The King yielded to it: And this method was followed for two or three years; but was afterwards broke by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, when he got into the chief management. He began early to obſerve ſome uneaſineſs in the King at the Earl of *Clarendon*'s poſitive way. He ſaw the miſtreſs hated him: And he believed ſhe would in time be too hard for him: Therefore he made great applications to her. But his converſation was too coarſe: And he had not money enough to ſupport himſelf by preſents to her: So he could not be admitted into that cabal which was held in her lodgings. He ſaw, that in a Council, where men of weight, who had much at ſtake in *England*, bore the chief ſway, he durſt not have propoſed thoſe things, by which he intended to eſtabliſh his own intereſt with the King, and to govern that Kingdom which way his pride or paſſion might guide him. Among others, he took great pains to perſuade me of the great ſervice he had done

his

his country by breaking that method of governing it; tho' we had many occaſions afterwards to ſee how fatal that proved, and how wicked his deſign in it was. 1660.

I have thus opened with ſome copiouſneſs the beginnings of this reign; ſince, as they are little known, and I had them from the chief of both ſides, ſo they may guide the reader to obſerve the progreſs of things better in the ſequel than he could otherwiſe do. In *Auguſt* the Earl of *Glencairn* was ſent down to *Scotland*, and had orders to call together the Committee of Eſtates. This was a practice begun in the late times: When the Parliament made a receſs, they appointed ſome of every State to ſit, and to act as a Council of State in their name till the next ſeſſion; for which they were to prepare matters, and to which they gave an account of their proceedings. When the Parliament of *Sterlin* was adjourned, the King being preſent, a Committee had been named: So, ſuch of theſe as were yet alive were ſummoned to meet, and to ſee to the quiet of the Nation, till the Parliament ſhould be brought together: which did not meet before *January*. On the day in which the Committee met, ten or twelve of the Proteſting Miniſters met likewiſe at *Edenburgh*, and had before them a warm paper prepared by one *Guthery*, one of the violenteſt Miniſters of the whole party. In it, after ſome cold compliment to the King upon his Reſtoration, they put him in mind of the Covenant which he had ſo ſolemnly ſworn while among them: They lamented that, inſtead of purſuing the ends of it in *England*, as he had ſworn to do, he had ſet up the Common-Prayer in his Chappel, and the order of Biſhops: Upon which they made terrible denunciations of heavy judgments from God on him, if he did not ſtand to the Covenant, which they called the oath of God. The Earl of *Glencairn* had notice of this meeting: And he ſent and ſeized on them together with this remonſtrance. The paper was voted ſcandalous and ſeditious: And the Miniſters were all clapt up in priſon, and were threaten'd with great ſeverities. *Guthery* was kept ſtill in priſon, who had brought the others together: But the reſt after a while's impriſonment were let go. *Guthery*, being Miniſter of *Sterlin* while the King was there, had let fly at him in his Sermons in a moſt indecent manner; which at laſt became ſo intolerable, that he was cited to appear before the King to anſwer for ſome paſſages in his Sermons: He would not appear, but declined the King and his Council, who, he ſaid, were not proper judges of matters of doctrine, for which he was only accountable to the judicatories of the Kirk. He alſo proteſted for remedy of law againſt the King, for thus diſturbing him in the exerciſe of his Miniſtry. This perſonal affront had irritated the King more againſt him, than againſt any other of the party. And it was reſolved to ſtrike a terrour into them all, by making an example of him. He was a man of courage, and went thro' all his trouble with great firmneſs. But this way of proceeding ſtruck the whole party with ſuch a conſternation, that it had all the effect which was deſigned by it: For whereas the pulpits had, to the great ſcandal of religion, been places where the preachers had for many years vented their ſpleen and arraigned all proceedings, they became now more decent, and there was a general ſilence every where with relation to the affairs of ſtate: Only they could not hold from many ſly and ſecret inſinuations, as if the Ark of God was ſhaking, and the Glory departing. A great many offenders were ſummoned, at the King's ſuit, before the Committee of Eſtates, and required to give bail, that they ſhould appear at the opening of the Parliament, and anſwer to what ſhould be then objected to them. Many ſaw, the deſign of this was to fright them into a compoſition, and alſo into a concurrence with the meaſures that were to be taken. For the greater part they complied, and redeemed themſelves from farther vexation by ſuch preſents as they were able to make. And in theſe tranſactions *Primeroſe* and *Fletcher* were the great dealers.

The Committee of Eſtates meet in *Scotland*.

In the end of the year the Earl of *Midletown* came down with great magnificence: His way of living was the moſt ſplendid the nation had ever ſeen: But it was likewiſe the moſt ſcandalous; for vices of all ſorts were the open practices of thoſe about him. Drinking was the moſt notorious of all, which was often continued thro' the whole night to the next morning: And many diſorders happening after thoſe irregular heats, the people, who had never before that time ſeen any thing like it, came to look with an ill eye on every thing that was done by ſuch a ſet of lewd and vitious men. This laid in all mens minds a new prejudice againſt Epiſcopacy: For they, who could not examine into the nature of things, were apt to take an ill opinion of every change in religion that was brought about by ſuch bad inſtruments.

A Parliament in *Scotland*.

There had been a face of gravity and piety in the former adminiſtration, which made the libertinage of the preſent time more odious.

1661. The Earl of *Middletoun* opened the Parliament on the firſt of *January* with a ſpeech ſetting forth the bleſſing of the Reſtoration: He magnified the King's perſon, and enlarged on the affection that he bore to that his antient Kingdom: He hoped they would make ſuitable returns of zeal for the King's ſervice, that they would condemn all the invaſions that had been made on the Regal authority, and aſſert the juſt prerogative of the Crown, and give ſupplies for keeping up ſuch a force as was neceſſary to ſecure the publick peace, and to preſerve them from the return of ſuch calamities as they had ſo long felt. The Parliament writ an anſwer to the King's letter full of duty and thanks. The firſt thing propoſed was to name Lords of the Articles. In order to the apprehending the importance of this, I will give ſome account of the conſtitution of that Kingdom.

The Lords of the Articles.

The Parliament was antiently the King's Court, where all who held land of him were bound to appear. All ſate in one houſe, but were conſider'd as three eſtates. The firſt was the Church, repreſented by the Biſhops, and mitred Abbots, and Priors. The ſecond was the Baronage, the Nobility and Gentry who held their Baronies of the King. And the third was the Burroughs, who held of the King by Barony, tho' in a community. So that the Parliament was truly the Baronage of the Kingdom. The leſſer Barons grew weary of this attendance: So in King *James* the firſt's time (during the reign of *Henry* IV. of *England*) they were excuſed from it, and were impowered to ſend proxies, to an indefinite number, to repreſent them in Parliament. Yet they neglected to do this. And it continued ſo till King *James* the ſixth's time, in which the mitred Abbots being taken away, and few of the titular Biſhops that were then continued appearing at them, the Church Lands being generally in Lay hands, the Nobility carried matters in Parliament as they pleaſed: And as they oppreſſed the Burroughs, ſo they had the King much under them. Upon this the lower Barons got themſelves to be reſtored to the right which they had neglected near two hundred years. They were allowed by act of Parliament to ſend two from a county: Only ſome ſmaller counties ſent but one. This brought that conſtitution to a truer balance. The lower Barons have a right to chooſe at their county Courts after *Michaelmas* their Commiſſioners, to ſerve in any Parliament that may be called within that year. And they who chooſe them ſign a commiſſion to him who repreſents them. So the Sheriff has no ſhare of the return. And in the caſe of controverted elections the Parliament examines the commiſſions, to ſee who has the greateſt number, and judges whether every one that ſigns it had a right to do ſo. The Burroughs only chooſe their members when the ſummons goes out: And all are choſen by the men of the corporation, or, as they call them, the town council. All theſe Eſtates ſit in one houſe, and vote together. Antiently the Parliament ſate only two days, the firſt and the laſt. On the firſt they choſe thoſe who were to ſit on the articles, eight for every ſtate, to whom the King joined eight officers of ſtate. Theſe received all the heads of grievances or articles that were brought to them, and formed them into bills as they pleaſed: And on the laſt day of the Parliament, theſe were all read, and were approved or rejected by the whole body. So they were a committee that had a very extraordinary authority, ſince nothing could be brought before the Parliament but as they pleaſed. This was pretended to be done only for the ſhortening and diſpatching of Seſſions. The Crown was not contented with this limitation, but got it to be carried farther. The Nobility came to chooſe eight Biſhops, and the Biſhops to chooſe eight noble men: And theſe ſixteen chooſe the eight Barons, (ſo the repreſentatives for the Shires are called,) and the eight Burgeſſes. By this means our Kings did upon the matter chooſe all the Lords of the articles. So entirely had they got the liberties of that Parliament into their hands.

During the late troubles they had ſtill kept up a diſtinction of three eſtates, the leſſer Barons making one: And then every Eſtate might meet apart, and name their own committee: But ſtill all things were brought in, and debated in full Parliament. So now the firſt thing propoſed was, the returning to the old cuſtom of naming Lords of the articles. The Earl of *Tweedale* oppoſed it, but was ſeconded only by one perſon. So it paſs'd with that ſmall oppoſition. Only, to make it go eaſier, it was

was promiſed, that there ſhould be frequent ſeſſions of Parliament, and that the acts ſhould not be brought in in a hurry, and carried with the haſte that had been practiſed in former times. 1661.

The Parliament granted the King an additional revenue for life of 40000 *l.* a year, to be raiſed by an exciſe on beer and ale, for maintaining a ſmall force: Upon which two troops and a regiment of foot guards were to be raiſed. They ordered the Marquis of *Montroſe*'s quarters to be brought together: And they were buried with great ſtate. They fell next upon the acts of the former times that had limited the Prerogative: They repealed them, and aſſerted it with a full extent in a moſt extraordinary manner. *Primeroſe* had the drawing of theſe acts. He often confeſſed to me, that he thought he was as one bewitched while he drew them: For, not conſidering the ill uſe might be made of them afterwards, he drew them with preambles full of extravagant rhetorick, reflecting ſeverely on the proceedings of the late times, and ſwelled them up with the higheſt phraſes and fulleſt clauſes that he could invent. In the act which aſſerted the King's power of the militia, the power of arming and levying the ſubjects was carried ſo far, that it would have ruined the Kingdom, if *Gilmore*, (an eminent Lawyer, and a man of great integrity, who had now the more credit, for he had always favoured the King's ſide,) had not obſerved that, as the act was worded, the King might require all the ſubjects to ſerve at their own charge, and might oblige them, in order to the redeeming themſelves from ſerving, to pay whatever might be ſet on them. So he made ſuch an oppoſition to this, that it could not paſs till a proviſo was added to it, that the Kingdom ſhould not be obliged to maintain any force levied by the King, otherwiſe than as it ſhould be agreed to in Parliament, or in a Convention of Eſtates. This was the only thing that was then looked to: For all the other acts paſs'd in the articles as *Primeroſe* had penn'd them. They were brought into Parliament: And upon one haſty reading them they were put to the vote, and were always carried. The Acts paſs'd in this ſeſſion.

One act troubled the Presbyterians extreamly. In the act aſſerting the King's power in treaties of peace and war, all leagues with any other Nation, not made by the King's authority, were declared treaſonable: And in conſequence of this the League and Covenant made with *England* in the year 1643 was condemned, and declared of no force for the future. This was the idol of all the Presbyterians: So they were much alarmed at it. But *Sharp* reſtrained all thoſe with whom he had credit: He told them, the only way to preſerve their government was, to let all that related to the King's authority be ſeparated from it, and be condemned, that ſo they might be no more accuſed as enemies to monarchy, or as leavened with the principles of rebellion. He told them, they muſt be contented to let that paſs, that the jealouſy which the King had of them, as enemies to his prerogative, might be extinguiſhed in the moſt effectual manner. This reſtrained many. But ſome hotter zealots could not be governed. One *Macquair*, a hot man and conſiderably learned, did in his church at *Glaſcow* openly proteſt againſt this act, as contrary to the oath of God, and ſo void of itſelf. To proteſt againſt an act of Parliament was treaſon by their law. And *Midletoun* was reſolved to make an example of him for the terrifying others. But *Macquair* was as ſtiff as he was ſevere, and would come to no ſubmiſſion. Yet he was only condemned to perpetual baniſhment. Upon which he, and ſome others who were afterwards baniſhed, went and ſettled at *Rotterdam*, where they formed themſelves into a Presbytery, and writ many ſeditious books, and kept a correſpondence over all *Scotland*, that being the chief ſeat of the *Scottiſh* trade: And by that means they did much more miſchief to the government, than they could have done had they continued ſtill in *Scotland*.

The Lords of the articles grew weary of preparing ſo many acts as the practices of the former times gave occaſion for; but did not know how to meddle with thoſe acts that the late King had paſſed in the year 41, or the preſent King had paſſed while he was in *Scotland*. They ſaw, that, if they ſhould proceed to repeal thoſe by which Presbyterian government was ratified, that would raiſe much oppoſition, and bring petitions from all that were for that government over the whole Kingdom; which *Midletoun* and *Sharp* endeavoured to prevent, that the King might be confirmed in what they had affirmed, that the general bent of the Nation was now turned againſt Presbytery and for Biſhops. So *Primeroſe* propoſed, but half in jeſt as he aſſured me, that the better and ſhorter way would be to paſs a general act reſciſſory, (as it was called,) annulling all the Parliaments that had been held ſince the year, An act reſcinding all Parliaments held ſince the year 1633.

1661. year 1633, during the whole time of the war, as faulty and defective in their conſtitution. But it was not ſo eaſy to know upon what point that defect was to be fixed. The only colourable pretence in law was, that, ſince the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was not repreſented in thoſe Parliaments, they were not a full repreſentative of the Kingdom, and ſo not true Parliaments. But this could not be alledged by this preſent Parliament, which had no Biſhops in it: If that inferred a nullity, this was no Parliament. Therefore they could only fix the nullity upon the pretence of force and violence. Yet it was a great ſtrain to inſiſt on that, ſince it was viſible that neither the late King nor the preſent were under any force when they paſſed them: They came of their own accord, and paſs'd thoſe acts. If it was inſiſted on, that the ill ſtate of their affairs was in the nature of a force, the ill conſequences of this were viſible; ſince no Prince by this means could be bound to any treaty, or be concluded by any law that limited his power, theſe being always drawn from them by the neceſſity of their affairs, which can never be called a force, as long as their perſons are free. So, upon ſome debate about it on thoſe grounds, at a private juncto, the propoſition, tho' well liked, was let fall, as not capable to have good colours put upon it: Nor had the Earl of *Midletoun* any inſtruction to warrant his paſſing any ſuch act. Yet within a day or two, when they had drunk higher, they reſolved to venture on it. *Primeroſe* was then ill. So one was ſent to him to deſire him to prepare a bill to that effect. He ſet about it: But perceived it was ſo ill grounded, and ſo wild in all the frame of it, that he thought, when it came to be better conſidered, it muſt certainly be laid aſide. But it fell out otherwiſe: His draught was copied out next morning, without altering a word in it, and carried to the articles, and from thence to the Parliament, where it met indeed with great oppoſition. The Earl of *Crawford* and the Duke of *Hamilton* argued much againſt it. The Parliament in the year 41 was legally ſummoned: The late King came thither in perſon with his ordinary attendance, and without the appearance of any force: If any acts then paſs'd needed to be reviewed, that might be well done: But to annul a Parliament was a terrible precedent, which deſtroyed the whole ſecurity of government: Another Parliament might annul the preſent Parliament, as well as that which was now propoſed to be done: So no ſtop could be made, nor any ſecurity laid down for fixing things for the future: The Parliament in the year 48 proceeded upon inſtructions under the King's own hand, which was all that could be had conſidering his impriſonment: They had declared for the King, and raiſed an army for his preſervation. To this the Earl of *Midletoun*, who contrary to cuſtom managed the debate himſelf, anſwered, that tho' there was no viſible force on the late King in the year 41, yet they all knew he was under a real force by reaſon of the rebellion that had been in this Kingdom, and the apparent danger of one ready to break out in *England*, which forced him to ſettle *Scotland* on ſuch terms as he could bring them to: So that diſtreſs on his affairs was really equivalent to a force on his perſon: Yet he confeſſed, it was juſt, that ſuch an appearance of a Parliament ſhould be a full authority to all who acted under it: And care was taken to ſecure theſe by a proviſo that was put in the act to indemnify them: He acknowledged the deſign of the Parliament in the year 48 was good: Yet they declared for the King in ſuch terms, and had acted ſo hypocritically in order to the gaining of the Kirk party, that it was juſt to condemn the proceedings, tho' the intentions of many were honourable and loyal: For we went into it, he ſaid, as knaves, and therefore no wonder if we miſcarried in it as fools. This was very ill taken by all who had been concerned in it. The bill was put to the vote, and carried by a great majority: And the Earl of *Midletoun* immediately paſs'd it without ſtaying for an inſtruction from the King. The excuſe he made for it was, that, ſince the King had by his letter to the Presbyterians confirmed their government as it was eſtabliſhed by law, there was no way left to get out of that, but the annulling all thoſe laws.

It was not liked by the King.

This was a moſt extravagant act, and only fit to be concluded after a drunken bout. It ſhook all poſſible ſecurity for the future, and laid down a moſt pernicious precedent. The Earl of *Lauderdale* aggravated this heavily to the King. It ſhewed, that the Earl of *Midletoun* underſtood not the firſt principles of government, ſince he had, without any warrant for it, given the King's aſſent to a law that muſt for ever take away all the ſecurity that law can give: No government was ſo well eſtabliſhed, as not to be liable to a revolution: This would cut off all hopes of peace and ſubmiſſion, if any diſorder ſhould happen at any time thereafter. And ſince the Earl of *Clarendon* had ſet it up for a maxim never to be violated, that acts of indemnity were ſacred

cred things, he ſtudied to poſſeſs him againſt the Earl of *Midletoun*, who had now annulled the very Parliaments in which two Kings had paſs'd acts of indemnity. This raiſed a great clamour. And upon that the Earl of *Midletoun* complained in Parliament, that their beſt ſervices were repreſented to the King as blemiſhes on his honour, and as a prejudice to his affairs: So he deſired they would ſend up ſome of the moſt eminent of their body to give the King a true account of their proceedings. The Earls of *Glencairn* and *Rothes* were ſent: For the Earl of *Rothes* gave ſecret engagements to both ſides, reſolving to ſtrike into that to which he ſaw the King moſt inclined. The Earl of *Midletoun*'s deſign was to accuſe the Earl of *Lauderdale* of miſrepreſenting the proceedings of Parliament, and of belying the King's good ſubjects, called in the *Scottiſh* law Leaſing making, which either to the King of the People, or to the People of the King is capital. 1661.

Sharp went up with theſe Lords to preſs the ſpeedy ſetting up of Epiſcopacy, now that the greateſt enemies of that government were under a general conſternation, and were upon other accounts ſo obnoxious that they durſt not make any oppoſition to it, ſince no act of indemnity was yet paſs'd. He had expreſſed a great concern to his old brethren, when the act reſciſſory paſs'd, and acted that part very ſolemnly for ſome days: Yet he ſeemed to take heart again, and perſuaded the miniſters of that party, that it would be a ſervice to them, ſince now the caſe of ratifying their government was ſeparated from the rebellion of the late times; So that hereafter it was to ſubſiſt by a law paſs'd in a Parliament that ſate and acted in full freedom. So he undertook to go again to Court, and to move for an inſtruction to ſettle Presbytery on a new and undiſputed bottom. The poor men were ſo ſtruck with the ill ſtate of their affairs, that they either truſted him, or at leaſt ſeemed to do it; for indeed they had neither ſenſe nor courage left them. During the ſeſſion of Parliament the moſt aſpiring men of the Clergy were pickt out to preach before the Parliament. They did not ſpeak out: But they all inſinuated the neceſſity of a greater authority than was then in the Church, for keeping them in order. One or two ſpoke plainer: Upon which the Presbytery of *Edenburgh* went to the Earl of *Midletoun*, and complained of that, as an affront to the law and to the King's Letter. He diſmiſſed them with good words, but took no notice of their complaint. The Synods in ſeveral places reſolved to prepare addreſſes both to King and Parliament, for an act eſtabliſhing their government. And *Sharp* diſſembled ſo artificially, that he met with thoſe who were preparing an addreſs to be preſented to the Synod of *Fife*, that was to ſit within a week after: And heads were agreed on. *Honyman*, afterwards Biſhop of *Orkney*, drew it up with ſo much vehemence, that *Wood*, their Divinity Profeſſor, told me, he and ſome others ſate up almoſt the whole night before the Synod met, to draw it over again in a ſmoother ſtrain. But *Sharp* gave the Earl of *Midletoun* notice of this. So the Earl of *Rothes* was ſent over to ſee to their behaviour. As ſoon as the Miniſters entred upon that ſubject, he in the King's name diſſolved the Synod, and commanded the Miniſters under pain of treaſon to retire to their ſeveral habitations. Such care was taken that no publick application ſhould be made in favour of Preſbytery. Any attempt that was made on the other hand met with great encouragement. The Synod of *Aberdeen* was the only body that made an addreſs looking towards Epiſcopacy. In a long preamble they reflected on the confuſions and violence of the late times, of which they enumerated many particulars: And they concluded with a prayer, That ſince the legal authority upon which their Courts proceeded was now annulled, that therefore the King and Parliament would ſettle their government, conform to the Scriptures and the rules of the primitive Church. The Presbyterians ſaw what was driven at, and how their words would be underſtood: But I heard one of them ſay, (for I was preſent at that meeting,) that no man could decently oppoſe thoſe words, ſince by that he would inſinuate that he thought Presbytery was not conform to theſe. The Presbyterians in great diſorder.

In this ſeſſion of Parliament another act paſs'd, which was a new affliction to all the party: The twenty ninth of *May* was appointed to be kept as a holy day; ſince on that day an end had been put to three and twenty years courſe of rebellion, of which the whole progreſs was reckoned up in the higheſt ſtrain of *Primeroſe*'s eloquence. The miniſters ſaw, that by obſerving this act paſs'd with ſuch a preamble, they condemned all their former proceedings, as rebellious and hypocritical. They ſaw, that by obeying it they would loſe all their credit, and contradict all they had been building up in a courſe of ſo many years. Yet ſuch was the heat of that time, that they

1661. they durſt not except to it on that account. So they laid hold on the ſubtilty of a holy day; and covered themſelves under that controverſy, denying it was in the power of any human authority to make a day holy. But withal they fell upon a poor ſhift: They enacted in their ſeveral Presbyteries that they ſhould obſerve that day as a thankſgiving for the King's Reſtoration: So they took no notice of the act of Parliament: but obſerved it in obedience to their own act. But this, tho' it cover'd them from proſecution, ſince the law was obeyed, yet it laid them open to much contempt. When the Earls of *Glencairn* and *Rothes* came to Court, the King was ſoon ſatisfied with the account they gave of the proceedings of Parliament: And the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not own that he had ever miſrepreſented them. They were ordered to proceed in their charging of him, as the Earl of *Clarendon* ſhould direct them. But he told them the aſſaulting of a Miniſter, as long as he had an intereſt in the King, was a practice that never could be approved: It was one of the uneaſy things that a Houſe of Commons of *England* ſometimes ventured on, which was ungrateful to the Court: Such an attempt, inſtead of ſhaking the Earl of *Lauderdale*, would give him a faſter root with the King. They muſt therefore content themſelves with letting the King ſee how well his ſervice went on in their hands, and how unjuſtly they had been miſrepreſented to him: And thus by degrees they would gain their point, and the Earl of *Lauderdale* would become uſeleſs to the King. So this deſign was let fall. But the Earl of *Rothes* aſſured *Lauderdale*, that he had diverted the ſtorm: Tho' *Primeroſe* told me, this was the true ground on which they proceeded. They became all friends, as to outward appearance.

Thus I have gone thro' the actings of the firſt ſeſſion of this Parliament with relation to publick affairs. It was a mad roaring time, full of extravagance. And no wonder it was ſo, when the men of affairs were almoſt perpetually drunk. I ſhall in the next place give an account of the attainders paſs'd in it.

The firſt and chief of theſe was the Marquis of *Argile*. He was indicted at the King's ſuit for a great many facts, that were reduced to three heads. The firſt was of his publick actings during the wars, of which many inſtances were given; ſuch as his being concerned in the delivering up of the King to the *Engliſh* at *Newcaſtle*, his oppoſing the engagement in the year 1648, and his heading the riſing in the *Weſt* in oppoſition to the Committee of Eſtates: In this, and many other ſteps made during the war, he was eſteemed the principal actor, and ſo ought to be made the greateſt example for terrifying others. The ſecond head conſiſted of many murders, and other barbarities, committed by his officers, during the war, on many of the King's party; chiefly on thoſe who had ſerved under the Marquis of *Montroſe*, many of them being murdered in cold blood. The third head conſiſted of ſome articles of his concurrence with *Cromwell*, and the uſurpers, in oppoſition to thoſe who appeared for the King in the *Highlands*, his being one of his Parliament, and aſſiſting in proclaiming him Protector, with a great many other particulars, into which his compliance was branched out. He had counſel aſſigned him, who performed their part very well.

The ſubſtance of his defence was, that during the late wars he was but one among a great many more: He had always acted by authority of Parliament, and according to the inſtructions that were given him, as oft as he was ſent on any expedition or negotiation. As to all things done before the year 1641, the late King had buried them in an act of oblivion then paſſed, as the preſent King had alſo done in the year 1651: So he did not think he was bound to anſwer to any particular before that time. For the ſecond head, he was at *London* when moſt of the barbarities ſet out in it were committed: Nor did it appear that he gave any orders about them. It was well known that great outrages had been committed by the *Macdonalds*: And he believed his people, when they had the better of them, had taken cruel revenges: This was to be imputed to the heat of the time, and to the tempers of the people, who had been much provoked by the burning of his whole countrey, and by much blood that was ſhed. And as to many ſtories laid to the charge of his men, he knew ſome of them were mere forgeries, and others were aggravated much beyond the truth: But, what truth ſoever might be in them, he could not be anſwerable but for what was done by himſelf, or by his orders. As to the third head, of his compliance with the uſurpation, he had ſtood out till the nation was quite conquered: And in that caſe it was the receiv'd opinion both of divines and lawyers, that men might lawfully ſubmit to an uſurpation, when forced to it by an inevitable neceſſity. It was the epide-

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mical ſin of the nation. His circumſtances were ſuch, that more than a bare compliance was required of him. What he did that way was only to preſerve himſelf and his family, and was not done on deſign to oppoſe the King's intereſt. Nor did his ſervice ſuffer by any thing he did. This was the ſubſtance of his defence in a long ſpeech, which he made with ſo good a grace and ſo skilfully that his character was as much raiſed as his family ſuffered by the proſecution. In one ſpeech, excuſing his compliance with *Cromwell*, he ſaid, what could he think of that matter, after a man ſo eminent in the law as his Majeſty's Advocate had taken the engagement? This inflamed the other ſo much, that he called him an impudent villain, and was not ſo much as chid for that barbarous treatment. Lord *Argile* gravely ſaid, he had learned in his affliction to bear reproaches; but if the Parliament ſaw no cauſe to condemn him, he was leſs concerned at the King's Advocate's railing. The King's Advocate put in an additional article, of charging him with acceſſion to the King's death, for which all the proof he offered lay in a preſumption: *Cromwell* had come down to *Scotland* with his army in *September* 1648, and at that time he had many and long conferences with *Argile*; and immediately upon his return to *London* the treaty with the King was broken off, and the King was brought to his trial: The advocate from thence inferred, that it was to be preſumed that *Cromwell* and *Argile* had concerted that matter between them. While this proceſs was carried on, which was the ſolemneſt that ever was in *Scotland*, the Lord *Lorn* continued at Court ſolliciting for his father; and obtained a letter to be writ by the King to the Earl of *Midletoun*, requiring him to order his Advocate not to inſiſt on any publick proceedings before the indemnity he himſelf had paſs'd in the year 1651. He alſo required him, when the trial was ended, to ſend up the whole proceſs, and lay it before the King, before the Parliament ſhould give ſentence. The Earl of *Midletoun* ſubmitted to the firſt part of this: So all farther enquiry into thoſe matters was ſuperſeded. But as to the ſecond part of the letter, it looked ſo like a diſtruſt of the juſtice of the Parliament, that he ſaid, he durſt not let it be known, till he had a ſecond and more poſitive order, which he earneſtly deſired might not be ſent; for it would very much diſcourage this loyal and affectionate Parliament: And he begged earneſtly to have that order recalled; which was done. For ſome time there was a ſtop to the proceedings, in which Lord *Argile* was contriving an eſcape out of the Caſtle. He kept his bed for ſome days: And his Lady being of the ſame ſtature with himſelf, and coming to him in a chair, he had put on her cloaths, and was going into the chair: But he apprehended he ſhould be diſcovered, and his execution haſtened; and ſo his heart failed him. The Earl of *Midletoun* reſolved, if poſſible, to have the King's death faſtened on him. By this means, as he would die with the more infamy, ſo he reckoned this would put an end to the family, ſince no body durſt move in favour of the ſon of one judged guilty of that crime. And he, as was believed, hoped to obtain a grant of his eſtate. Search was made into all the precedents of men who had been at any time condemned upon preſumption. And the Earl of *Midletoun* reſolved to argue the matter himſelf, hoping that the weight of his authority would bear down all oppoſition. He managed it indeed with more force than decency. He was too vehement, and maintained the argument with a ſtrength that did more honour to his parts than to his juſtice or his character. But *Gilmore*, tho' newly made Preſident of the Seſſion, which is the ſupream Court of juſtice in that Kingdom, abhorred the precedent of attainting a man upon ſo remote a preſumption; and looked upon it as leſs juſtifiable than the much decried attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*. So he undertook the argument againſt *Midletoun:* They replied upon one another thirteen or fourteen times in a debate that laſted many hours. *Gilmore* had ſo clearly the better of the argument, that, tho' the Parliament was ſo ſet againſt *Argile* that every thing was like to paſs that might blacken him, yet, when it was put to the vote, he was acquitted as to that by a great majority: At which he expreſſed ſo much joy that he ſeemed little concerned at any thing that could happen to him after that. All that remained was to make his compliance with the uſurpers appear to be treaſon. The debate was like to have laſted long. The Earl of *Lawdun*, who had been Lord Chancellour, and was counted the eloqueneſt man of that time, for he had a copiouſneſs in ſpeaking that was never exhauſted, (he was come of his family and was his particular friend,) had prepared a long and learned argument on that head. He had gathered the opinions both of divines and lawyers, and had laid together a great deal out of hiſtory, more particularly out of the *Scottiſh* hiſtory, to ſhew that it had never been

1661.

1661. been cenſured as a crime: But that on the contrary in all their confuſions the men, who had merited the moſt of the Crown in all its ſhakings, were perſons who had got credit by compliance with the ſide that prevailed, and by that means had brought things about again. But, while it was very doubtful how it would have gone, *Monk* by an inexcuſable baſeneſs had ſearched among his letters, and found ſome that were writ by *Argile* to himſelf, that were hearty and zealous on their ſide. Theſe he ſent down to *Scotland*. And after they were read in Parliament, it could not be pretended that his compliance was feigned, or extorted from him. Every body blamed *Monk* for ſending theſe down, ſince it was a betraying the confidence that they then lived in. They were ſent by an expreſs, and came to the Earl of *Middletoun* after the Parliament was engaged in the debate. So he ordered the letters to be read. This was much blamed, as contrary to the forms of juſtice, ſince probation was cloſed on both ſides. But the reading of them ſilenced all farther debate. All his friends went out: And he was condemned as guilty of treaſon. The marquis of *Montroſe* only refuſed to vote. He owned, he had too much reſentment to judge in that matter. It was deſigned he ſhould be hanged, as the Marquis of *Montroſe* had been: But it was carried that he ſhould be beheaded, and that his head ſhould be ſet up where Lord *Montroſe*'s had been ſet. He received his ſentence decently, and compoſed himſelf to ſuffer.

And execution.

The day before his death he wrote to the King, juſtifying his intentions in all he had acted in the matter of the Covenant: He proteſted his innocence, as to the death of the late King: He ſubmitted patiently to his ſentence, and wiſhed the King a long and happy reign: He caſt his family and children upon his mercy; and prayed that they might not ſuffer for their father's fault. On the twenty ſeventh of *May*, the day appointed for his execution, he came to the ſcaffold in a very ſolemn but undaunted manner, accompanied with many of the Nobility and ſome Miniſters. He ſpoke for half an hour with a great appearance of ſerenity. *Cunningham* his phyſician told me he touched his pulſe, and that it did then beat at the uſual rate, calm and ſtrong. He did in a moſt ſolemn manner vindicate himſelf from all knowledge or acceſſion to the King's death: He pardoned all his enemies; and ſubmitted to the ſentence, as to the will of God: He ſpoke highly in juſtification of the Covenant, calling it the cauſe and work of God; and expreſſed his apprehenſion of ſad times like to follow; and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, and reſolve to ſuffer rather than ſin againſt their conſciences. He parted with all his friends very decently. And after ſome time ſpent in his private devotions he was beheaded.

The execution of *Guthery* a Miniſter.

A few days after *Guthery* ſuffered, He was accuſed of acceſſion to the remonſtrance when the King was in *Scotland*, and for a book he had printed with the title *of the cauſes of God's wrath upon the nation*; in which the treating with the King, the tendring him the Covenant, and the admitting him to the exerciſe of the government, were highly aggravated, as great acts of apoſtacy. His declining the King's authority to judge of his ſermons, and his proteſting for remedy of law againſt him; and the late ſeditious paper that he was drawing others to concur in, were the matters objected to him. He was a reſolute and ſtiff man: So when his lawyers offered him legal defences, he would not be adviſed by them, but reſolved to take his own way. He confeſſed, and juſtified all that he had done, as agreeing to the principles and practices of the Kirk, who had aſſerted all along that the doctrine delivered in their ſermons did not fall under the cogniſance of the temporal Courts, till it was firſt judged by the Church; for which he brought much tedious proof. He ſaid, his proteſting for remedy of law againſt the King was not meant at the King's perſon, but was only with relation to coſts and damages. The Earl of *Middletoun* had a perſonal animoſity againſt him; for in the late times he had excommunicated him: So his eagerneſs in the proſecution did not look well. The defence he made ſignified nothing to juſtify himſelf, but laid a great load on Presbytery; ſince he made it out beyond all diſpute, that he had acted upon their principles, which made them the more odious, as having among them ſome of the worſt maxims of the Church of *Rome*; that in particular, to make the pulpit a privileged place, in which a man might ſafely vent treaſon, and be ſecure in doing it, if the Church judicatory ſhould agree to acquit him. So upon this occaſion great advantage was taken, to ſhew how near the ſpirit that had reigned in Presbytery came up to Popery. It was reſolved to make a publick example of a Preacher: So he was ſingled out. He gave no advantage to

thoſe

1661.

those who wished to have saved him by the least step towards any submission, but much to the contrary. Yet, tho' all people were disgusted at the Earl of *Middletoun*'s eagerness in the prosecution, the Earl of *Tweedale* was the only man that moved against the putting him to death. He said, banishment had been hitherto the severest censure that had been laid on the Preachers for their opinions: He knew *Guthery* was a man apt to give personal provocation: And he wished that might not have too great a share in carrying the matter so far. Yet he was condemned to die. I saw him suffer. He was so far from shewing any fear, that he rather expressed a contempt of death. He spoke an hour upon the ladder, with the composedness of a man that was delivering a Sermon rather than his last words. He justified all he had done, and exhorted all people to adhere to the Covenant, which he magnified highly. With him one *Govan* was also hanged, who had deserted the army while the King was in *Scotland*, and had gone over to *Cromwell*. The man was inconsiderable, till they made him more considered by putting him to death on such an account at so great a distance of time.

Some others were proceeded against.

The gross iniquity of the Court appeared in nothing more eminently than in the favour shewed *Macclaud* of *Assin*, who had betrayed the Marquis of *Montrose*, and was brought over upon it. He in prison struck up to a high pitch of vice and impiety, and gave great entertainments: And that, notwithstanding the baseness of the man and of his crimes, begot him so many friends, that he was let go without any censure. The proceedings against *Waristoun* were soon dispatched, he being absent. It was proved, that he had presented the Remonstrance, that he had acted under *Cromwell*'s authority, and had sate as a Peer in his Parliament, that he had confirmed him in his Protectorship, and had likewise sate as one of the Committee of Safety: So he was attainted. *Swintoun* had been attainted in the Parliament at *Sterlin* for going over to *Cromwell*: So he was brought before the Parliament to hear what he could say, why the sentence should not be executed. He was then become a Quaker; and did, with a sort of eloquence that moved the whole house, lay out all his own errours, and the ill spirit he was in when he committed the things that were charged on him, with so tender a sense, that he seemed as one indifferent what they should do with him: And, without so much as moving for mercy, or even for a delay, he did so effectually prevail on them, that they recommended him to the King, as a fit object of his mercy. This was the more easily consented to by the Earl of *Midletoun*, in hatred to the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who had got the gift of his estate. He had two great pleas in law: The one was, that the record of his attainder at *Sterlin*, with all that had pass'd in that Parliament, was lost: The other was, that by the act rescissory that Parliament being annulled, all that was done by it was void: But he urged neither, since there was matter enough to attaint him anew, if the defects of that supposed attainder had been observed. So till the act of indemnity was pass'd he was still in danger, having been the man of all *Scotland* that had been the most trusted and employed by *Cromwell*: But upon passing the act of indemnity he was safe.

Midletoun gave an account of all that had passed in Parliament to the King.

The session of Parliament was now brought to a conclusion, without any motion for an act of indemnity. The secret of this was, that since Episcopacy was to be set up, and that those who were most like to oppose it were on other accounts obnoxious, it was thought best to keep them under that fear, till the change should be made. The Earl of *Midletoun* went up to Court full of merit, and as full of pride. He had a mind to be Lord Treasurer; and told the King, that, if he intended to set up Episcopacy, the Earl of *Crawford*, who was a noted Presbyterian, must be put out of that post: It was the opinion of the King's zeal for that form of government that must bear down all the opposition that might otherwise be made to it: And it would not be possible to persuade the nation of that, as long as they saw the white staff in such hands. Therefore, on the first day on which a *Scottish* Council was called after he came up, he gave a long account of the proceedings of Parliament, and magnified the zeal and loyalty that many had expressed, while others that had been not only pardoned, but were highly trusted by the King, had been often cold and backward, and sometimes plainly against the service. The Earl of *Lauderdale* was ill that day: So the Earl of *Crawford* undertook to answer this reflection, which he thought was meant of himself, for opposing the act rescissory. He said, he had observed such an intire unanimity in carrying on the King's service, that he did not know of any that had acted otherwise: And therefore he moved, that the Earl of *Midletoun* might speak plain, and name persons. The Earl of *Midletoun* desired to be excused: He

1661. did not intend to accuse any: But yet he thought, he was bound to let the King know how he had been ſerved. The Earl of *Crawford* ſtill preſs'd him to ſpeak out after ſo general an accuſation: No doubt, he would inform the King in private who theſe perſons were: And ſince he had already gone ſo far in publick, he thought he ought to go farther. The Earl of *Middleton* was in ſome confuſion; for he did not expect to be thus attack'd: So to get off he named the oppoſition that the Earl of *Tweedale* had made to the ſentence paſs'd on *Guthery*, not without making indecent reflections on it, as if his proſecution had flowed from the King's reſentments of his behaviour to himſelf: And ſo he turned the matter, that the Earl of *Tweedale*'s reflection, which was thought indeed pointed againſt himſelf, ſhould ſeem as meant againſt the King. The Earl of *Crawford* upon this ſaid, that the Earl of *Middletoun* ought to have excepted to the words when they were firſt ſpoken; and no doubt the Parliament would have done the King juſtice: But it was never thought conſiſtent with the liberty of ſpeech in Parliament, to bring men into queſtion afterwards for words ſpoken in any debate, when they were not challenged as ſoon as they were ſpoken. The Earl of *Middletoun* excuſed himſelf: He ſaid, the thing was paſs'd before he made due reflections on it; and ſo aſked pardon for that omiſſion. The Earl of *Crawford* was glad he himſelf had eſcaped, and was ſilent as to the Earl of *Tweedale*'s contempt: So, no body offering to excuſe him, an order was preſently ſent down for committing him to priſon, and for examining him upon the words he had ſpoken, and on his meaning in them. That was not a time in which men durſt pretend to privilege, or the freedom of debates: So he did not inſiſt on it; but ſent up ſuch an account of his words, and ſuch an explanation of them, as fully ſatisfied the King. So after the impriſonment of ſome weeks he was ſet at liberty. But this raiſed a great outcry againſt the Earl of *Middletoun*, as a thing that was contrary to the freedom of debate, and deſtructive of the liberty of Parliament. It lay the more open to cenſure, becauſe the Earl of *Middletoun* had accepted of a great entertainment from the Earl of *Tweedale* after *Guthery*'s buſineſs was over: And it ſeemed contrary to the rules of hoſpitality, to have ſuch a deſign in his heart againſt a man in whoſe houſe he had been ſo treated: All the excuſe he made for it was, that he never intended it; but that the Earl of *Crawford* had preſs'd him ſo hard upon the complaint he had made in general, that he had no way of getting out of it without naming ſome particulars; and he had no other ready then at hand.

Another difference of greater moment fell in between him and the Earl of *Crawford*. The Earl of *Middletoun* was now raiſing the guards, that were to be paid out of the exciſe granted by the Parliament. So he moved, that the exciſe might be raiſed by collectors named by himſelf as General, that ſo he might not depend on the Treaſury for the pay of the forces. The Earl of *Crawford* oppoſed this with great advantage, ſince all revenues given the King did by the courſe of law come into the Treaſury. *Scotland* was not in a condition to maintain two Treaſurers: And, as to what was ſaid, of the neceſſity of having the pay of the army well aſcertained and ever ready, otherwiſe it would become a grievance to the Kingdom, he ſaid, the King was Maſter, and what orders ſoever he thought fit to ſend to the Treaſury, they ſhould be moſt punctually obeyed. But the Earl of *Middletoun* knew, there would be a great overplus of the exciſe beyond the pay of the troops: And he reckoned, that, if the collection was put in his hands, he would eaſily get a grant of the overplus at the year's end. The Earl of *Crawford* ſaid, no ſuch thing was ever pretended to by any General, unleſs by ſuch as ſet up to be independent, and who hoped by that means to make themſelves the maſters of the army. So he carried the point, which was thought a victory. And the Earl of *Middletoun* was much blamed for putting his intereſt at Court on ſuch an iſſue, where the pretenſion was ſo unuſual and ſo unreaſonable.

The next point was concerning Lord *Argile*'s eſtate. The King was inclined to reſtore the Lord *Lorn*, tho' much pains was taken to perſuade him, that all the real hurt he had ſuffered in his ſervice was only an artifice between his father and him to preſerve the family in all adventures: It was ſaid, that had been an ordinary practice in *Scotland* for father and ſon to put themſelves in different ſides. The Marquis of *Argile* had taken very extraordinary methods to raiſe his own family to ſuch a ſuperiority in the Highlands, that he was a ſort of a King among them. The Marquis of *Huntly* had married his ſiſter: And during their friendſhip *Argile* was bound with him for ſome of his debts. After that, the Marquis of *Huntly*, as he neglected his affairs,

affairs, so he engaged in the King's side, by which *Argile* saw he must be undone. So he pretended, that he only intended to secure himself, when he bought in pripr 1661.
mortgages and debts, which, as was believed, were compounded at very low rates. The friends of the Marquis of *Huntly*'s family press'd the King hard to give his heirs the confiscation of that part of *Argile*'s estate, in which the Marquis of *Huntly*'s debts, and all the pretention on his estate were comprehended. And it was given to the Marquis of *Huntly*, now Duke of *Gordon*, then a young child: But no care was taken to breed him a Protestant. The Marquis of *Montrose*, and all others whose estates had been ruined under *Argile*'s conduct, expected likewise reparation out of his estate; which was a very great one, but in no way able to satisfy all those demands. And it was believed, that the Earl of *Middletoun* himself hoped to have carried away the main bulk of it: So that both the Lord *Lorn* and he concurred, tho' with different views, to put a stop to all the pretensions made upon it.

The point of the greatest importance then under consideration was, whether Episcopacy should be restored in *Scotland*, or not. The Earl of *Middletoun* assured the King, it was desired by the greater and honester part of the nation. One Synod had as good as petitioned for it: And many others wished for it, tho' the share they had in the late wars made them think it was not fit or decent for them to move for it. *Sharp* assured the King, that none but the Protestors, of whom he had a very bad opinion, were against it, and that of the Resolutioners there would not be found twenty that would oppose it. All those who were for making the change agreed, that it ought to be done now, in the first heat of joy after the Restoration, and before the act of indemnity pass'd. The Earl of *Lauderdale* and all his friends on the other hand assured the King, that the national prejudice against it was still very strong, that those who seemed zealous for it ran into it only as a method to procure favour, but that those who were against it would be found stiff and eager in their opposition to it, that by setting it up the King would lose the affections of the nation, and that the supporting it would grow a heavy load on his government. The Earl of *Lauderdale* turned all this, that looked like a zeal for Presbytery, to a dextrous insinuating himself into the King's confidence, as one that designed nothing but his greatness and his having *Scotland* sure to him, in order to the executing of any design he might afterwards be ingaged in. The King went very coldly into the design. He said, he remembred well the aversion that he himself had observed in that nation to any thing that looked like a superiority in the Church. But to that the Earl of *Middletoun* and *Sharp* answered, by assuring him that the insolencies committed by the Presbyterians while they governed, and the ten years usurpation that had followed, had made such a change in peoples tempers, that they were much altered since he had been among them. The King naturally hated Presbytery: And, having called a new Parliament in *England*, that did with great zeal espouse the interests of the Church of *England*, and were now beginning to complain of the evacuating the garrisons held by the army in that Kingdom, he gave way, tho' with a visible reluctancy, to the change of the Church government in *Scotland*. The aversion he seemed to express was imputed to his own indifference as to all those matters, and to his unwillingness to involve his government in new trouble. But the view of things that the Earl of *Lauderdale* had given him was the true root of all that coldness. The Earl of *Clarendon* set it on with great zeal. And so did the Duke of *Ormond*; who said, it would be very hard to maintain the government of the Church in *Ireland*, if Presbytery continued in *Scotland*; since the northern counties, which were the best stocked of any they had, as they were originally from *Scotland*, so they would still follow the way of that nation. Upon all this diversity of opinion, the thing was proposed in a *Scotch* Council at *Whitehall*. The Earl of *Crawford* declared himself against it: But the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, were only for delaying the making any such change, till the King should be better satisfied concerning the inclinations of the nation. The result of the debate (all the rest who were present being earnest for the change) was, that a letter was writ to the Privy Council of *Scotland*, intimating the King's intentions for setting up Episcopacy, and demanding their advice upon it. The Earl of *Glencairn* ordered the letter to be read, having taken care that such persons should be present who he knew would speak warmly for it, that so others, who might intend to oppose it, might be frightened from doing it. None spoke against it, but the Earl of *Kincardin*. He proposed, that some certain methods might be taken, by which they might be well informed, and so be able to inform the King

It was resolved to set up Episcopacy in in *Scotland*.

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1661. of the temper of the nation, before they offered an advice, that might have ſuch effects as might very much perplex, if not diſorder, all their affairs. Some ſmart repartees paſſed between the Earl of *Glencairn* and him. This was all the oppoſition that was made at that board. So a letter was writ to the King from thence, encouraging him to go on, and aſſuring him, that the change he intended to make would give a general ſatisfaction to the main body of the nation.

Men ſought out to be Biſhops.

Upon that the thing was reſolved on. It remained after this only to conſider the proper methods of doing it, and the men who ought to be employed in it. *Sheldon* and the *Engliſh* Biſhops had an averſion to all that had been engaged in the Covenant: So they were for ſeeking out all the Epiſcopal Clergy, who had been driven out of *Scotland* in the beginning of the troubles, and preferring them. There was but one of the old Biſhops left alive, *Sydſerfe*, who had been Biſhop of *Galloway*. He had come up to *London*, not doubting but that he ſhould be advanced to the Primacy of *Scotland*. It is true, he had of late done ſome very irregular things: When the act of uniformity required all men who held any benefices in *England* to be epiſcopally ordained, he, who by obſerving the ill effects of their former violence was become very moderate, with others of the *Scotch* Clergy that gathered about him, did ſet up a very indefenſible practice of ordaining all thoſe of the *Engliſh* Clergy who came to him, and that without demanding either oaths or ſubſcriptions of them. Some believed, that this was done by him, only to ſubſiſt on the fees that aroſe from the letters of orders ſo granted; for he was very poor. This did ſo diſguſt the *Engliſh* Biſhops at him and his company, that they took no care of him or them. Yet they were much againſt a ſet of Presbyterian Biſhops. They believed they could have no credit, and that they would have no zeal. This touched *Sharp* to the quick: So he laid the matter before the Earl of *Clarendon*. He ſaid, theſe old Epiſcopal men by their long abſence out of *Scotland* knew nothing of the preſent generation: And by the ill uſage they had met with they were ſo irritated, that they would run matters quickly to great extremities: And, if there was a faction among the Biſhops, ſome valuing themſelves upon their conſtant ſteddineſs, and looking with an ill eye on thoſe who had been carried away with the ſtream, this would divide and diſtract their counſels; whereas a ſet of men of moderate principles would be more uniform in their proceedings. This prevailed with the Earl of *Clarendon*, who ſaw the King ſo remiſs in that matter, that he reſolved to keep things in as great temper as was poſſible. And he, not doubting but that *Sharp* would purſue that in which he ſeemed to be ſo zealous and hot, and carry things with great moderation, perſuaded the Biſhops of *England* to leave the management of that matter wholly to him. And *Sharp*, being aſſured of that at which he had long aimed, laid aſide his mask; and owned, that he was to be Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*. He ſaid to ſome, from whom I had it, that when he ſaw that the King was reſolved on the change, and that ſome hot men were like to be advanced, whoſe violence would ruin the country, he had ſubmitted to that poſt on deſign to moderate matters, and to cover ſome good men from a ſtorm that might otherwiſe break upon them. So deeply did he ſtill diſſemble: For now he talked of nothing ſo much as of love and moderation.

Sydſerfe was moved to be Biſhop of *Orkney*, one of the beſt revenues of any of the Biſhopricks in *Scotland*: But it had been almoſt in all times a *Sine-Cure*. He lived little more than a year after his tranſlation. He had died in more eſteem, if he had died a year before it. But *Sharp* was ordered to find out proper men for filling up the other Sees. That care was left entirely to him. The choice was generally very bad.

Two men were brought up to be conſecrated in *England*, *Fairfoul* deſigned for the See of *Glaſgow*, and *Hamilton*, brother to the Lord *Belhaven*, for *Galloway*. The former of theſe was a pleaſant and facetious man, inſinuating and crafty: But he was a better phyſician than a divine. His life was ſcarce free from ſcandal: And he was eminent in nothing that belonged to his own function. He had not only ſworn the Covenant, but had perſuaded others to do it. And when one objected to him, that it went againſt his conſcience, he anſwered, there were ſome very good medicines that could not be chewed, but were to be ſwallowed down; and ſince it was plain that a man could not live in *Scotland* unleſs he ſware it, therefore it muſt be ſwallowed down without any farther examination. Whatever the matter was, ſoon after the conſecration his parts ſunk ſo faſt, that in a few months he, who had paſs'd his whole life long for one of the cunningeſt men in *Scotland*, became almoſt a changling; upon

upon which it may be eaſily collected what commentaries the Presbyterians would make. *Sharp* lamented this to me, as one of their great misfortunes. He ſaid, it began to appear in leſs than a month after he came to *London*. *Hamilton* was a good natured man, but weak. He was always believed Epiſcopal. Yet he had ſo far complied in the time of the Covenant, that he affected a peculiar expreſſion of his counterfeit zeal for their cauſe, to ſecure himſelf from ſuſpicion: When he gave the ſacrament, he excommunicated all that were not true to the Covenant, uſing a form in the Old Teſtament of ſhaking out the lap of his gown; ſaying, ſo did he caſt out of the Church and communion all that dealt falſely in the Covenant. 1661.

With theſe there was a fourth man found out, who was then at *London* at his return from the *Bath*, where he had been for his health: And on him I will enlarge more copiouſly. He was the ſon of Doctor *Leighton*, who had in Archbiſhop *Laud*'s time writ *Zion's plea againſt the Prelates*; for which he was condemned in the Star-Chamber to have his ears cut and his noſe ſlit. He was a man of a violent and ungoverned heat. He ſent his eldeſt ſon *Robert* to be bred in *Scotland*, who was accounted a Saint from his youth up. He had great quickneſs of parts, a lively apprehenſion, with a charming vivacity of thought and expreſſion. He had the greateſt command of the pureſt *Latin* that ever I knew in any man. He was a maſter both of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and of the whole compaſs of theological learning, chiefly in the ſtudy of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the reſt was, he was poſſeſſed with the higheſt and nobleſt ſenſe of divine things that I ever ſaw in any man. He had no regard to his perſon, unleſs it was to mortify it by a conſtant low diet, that was like a perpetual faſt. He had a contempt both of wealth and reputation. He ſeemed to have the loweſt thoughts of himſelf poſſible, and to deſire that all other perſons ſhould think as meanly of him as he did himſelf: He bore all ſorts of ill uſage and reproach, like a man that took pleaſure in it. He had ſo ſubdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents, and in a courſe of twenty two years intimate converſation with him, I never obſerved the leaſt ſign of paſſion, but upon one ſingle occaſion. He brought himſelf into ſo compoſed a gravity, that I never ſaw him laugh, and but ſeldom ſmile. And he kept himſelf in ſuch a conſtant recollection, that I do not remember that ever I heard him ſay one idle word. There was a viſible tendency in all he ſaid to raiſe his own mind, and thoſe he converſed with, to ſerious reflexions. He ſeemed to be in a perpetual meditation. And, tho' the whole courſe of his life was ſtrict and aſcetical, yet he had nothing of the ſourneſs of temper that generally poſſeſſes men of that ſort. He was the freeſt from ſuperſtition, of cenſuring others, or of impoſing his own methods on them, poſſible. So that he did not ſo much as recommend them to others. He ſaid, there was a diverſity of tempers; and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the beſt manner he could. His thoughts were lively, oft out of the way and ſurprizing, yet juſt and genuine. And he laid together in his memory the greateſt treaſure of the beſt and wiſeſt of all the ancient ſayings of the heathens as well as chriſtians, that I have ever known any man maſter of: And he uſed them in the apteſt manner poſſible. He had been bred up with the greateſt averſion imaginable to the whole frame of the Church of *England*. From *Scotland* his father ſent him to travel. He ſpent ſome years in *France*, and ſpoke that language like one born there. He came afterwards and ſettled in *Scotland*, and had Presbyterian ordination. But he quickly broke thro' the prejudices of his education. His preaching had a ſublimity both of thought and expreſſion in it. The grace and gravity of his pronunciation was ſuch, that few heard him without a very ſenſible emotion: I am ſure I never did. His ſtyle was rather too fine: But there was a majeſty and beauty in it that left ſo deep an impreſſion, that I cannot yet forget the ſermons I heard him preach thirty years ago. And yet with this he ſeemed to look on himſelf as ſo ordinary a preacher, that while he had a cure he was ready to employ all others: And when he was a Biſhop he choſe to preach to ſmall auditories, and would never give notice before hand: He had indeed a very low voice, and ſo could not be heard by a great croud. He ſoon came to ſee into the follies of the Presbyterians, and to diſlike their Covenant; particularly the impoſing it, and their fury againſt all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts: Theirs were narrow, as their tempers were ſour. So he grew weary of mixing with them. He ſcarce ever went to their meetings, and lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own pariſh at *Newbottle* near *Edenburgh*. Yet all the oppoſition that he made to them was, that he preached up

Biſhop *Leighton's* character.

1661. a more exact rule of life than ſeemed to them conſiſtent with human nature: But his own practice did even outſhine his doctrine.

In the year 1648 he declared himſelf for the engagement for the King. But the Earl of *Lothian*, who lived in his pariſh, had ſo high an eſteem for him, that he perſuaded the violent men not to meddle with him: Tho' he gave occaſion to great exception; for when ſome of his pariſh, who had been in the engagement, were ordered to make publick profeſſion of their repentance for it, he told them, they had been in an expedition, in which, he believed, they had neglected their duty to God, and had been guilty of injuſtice and violence, of drunkenneſs and other immoralities, and he charged them to repent of theſe very ſeriouſly, without meddling with the quarrel or the grounds of that war. He entred into a great correſpondence with many of the Epiſcopal party, and with my own father in particular; and did wholly ſeparate himſelf from the Presbyterians. At laſt he left them, and withdrew from his cure: For he could not do the things impoſed on him any longer. And yet he hated all contention ſo much, that he choſe rather to leave them in a ſilent manner, than to engage in any diſputes with them. But he had generally the reputation of a Saint, and of ſomething above human nature in him: So the maſterſhip of the College of *Edenburgh* falling vacant ſome time after, and it being in the gift of the city, he was prevail'd with to accept of it, becauſe in it he was wholly ſeparated from all Church matters. He continued ten years in that poſt: And was a great bleſſing in it; for he talked ſo to all the youth of any capacity or diſtinction, that it had great effect on many of them. He preached often to them: And if crouds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his ſermon in *Latin*, with a purity and life that charmed all who underſtood it. Thus he had lived above twenty years in *Scotland*, in the higheſt reputation that any man in my time ever had in that Kingdom.

He had a brother well known at Court, Sir *Eliſha*, who was very like him in face and in the vivacity of his parts, but the moſt unlike him in all other things that can be imagined: For, tho' he loved to talk of great ſublimities in religion, yet he was a very immoral man. He was a Papiſt of a form of his own: But he had changed his religion to raiſe himſelf at Court; for he was at that time Secretary to the Duke of *York*, and was very intimate with the Lord *Aubigny*, a brother of the Duke of *Richmond*'s, who had changed his religion, and was a Prieſt, and had probably been a Cardinal if he had lived a little longer. He maintained an outward decency, and had more learning and better notions, than men of quality, who enter into orders in that Church, generally have. Yet he was a very vicious man: And that perhaps made him the more conſidered by the King, who loved and truſted him to a high degree. No man had more credit with the King; for he was on the ſecret as to his religion, and was more truſted with the whole deſign, that was then managed in order to eſtabliſh it, than any man whatſoever. Sir *Eliſha* brought his brother and him acquainted: For *Leightoun* loved to know men in all the varieties of religion.

In the vacation time he made excurſions, and came oft to *London*; where he obſerved all the eminent men in *Cromwell*'s Court, and in the ſeveral parties then about the city of *London*. But he told me, he could never ſee any thing among them that pleaſed him. They were men of unquiet and meddling tempers: And their diſcourſes and ſermons were dry and unſavoury, full of airy cant, or of bombaſt ſwellings. Sometimes he went over to *Flanders*, to ſee what he could find in the ſeveral orders of the Church of *Rome*. There he found ſome of *Janſenius*'s followers, who ſeemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and ſtudied to bring things, if poſſible, to the purity and ſimplicity of the primitive ages; on which all his thoughts were much ſet. He thought controverſies had been too much inſiſted on, and had been carried too far. His brother, who thought of nothing but the raiſing himſelf at Court, fancied that his being made a Biſhop might render himſelf more conſiderable. So he poſſeſſed the Lord *Aubigny* with ſuch an opinion of him, that he made the King apprehend, that a man of his piety and his notions (and his not being married was not forgot) might contribute to carry on their deſign. He fancied ſuch a monaſtick man, who had a great ſtretch of thought, and ſo many other eminent qualities, would be a mean at leaſt to prepare the nation for Popery, if he did not directly come over to them; for his brother did not ſtick to ſay, he was ſure that lay at root with him. So the King named him of his own proper motion, which gave all thoſe that began to ſuſpect the King himſelf great jealouſies of him. *Leightoun* was averſe to this promotion, as much as was poſſible. His brother had great power over him; for he took care to hide his vices from him,

and

and to make before him a ſhew of piety. He ſeemed to be a Papiſt rather in name and ſhew than in reality, of which I will ſet down one inſtance that was then much talked of. Some of the Church of *England* loved to magnify the ſacrament in an extraordinary manner, affirming the real preſence, only blaming the Church of *Rome* for defining the manner of it; ſaying, *Chriſt* was preſent in a moſt unconceivable manner. This was ſo much the mode, that the King and all the Court went into it. So the King, upon ſome raillery about tranſubſtantiation, asked Sir *Eliſha* if he believed it. He anſwered, he could not well tell; but he was ſure the Church of *England* believed it. And when the King ſeemed amazed at that, he replied, do not you believe that *Chriſt* is preſent in a moſt unconceivable manner? Which the King granted: Then ſaid he, that is juſt tranſubſtantiation, the moſt unconceivable thing that was ever yet invented. When *Leightoun* was prevailed on to accept a Biſhoprick, he choſe *Dunblane*, a ſmall dioceſe as well as a little revenue. But the Deanry of the Chapel Royal was annexed to that See. So he was willing to engage in that, that he might ſet up the Common Prayer in the King's Chapel; for the rebuilding of which orders were given. The *Engliſh* Clergy were well pleaſed with him, finding him both more learned, and more thoroughly theirs in the other points of uniformity, than the reſt of the *Scotch* Clergy, whom they could not much value. And tho' *Sheldon* did not much like his great ſtrictneſs, in which he had no mind to imitate him, yet he thought ſuch a man as he was might give credit to Epiſcopacy, in its firſt introduction to a nation much prejudiced againſt it. *Sharp* did not know what to make of all this. He neither liked his ſtrictneſs of life, nor his notions. He believed, they would not take the ſame methods, and fancied he might be much obſcured by him; for he ſaw he would be well ſupported. He ſaw the Earl of *Lauderdale* began to magnify him. And ſo *Sharp* did all he could to diſcourage him, but without any effect; for he had no regard to him. I bear ſtill the greateſt veneration for the memory of that man that I do for any perſon; and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, and my long and intimate converſation with him, that continued to his death for twenty three years, among the greateſt bleſſings of my life, and for which I know I muſt give an account to God in the great day in a moſt particular manner. And yet, tho' I know this account of his promotion may ſeem a blemiſh upon him, I would not conceal it, being reſolved to write of all perſons and things with all poſſible candour. I had the relation of it from himſelf, and more particularly from his brother. But what hopes ſoever the Papiſts had of him at this time, when he knew nothing of the deſign of bringing in Popery, and had therefore talked of ſome points of Popery with the freedom of an abſtracted and ſpeculative man; yet he expreſſed another ſenſe of the matter, when he came to ſee it was really intended to be brought in among us. He then ſpoke of Popery in the complex at much another rate: And he ſeemed to have more zeal againſt it, than I thought was in his nature with relation to any points in controverſy; for his abſtraction made him ſeem cold in all thoſe matters. But he gave all who converſed with him a very different view of Popery, when he ſaw we were really in danger of coming under the power of a religion, that had, as he uſed to ſay, much of the wiſdom that was earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh, but had nothing in it of the wiſdom that was from above, and was pure and peaceable. He did indeed think the corruptions and cruelties of Popery were ſuch groſs and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that Church under thoſe juſt and viſible prejudices, but the ſeveral orders among them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world, and with all the traſh that was among them maintained a face of piety and devotion. He alſo thought the great and fatal errour of the Reformation was, that more of thoſe houſes, and of that courſe of life, free from the entanglements of vows and other mixtures, was not preſerved: So that the Proteſtant Churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers. I have dwelt long upon this mans character. But it was ſo ſingular that it ſeemed to deſerve it. And I was ſo ſingularly bleſs'd by knowing him as I did, that I am ſure he deſerved it of me, that I ſhould give ſo full a view of him; which I hope may be of ſome uſe to the world.

1661.

When the time fixed for the conſecration of the Biſhops of *Scotland* came on, the *Engliſh* Biſhops finding that *Sharp* and *Leightoun* had not Epiſcopal ordination, as Prieſts and Deacons, the other two having been ordained by Biſhops before the wars, they ſtood upon it, that they muſt be ordain'd, firſt Deacons and then Prieſts. *Sharp* was very

The *Scottiſh* Biſhops conſecrated.

1665. very uneasie at this, and remembred them of what had happened when King *James* had set up Episcopacy. Bishop *Andrews* moved at that time the ordaining them as was now proposed: But that was overruled by King *James*, who thought it went too far towards the unchurching of all those who had no Bishops among them. But the late war, and the disputes during that time, had raised these controversies higher, and brought men to stricter notions, and to maintain them with more fierceness. The *English* Bishops did also say, that by the late act of uniformity that matter was more positively settled, than it had been before; so that they could not legally consecrate any, but those who were, according to that constitution, made first Priests and Deacons. They also made this difference between the present time and King *James*'s: For then the *Scots* were only in an imperfect state, having never had Bishops among them since the Reformation; so in such a state of things, in which they had been under a real necessity, it was reasonable to allow of their orders, how defective soever: But that of late they had been in a state of schism, had revolted from their Bishops, and had thrown off that order; so that orders given in such a wilful opposition to the whole constitution of the primitive Church was a thing of another nature. They were positive in the point, and would not dispense with it. *Sharp* stuck more at it, than could have been expected from a man that had swallowed down greater matters. *Leighton* did not stand much upon it. He did not think orders given without Bishops were null and void. He thought, the forms of government were not settled by such positive laws as were unalterable; but only by Apostolical practices, which, as he thought, authorised Episcopacy as the best form. Yet he did not think it necessary to the being of a Church. But he thought that every Church might make such rules of ordination as they pleased, and that they might re-ordain all that come to them from any other Church: and that the re-ordaining a Priest ordained in another Church imported no more, but they received him into orders according to their rules, and did not infer the annulling the orders he had formerly received. These two were upon this privately ordained Deacons and Priests. And then all the four were consecrated publickly in the Abbey of *Westminster*. *Leighton* told me, he was much struck with the feasting and jollity of that day: It had not such an appearance of seriousness or piety, as became the new modelling of a Church. When that was over, he made some attempts to work up *Sharp* to the two designs which possessed him most. The one was, to try what could be done towards the uniting the Presbyterians and them. He offered *Usher*'s reduction, as the plan upon which they ought to form their schemes. The other was, to try how they could raise men to a truer and higher sense of piety, and bring the worship of that Church out of their *extempore* methods into more order; and so to prepare them for a more regular way of worship, which he thought was of much more importance than a form of government. But he was amazed, when he observed that *Sharp* had neither formed any scheme, nor seemed so much as willing to talk of any. He reckoned, they would be established in the next session of Parliament, and so would be legally possessed of their Bishopricks: And then every Bishop was to do the best he could to get all once to submit to his authority: And when that point was carried, they might proceed to other things, as should be found expedient: But he did not care to lay down any scheme. *Fairfoul*, when he talked to him, had always a merry tale ready at hand to divert him: So that he avoided all serious discourse, and indeed did not seem capable of any. By these means *Leighton* quickly lost all heart and hope; and said often to me upon it, that in the whole progress of that affair there appeared such cross characters of an angry providence, that how fully soever he was satisfied in his own mind as to Episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them, and that they were not like to be the men that should build up his Church; so that the struggling about it seemed to him like a fighting against God. He who had the greatest hand in it proceeded with so much dissimulation; and the rest of the order were so mean, and so selfish; and the Earl of *Middleton*, with the other secular men that conducted it, were so openly impious and vitious, that it did cast a reproach on every thing relating to religion to see it managed by such instruments.

1662. The meetings of the Presbyteries forbidden. All the steps that were made afterwards were of a piece with this melancholy beginning. Upon the consecration of the Bishops, the Presbyteries of *Scotland* that were still sitting began now to declare openly against Episcopacy, and to prepare protestations, or other acts or instruments, against them. Some were talking of entring into new

new engagements against the submitting to them. So *Sharp* moved, that, since the King had set up Episcopacy, a Proclamation might be issued out, forbidding Clergymen to meet together in any Presbytery, or other judicatory, till the Bishops should settle a method of proceeding in them. Upon the setting out this Proclamation, a general obedience was given to it: Only the ministers, to keep up a shew of acting on an Ecclesiastick authority, met once and entred into their Books a protestation against the Proclamation, as an invasion on the liberties of the Church, to which they declared they gave obedience only for a time, and for peace sake. *Sharp* procured this without any advice: And it proved very fatal. For when King *James* brought in the Bishops before, they had still suffered the inferiour judicatories to continue sitting, till the Bishops came, and sate down among them: Some of them protested indeed against that: Yet they sate on ever after: And so the whole Church had a face of unity, while all sate together in the same judicatories, tho' upon different principles. The old Presbyterians said, they sate still as in a Court settled by the laws of the Church and State: And tho' they looked on the Bishops sitting among them, and assuming a negative vote, as an usurpation, yet, they said, it did not infer a nullity on the Court: Whereas now, by this silencing these Courts, the case was much altered: For if they had continued sitting, and the Bishops had come among them, they would have said, it was like the bearing with an usurpation, when there was no remedy: And what protestations soever they might have made, or what opposition soever they might have given the Bishops, that would have been kept within their own walls, but would not have broken out into such a distraction, as the nation was cast into upon this: All the opposition that might have been made would have died with those few that were disposed to make it: And, upon due care to fill the vacant places with worthy and well affected men, the nation might have been brought off from their prejudices. But these Courts being now once broken, and brought together afterwards by a sort of connivance, without any legal authority, only as the Bishop's assistants and officials, to give him advice, and to act in his name, they pretended they could not sit in them any more, unless they should change their principles and become throughly Episcopal, which was too great a turn to be soon brought about. So fatally did *Sharp* precipitate matters. He affected to have the reins of the Church wholly put into his hands. The Earl of *Lauderdale* was not sorry to see him commit errours; since the worse things were managed, his advices would be thereby the more justified. And the Earl of *Middletoun* and his party took no care of any business, being almost perpetually drunk: By which they came in a great measure to lose the King. For, tho' upon a frolick, the King, with a few in whose company he took pleasure, would sometimes run into excess, yet he did it seldom, and had a very bad opinion of all that got into the habit and love of drunkenness. 1662.

The new Bishops came down to *Scotland*.

The Bishops came down to *Scotland* soon after their consecration, all in one coach. *Leighton* told me, he believed they were weary of him, for he was very weary of them: But he, finding they intended to be received at *Edenburgh* with some pomp, left them at *Morpeth*, and came to *Edenburgh* a few days before them. He hated all the appearances of vanity. He would not have the title of Lord given him by his friends, and was not easy when others forced it on him. In this I always thought him too stiff: It provoked the other Bishops, and looked like singularity and affectation, and furnished those that were prejudiced against him with a specious appearance, to represent him as a man of odd notions and practices. The Lord Chancellour, with all the Nobility and Privy Counsellours, then at *Edenburgh*, went out, together with the Magistracy of the city, and brought the Bishops in, as in triumph. I looked on; And tho' I was thoroughly Episcopal, yet I thought there was somewhat in the pomp of that entry, that did not look like the humility that became their function: Soon after their arrival, six other Bishops were consecrated, but not ordained Priests and Deacons. The See of *Edenburgh* was for some time kept vacant. *Sharp* hoped that *Douglas* might be prevailed on to accept it: But he would enter into no treaty about it. So the Earl of *Middletoun* forced upon *Sharp* one *Wishart*, who had been the Marquis of *Montrose*'s chaplain, and had been taken prisoner, and used with so much cruelty in the jayl of *Edenburgh*, that it seem'd but justice to advance a man in that place, where he had suffered so much.

They were brought into Parliament.

The session of Parliament came on in *April* 1662: where the first thing that was proposed by the Earl of *Middletoun* was, that since the act rescissory had annulled all the Parliaments after that held in the year 1633, the former laws in favour of Epis-

1662. copacy were now again in force, the King had reſtored that function which had been ſo long glorious in the Church, and for which his bleſſed father had ſuffered ſo much: And tho' the Biſhops had a right to come and take their place in Parliament, yet it was a piece of reſpect to ſend ſome of every ſtate to invite them to come, and ſit among them. This was agreed to: So upon the meſſage the Biſhops came and took their places. *Leightoun* went not with them, as indeed he never came to Parliament but when there was ſomething before them that related to religion, or to the Church.

The firſt act that paſſed in this ſeſſion was for reſtoring Epiſcopacy, and ſettling the government of the Church in their hands. *Sharp* had the framing of this act, as *Primeroſe* told me. The whole government and juriſdiction of the Church in the ſeveral dioceſes was declared to be lodged in the Biſhops, which they were to exerciſe with the advice and aſſiſtance of ſuch of their clergy, as were of known loyalty and prudence: All men that held any benefice in the Church were required to own and ſubmit to the government of the Church, as now by law eſtabliſhed. This was plainly the ſetting Epiſcopacy on another bottom, than it had been ever on in *Scotland* before this time: For the whole body of the Presbyterians did formerly maintain ſuch a ſhare in the adminiſtration, that the Biſhops had never pretended to any more, than to be their ſettled Preſidents with a negative voice upon them. But now it was ſaid, that the whole power was lodged ſimply in the Biſhop, who was only bound to carry along with him in the adminiſtration ſo many Presbyters, as he thought fit to ſingle out, as his adviſers and aſſiſtants: which was the taking all power out of the body of the Clergy: Church judicatories were now made only the Biſhop's aſſiſtants: And the few of the Clergy that muſt aſſiſt being to be pickt out by him, that was only a matter of ſhew; nor had they any authority lodged with them, all that being veſted only in the Biſhop: Nor did it eſcape cenſure, that among the qualifications of thoſe Presbyters that were to be the Biſhop's adviſers and aſſiſtants, loyalty and prudence were only named; and that piety and learning were forgot, which muſt always be reckoned the firſt qualifications of the Clergy. As to the obligation to own and ſubmit to the government thus eſtabliſhed by law, they ſaid, it was hard to ſubmit to ſo high an authority as was now lodged with the Biſhops; but to require them to own it, ſeemed to import an antecedent approving, or at leaſt a ſubſequent juſtifying of ſuch an authority, which carried the matter far beyond a bare obedience, even to an impoſing upon conſcience. Theſe were not only the exceptions made by the Presbyterians, but by the Epiſcopal men themſelves, who had never carried the argument farther in *Scotland*, than for a precedency, with ſome authority in ordination, and a negative in matters of juriſdiction. They thought, the body of the Clergy ought to be a check upon the Biſhops, and that, without the conſent of the majority, they ought not to be legally impowered to act in ſo imperious a manner, as was warranted by this act. Many of them would never ſubſcribe to this form of owning and ſubmitting: And the more prudent Biſhops did not impoſe it on their Clergy. The whole frame of the act was liable to great cenſure. It was thought an unexcuſable piece of madneſs, that, when a government was brought in upon a nation ſo averſe to it, the firſt ſtep ſhould carry their power ſo high. All the Biſhops, except *Sharp*, diſowned their having any ſhare in the penning this act; which indeed was paſs'd in haſte, without due conſideration. Nor did any of the Biſhops, no not *Sharp* himſelf, ever carry their authority ſo high, as by the act they were warranted to do. But all the enemies to Epiſcopacy had this act ever in their mouths, to excuſe their not ſubmitting to it; and ſaid, it aſſerted a greater ſtretch of authority in Biſhops, than they themſelves thought fit to aſſume.

Scruples about the oath of ſupremacy.

Soon after that act paſs'd, ſome of the Presbyterian preachers were ſummoned to anſwer before the Parliament for ſome reflexions made in their ſermons againſt Epiſcopacy. But nothing could be made of it: For their words were general, and capable of different ſenſes. So it was reſolved, for a proof of their loyalty, to tender them the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy. That had been enacted in the former Parliament, and was refuſed by none, but the Earl of *Caſſilis*. He deſired, that an explanation might be made of the ſupremacy: The words of the oath were large: And when the oath was enacted in *England*, a clear explanation was given in one of the articles of the Church of *England*, and more copiouſly afterwards in a diſcourſe by Archbiſhop *Uſher*, publiſhed by King *James*'s order. But the Parliament would not ſatisfy him ſo far. And they were well pleaſed to ſee ſcruples raiſed about the oath,

that

that ſo a colour might be put on their ſeverities againſt ſuch as ſhould refuſe it, as being men that refuſed to ſwear allegiance to the King. Upon that the Earl of *Caſſilis* left the Parliament, and quitted all his employments: For he was a man of a moſt inflexible firmneſs. Many ſaid, there was no need of an explanation, ſince how ambiguous ſoever the words might be in themſelves, yet that oath, being brought to *Scotland* from *England*, ought to be underſtood in the ſame ſenſe in which it was impoſed in that Kingdom. On the other hand, there was juſt reaſon for ſome mens being tender in ſo ſacred a matter as an oath. The Earl of *Caſſilis* had offered to take the oath, provided he might join his explanation it. The Earl of *Midletoun* was contented to let him ſay what he pleaſed, but he would not ſuffer him to put it in writing. The Miniſters, to whom it was now tendred, offered to take it upon the ſame terms; and in a petition to the Lords of the articles they offered their explanation. Upon that a debate aroſe, whether an act explanatory of the oath ſhould be offered to the Parliament, or not. This was the firſt time that *Leightoun* appeared in Parliament. He preſſed, it might be done, with much zeal. He ſaid the land mourned by reaſon of the many oaths that had been taken: The words of this oath were certainly capable of a bad ſenſe: In compaſſion to Papiſts a limited ſenſe had been put on them in *England*: And he thought there ſhould be a like tenderneſs ſhewed to Proteſtants, eſpecially when the ſcruple was juſt, and there was an oath in the caſe, in which the matter ought certainly to be made clear: To act otherwiſe looked like the laying ſnares for people, and the making men offenders for a word. *Sharp* took this ill from him, and replied upon him with great bitterneſs: And ſaid, it was below the dignity of government to make acts to ſatisfie the weak ſcruples of peeviſh men: It ill became them, who had impoſed their Covenant on all people without any explanation, and had forced all to take it, now to expect ſuch extraordinary favours. *Leightoun* inſiſted, that it ought to be done for that very reaſon, that all people might ſee a difference between the mild proceedings of the government now, and their ſeverity: And that it ill became the very ſame perſons, who had complained of that rigour, now to practiſe it themſelves; for thus it may be ſaid, the world goes mad by turns. This was ill taken by the Earl of *Midletoun*, and all his party: For they deſigned to keep the matter ſo, that the Presbyterians ſhould be poſſeſſed with many ſcruples on this head; and that, when any of the party ſhould be brought before them, whom they believed in fault, but had not full proof againſt, the oath ſhould be tendred as the trial of their allegiance, and that on their refuſing it they ſhould cenſure them as they thought fit. So the Miniſters petition was rejected, and they were required to take the oath as it ſtood in the law, without putting any ſenſe upon it. They refuſed to do it, and were upon that condemned to perpetual baniſhment, as men that denied allegiance to the King. And by this an engine was found out to baniſh as many as they pleaſed: For the reſolution was taken up by the whole party to refuſe it, unleſs with an explanation. So ſoon did men forget all their former complaints of the ſeverity of impoſing oaths, and began to ſet on foot the ſame practices now, when they had it in their power to do it. But how unbecoming ſoever this rigour might be in laymen, it was certainly much more indecent when managed by Clergymen. And the ſupremacy which was now turned againſt the Presbyterians was, not long after this, laid much heavier on the Biſhops themſelves: And then they deſired an explanation, as much as the Presbyterians did now, but could not obtain it. 1662.

The Parliament was not ſatisfied with this oath: For they apprehended, that many would infer, that, ſince it came from *England*, it ought to be underſtood in the publick and eſtabliſhed ſenſe of the words that was paſs'd there, both in an article of doctrine and in an act of Parliament. Therefore another oath was likewiſe taken from the *Engliſh* pattern, of abjuring the Covenant; both the League and the national Covenant. It is true, this was only impoſed on men in the magiſtracy, or in publick employments. By it all the Presbyterians were turned out: For this oath was decried by the Miniſters as little leſs than open apoſtacy from God, and a throwing off their baptiſmal Covenant.

The main buſineſs of this ſeſſion of Parliament, now that Epiſcopacy was ſettled, and theſe oaths were enacted, was the paſſing of the act of indemnity. The Earl of *Midletoun* had obtained of the King an inſtruction to conſent to the fining of the chief offenders, or to other puniſhments not extending to life. This was intended to enrich him and his party, ſince all the rich and great offenders would be ſtruck with the terrour of this, and chooſe rather to make him a good preſent, than to be fined on record, Debates about an act of indemnity.

1662. record, as guilty persons. This matter was debated at the Council in *Whitehal*. The Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Crawford* argued against it. They said, the King had granted a full indemnity in *England*, out of which none were excepted but the regicides: It seemed therefore an unkind and an unequal way of proceeding towards *Scotland*, that had merited eminently at the King's hands ever since the year 1648, and suffered much for it, that the one Kingdom should not have the same measure of grace and pardon that was granted in the other. The Earl of *Middletoun* answered, that all he desired was in favour of the loyal party in *Scotland*, who were undone by their adhering to the King: The revenue of the Crown was too small, and too much charged, to repair their losses: So the King had no other way to be just to them, but to make their enemies pay for their rebellion. Some plausible limitations were offered to the fines to which any should be condemned; as that they should be only for offences committed since the year 1650, and that no man should be fined in above a year's rent of his estate. These were agreed to. So he had an instruction to pass an act of indemnity, with a power of fining restrain'd to these rules. There was one Sir *George Mackenzie*, since made Lord *Tarbot* and Earl of *Cromarty*, a young man of great vivacity of parts, but full of ambition, and had the art to recommend himself to all sides and parties by turns, and has made a great figure in that country now above fifty years. He had great notions of virtue and religion: But they were only notions, at least they have not had great effect on himself at all times. He became now the Earl of *Middletoun*'s chief favourite. *Primerose* was grown rich and cautious: And his maxim having always been, that, when he apprehended a change, he ought to lay in for it by courting the side that was depressed, that so in the next turn he might secure friends to himself, he began to think that the Earl of *Middletoun* went too fast to hold out long. He had often advised him to manage the business of restoring Episcopacy in a slow progress. He had formed a scheme, by which it would have been the work of seven years. But the Earl of *Middletoun*'s heat, and *Sharp*'s vehemence, spoiled all his project. The Earl of *Middletoun* after his own disgrace said often to him, that his advices had been always wise and faithful: But he thought Princes were more sensible of services, and more apt to reflect on them, and to reward them, than he found they were.

It was desired that some might be incapacitated.

When the settlement of Episcopacy was over, the next care was to prepare the act of indemnity. Some proposed, that, besides the power of fining, they should move the King, that he would consent to an instruction, impowering them likewise to put some under an incapacity to hold any publick trust. This had never been proposed in publick. But the Earl of *Middletoun* pretended, that many of the best affected of the Parliament had proposed it in private to himself. So he sent the Lord *Tarbot* up to the King with two draughts of an act of indemnity, the one containing an exception of some persons to be fined, and the other containing likewise a clause for the incapacitating of some, not exceeding twelve, from all publick trust. He was ordered to lay both before the King: The one was penned according to the Earl of *Middletoun*'s instructions: The other was drawn at the desire of the Parliament, for which he prayed an instruction, if the King thought fit to approve of it. The Earl of *Lauderdale* had no apprehension of any design against himself in the motion. So he made no objection to it. And an instruction was drawn, impowering the Earl of *Middletoun* to pass an act with that clause. *Tarbot* was then much considered at Court, as one of the most extraordinary men that *Scotland* had produced, and was the better liked, because he was looked on as the person that the Earl of *Middletoun* intended to set up in the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s room, who was then so much hated, that nothing could have preserved him but the course that was taken to ruin him. So Lord *Tarbot* went back to *Scotland*. And the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Newburgh* went down with him, by whose wild and ungoverned extravagancies the Earl of *Middletoun*'s whole conduct fell under such an universal odium, and so much contempt, that, as his own ill management forced the King to put an end to his ministry, so he could not have served there much longer with any reputation.

One instance of unusual severity was, that a letter of the Lord *Lorn*'s to the Lord *Duffus* was intercepted, in which he did a little too plainly, but very truly, complain of the practices of his enemies in endeavouring to possess the King against him by many lies: But he said, he had now discovered them, and had defeated them, and had gained the person upon whom the chief among them depended. This was the Earl of *Clarendon*, upon whom the Earl of *Berkshire* had wrought so much, that he resolved to oppose his restoration no more: And for this the Earl of *Berkshire* was to have a thou-

a thousand pounds. This letter was carried into the Parliament, and complained of as leasing-making; since Lord *Lorn* pretended, he had discovered the lies of his enemies to the King, which was a sowing dissension between the King and his subjects, and the creating in the King an ill opinion of them. So the Parliament desired, the King would send him down to be tried upon it. The King thought the letter very indiscreetly writ, but could not see any thing in it that was criminal. Yet, in compliance with the desire of so zealous a Parliament, Lord *Lorn* was sent down upon his parole: But the King writ positively to the Earl of *Midletoun*, not to proceed to the execution of any sentence that might pass upon him. Lord *Lorn* upon his appearance was made a prisoner: And an indictment was brought against him for leasing-making. He made no defence: But in a long speech he set out the great provocation he had been under, the many libels that had been printed against him: Some of these had been put in the King's own hands, to represent him as unworthy of his grace and favour: So, after all that hard usage, it was no wonder, if he had writ with some sharpness: But he protested, he meant no harm to any person; his design being only to preserve and save himself from the malice and lies of others, and not to make lies of any. In conclusion, he submitted to the justice of the Parliament, and cast himself on the King's mercy. He was upon this condemned to die, as guilty of leasing-making: And the day of his execution was left to the Earl of *Midletoun* by the Parliament. 1662. *Lorn* condemned.

I never knew any thing more generally cried out on than this was, unless it was the second sentence pass'd on him twenty years after this, which had more fatal effects, and a more tragical conclusion. He was certainly born to be the signalest instance in this age of the rigour, or rather of the mockery, of justice. All that was said at this time to excuse the proceeding was, that it was certain his life was in no danger. But since that depended on the King, it did not excuse those who pass'd so base a sentence, and left to posterity the precedent of a Parliamentary judgment; by which any man may be condemned for a letter of common news. This was not all the fury with which this matter was driven: For an act was pass'd against all persons, who should move the King for restoring the children of those who were attainted by Parliament; which was an unheard-of restraint on applications to the King for his grace and mercy. This the Earl of *Midletoun* also pass'd, tho' he had no instruction for it. There was no penalty put in the act: For it was a maxim of the pleaders for prerogative, that the fixing a punishment was a limitation on the Crown: Whereas an act forbidding any thing, tho' without a penalty, made the offenders criminal: And in that case they did reckon, that the punishment was arbitrary; only that it could not extend to life. A Committee was next appointed for setting the fines. They proceeded without any regard to the rules the King had set them. The most obnoxious compounded secretly. No consideration was had either of mens crimes, or of their estates: No proofs were brought. Enquiries were not so much as made: But as men were delated, they were marked down for such a fine: And all was transacted in a secret Committee. When the list of the men and of their fines was read in Parliament, exceptions were made to divers; particularly some who had been under age all the time of transgression, and others abroad. But to every thing of that kind an answer was made, that there would come a proper time in which every man was to be heard in his own defence: For the meaning of setting the fine was only this, that such persons should have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unless they paid the fine: Therefore every one that could stand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, was thereby free from the fine, which was only his composition for the grace and pardon of the act. So all pass'd in that great hurry.

The other point, concerning the incapacity, was carried farther than was perhaps intended at first; tho' the Lord *Tarbot* assured me, he had from the beginning designed it. It was infused into all people, that the King was weary of the Earl of *Lauderdale*, but that he could not decently throw him off, and that therefore the Parliament must help him with a fair pretence for doing it. Yet others were very apprehensive, that the King could not approve of a Parliament's falling upon a Minister. So Lord *Tarbot* proposed two expedients. The one was, that no person should be named, but that every member should do it by ballot, and should bring twelve names in a paper; and that a secret Committee of three of every Estate should make the scrutiny; and that they, without making any report to the Parliament, should put those twelve names on whom the greater number fell in the act of incapacity; which was to be an act apart, and not made a clause of the act of indemnity. This was taken from the Some incapacitated by ballot.

1662. oſtraciſm in *Athens*, and ſeemed the beſt method in an act of oblivion, in which all that was paſs'd was to be forgotten: And no ſeeds of feuds would remain, when it was not ſo much as known againſt whom any one had voted. The other expedient was, that a clauſe ſhould be put in the act, that it ſhould have no force, and that the names in it ſhould never be publiſhed, unleſs the King ſhould approve of it. By this means it was hoped, that, if the King ſhould diſlike the whole thing, yet it would be eaſy to ſoften that, by letting him ſee how entirely the act was in his power. Emiſſaries were ſent to every Parliament man, directing him how to make his liſt, that ſo the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Crawford*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, might be three of the number. This was managed ſo carefully, that by a great majority they were three of the incapacitated perſons. The Earl of *Midletoun* paſs'd the act, tho' he had no inſtruction about it in this form. The matter was ſo ſecretly carried, that it was not let out till the day before it was done: For they reckoned their ſucceſs in it was to depend on the ſecrecy of it, and in their carrying it to the King, before he ſhould be poſſeſſed againſt it by the Earl of *Lauderdale*, or his party. So they took great care to viſit the packet, and to ſtop any that ſhould go to Court poſt: And all people were under ſuch terrour, that no courage was left. Only Lord *Lorn* ſent one on his own horſes, who was to go on in croſs roads, till he got into *Yorkſhire*; for they had ſecured every ſtage to *Durham*. By this means the Earl of *Lauderdale* had the news three days before the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* got to Court. He carried it preſently to the King, who could ſcarce believe it. But when he ſaw by the letters that it was certainly true, he aſſured the Earl of *Lauderdale*, that he would preſerve him, and never ſuffer ſuch a deſtructive precedent to paſs. He ſaid, he looked for no better upon the Duke of *Richmond*'s going to *Scotland*, and his being perpetually drunk there. This mortified the Earl of *Lauderdale*; for it looked like the laying in an excuſe for the Earl of *Midletoun*. From the King, by his orders, he went to the Earl of *Clarendon*, and told all to him. He was amazed at it; and ſaid, that certainly he had ſome ſecret friend that had got into their confidence, and had perſuaded them to do as they had done on deſign to ruin them. But growing more ſerious, he added, he was ſure the King on his own account would take care not to ſuffer ſuch a thing to paſs: Otherwiſe no man could ſerve him: If way was given to ſuch a method of proceeding, he himſelf would go out of his dominions as faſt as his gout would ſuffer him.

The King was diſpleaſed with this.

Two days after this the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* came to Court. They brought the act of incapacity ſealed up, together with a letter from the Parliament, magnifying the Earl of *Midletoun*'s ſervices, and another letter ſigned by ten of the Biſhops, ſetting forth his zeal for the Church, and his care of them all: And in particular they ſet out the deſign he was then on, of going round ſome of the worſt affected counties to ſee the Church eſtabliſhed in them, as a work that was highly meritorious. At the ſame time he ſent over the Earl of *Newburgh* to *Ireland*, to engage the Duke of *Ormond* to repreſent to the King the good effects that they began to feel in that Kingdom from the Earl of *Midletoun*'s adminiſtration in *Scotland*, hoping the King would not diſcourage, much leſs change ſo faithful a miniſter. The King received the Duke of *Richmond* and Lord *Tarbot* very coldly. When they delivered the act of incapacity to him, he aſſured them, it ſhould never be opened by him; and ſaid, their laſt actings were like madmen, or like men that were perpetually drunk. Lord *Tarbot* ſaid, all was yet entire, and in his hands, the act being to live or to die as he pleaſed: He magnified the Earl of *Midletoun*'s zeal in his ſervice, and the loyal affections of his Parliament, who had on this occaſion conſulted both the King's ſafety, and his honour: The incapacity act was only intended, to put it out of the power of men, who had been formerly bad inſtruments, to be ſo any more: And even that was ſubmitted by them to the King's judgment. The King heard them patiently, and, without any farther diſcourſe on the ſubject, diſmiſſed them: So they hoped they had mollified him. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* turned the matter upon the Earl of *Midletoun* and Lord *Tarbot*, who had made the King believe that the Parliament deſired leave to incapacitate ſome, whereas no ſuch deſire had ever been made in Parliament: And then, after that the King upon that miſrepreſentation had given way to it, the Parliament was made believe that the King deſired that ſome might be put under that cenſure: So that the abuſe had been equally put on both: Honours went by ballot at *Venice*: But puniſhments had never gone ſo, ſince the oſtraciſm at *Athens*, which was the factious practice of a jealous Commonwealth, never to be ſet up as a precedent under a Monarchy: Even the *Athenians* were aſhamed of it, when *Ariſtides*,

ider, the juſteſt man among them, fell under the cenſure: And they laid it aſide not long after. 1662.

The Earl of *Clarendon* gave up the thing as inexcuſable: But he ſtudied to preſerve the Earl of *Middletoun*. The change newly made in the Church of *Scotland* had been managed by him with zeal and ſucceſs: But tho' it was well begun, yet if theſe laws were not maintained by a vigorous execution, the Presbyterians, who were quite diſpirited by the fleddiſh conduct, would take heart again; eſpecially if they ſaw the Earl of *Lauderdale* grow upon him, whom they looked on as theirs in his heart: So he prayed the King to forgive one ſingle fault, that came after ſo much merit. He alſo ſent advices to the Earl of *Middletoun* to go on in his care of eſtabliſhing the Church, and to get the Biſhops to ſend up copious accounts of all that he had done. The King ordered him to come up, and to give him an account of the affairs in *Scotland*. But he repreſented the abſolute neceſſity of ſeeing ſome of the laws lately made put in execution: For it was hoped, the King's diſpleaſure would be allayed, and go off, if ſome time could be but gained.

Great pains taken to excuſe *Middletoun*.

One act paſs'd in the laſt Parliament that reſtored the rights of patronage; the taking away of which even Presbytery could not carry till the year 1649, in which they had the Parliament entirely in their hands. Then the election of Miniſters was put in the Church ſeſſion and the lay elders: So that, from that time all that had been admitted to Churches came in without preſentations. One clauſe in the act declared all theſe incumbents to be unlawful poſſeſſors: Only it indemnified them for what was paſt, and required them before *Michaelmaſs* to take preſentations from the patrons, who were obliged to give them being demanded, and to get themſelves to be inſtituted by the Biſhops; otherwiſe their Churches were declared vacant on *Michaelmaſs* day. This took in all the young and hot men: So the Presbyterians had many meetings about it, in which they all reſolved not to obey the act. They reckoned, the taking inſtitution from a Biſhop was ſuch an owning of his authority, that it was a renouncing of all their former principles: Whereas ſome few that had a mind to hold their benefices, thought that was only a ſecular law for a legal right to their tithes and benefices, and had no relation to their ſpiritual concerns; and therefore they thought they might ſubmit to it, eſpecially where Biſhops were ſo moderate as to impoſe no ſubſcription upon them, as the greater part were. But the reſolution taken by the main body of the Presbyterians was, to pay no obedience to any of the acts made in this ſeſſion, and to look on, and ſee what the State would do. The Earl of *Middletoun* was naturally fierce, and that was heightened by the ill ſtate of his affairs at Court: So he reſolved on a punctual execution of the law. He and all about him were at this time ſo conſtantly diſordered by high entertainments and other exceſſes, that, even in the ſhort intervals between their drunken bouts, they were not cool nor calm enough to conſider what they were doing. He had alſo ſo mean an opinion of the party, that he believed they would comply with any thing rather than loſe their benefices. And therefore he declared, he would execute the law in its utmoſt rigour. On the other hand, the heads of the Presbyterians reckoned, that if great numbers were turned out all at once, it would not be poſſible to fill their places in the ſudden; and that the government would be forced to take them in again, if there were ſuch a vacancy made, that a great part of the nation were caſt deſtitute, and had no divine ſervice in it. For that which all the wiſer of the party apprehended moſt was, that the Biſhops would go on ſlowly, and ſingle out ſome that were more factious upon particular provocations, and turn them out by degrees, as they had men ready to put in their room; which would have been more inſenſible, and more excuſable, if indiſcreet zealots had, as it were, forced cenſures from them. The advice ſent over all the country, from their leaders who had ſettled meaſures at *Edenburgh*, was, that they ſhould do and ſay nothing that might give a particular diſtaſte, but ſhould look on, and do their duty as long as they were connived at; and that if any proclamation ſhould be iſſued out, commanding them to be ſilent, they ſhould all obey at once. In theſe meaſures both ſides were deceived in their expectations. The Biſhops went to their ſeveral dioceſes: And according as the people ſtood affected they were well or ill received: And they held their ſynods every where in *October*. In the northern parts very few ſtood out: But in the weſtern parts ſcarce any came to them. The Earl of *Middletoun* went to *Glaſcow* before *Michaelmaſs*. So when the time fixed by the act was paſs'd, and that ſcarce any one in all thoſe Counties had paid any regard to it, he called a meeting of the Privy Council, that they might

The Presbyterian Miniſters ſilenced.

conſider

1662. conſider what was fit to be done. Duke *Hamilton* told me, they were all ſo drunk that day, that they were not capable of conſidering any thing that was laid before them; and would hear of nothing but the executing the law without any relenting or delay. So a proclamation was iſſued out, requiring all who had their livings without preſentations, and who had not obeyed the late act, to give over all further preaching, or ſerving the cure, and to withdraw from their pariſhes immediately: And the military men that lay in the country were ordered to pull them out of their pulpits, if they ſhould preſume to go on in their functions. This was oppoſed only by Duke *Hamilton*, and Sir *James Lockhart*, father to Sir *William Lockhart*. They repreſented, that the much greater part of the preachers in theſe Counties had come into their Churches ſince the year 1649; that they were very popular men, both eſteemed and beloved of their people: It would be a great ſcandal, if they ſhould be turned out, and none be ready to be put in their places: And it would not be poſſible to find a competent number of well qualified men, to fill the many vacancies that this proclamation would make. The Earl of *Midletoun* would hear of nothing, but the immediate execution of the law. So the proclamation was iſſued out: And upon it above two hundred Churches were ſhut up in one day: And above one hundred and fifty more were to be turned out for not obeying, and ſubmitting to the Biſhops ſummons to their ſynods. All this was done without conſidering the conſequence of it, or communicating it to the other Biſhops. *Sharp* ſaid to my ſelf, that he knew nothing of it; nor did he imagine, that ſo raſh a thing could have been done, till he ſaw it in print. He was glad that this was done without his having any ſhare in it: For by it he was furniſhed with ſomewhat, in which he was no way concerned, upon which he might caſt all the blame of all that followed. Yet this was ſuitable enough to a maxim that he and all that ſort of people ſet up, that the execution of laws was that by which all governments maintained their ſtrength, as well as their honour. The Earl of *Midletoun* was ſurprized at this extraordinary ſubmiſſion of the Presbyterians. He had fancied, that the greateſt part would have complied, and that ſome of the more intractable would have done ſome extraordinary thing, to have juſtified the ſeverities he would have exerciſed in that caſe; and was diſappointed both ways. Yet this obedience of a party, ſo little accuſtomed to it, was much magnified at Court. It was ſaid, that all plied before him: They knew he was ſteddy: So they ſaw how neceſſary it was not to change the management, if it was really intended to preſerve the Church. Lord *Tarbot* told me, that the King had expreſſed to himſelf the eſteem he had for *Sheldon*, upon the account of the courage that he ſhewed in the debate concerning the execution of the act of Uniformity at the day prefixed, which was St. *Bartholomew's*: For ſome ſuggeſted the danger that might ariſe, if the act were vigorouſly executed. From thence it ſeems the Earl of *Midletoun* concluded, the zeal he ſhewed now would be ſo acceptable, that all former errours would be forgiven, if he went through with it; as indeed he ſtuck at nothing. Yet the clamour of putting ſeveral Counties, as it were, under an interdict, was very great. So all endeavours were uſed to get as many as could be had to fill thoſe vacancies. And among others I was much preſſed, both by the Earl of *Glencairn* and the Lord *Tarbot*, to go into any of the vacant Churches that I liked. I was then but nineteen: Yet there is no law in *Scotland* limiting the age of a prieſt. And it was upon this account that I was let ſo far into the ſecret of all affairs: For they had ſuch an imagination of ſome ſervice I might do them, that they treated me with a very particular freedom and confidence. But I had drunk in the principles of moderation ſo early, that, tho' I was entirely Epiſcopal, yet I would not engage with a body of men, that ſeemed to have the principles and tempers of Inquiſitors in them, and to have no regard to religion in any of their proceedings. So I ſtood upon my youth, and could not be wrought on to go to the weſt; tho' the Earl of *Glencairn* offered to carry me with him under his protection.

A general character of them.

There was a ſort of an invitation ſent over the Kingdom, like a huy and cry, to all perſons to accept of benefices in the weſt. The livings were generally well endowed, and the parſonage houſes were well built, and in good repair: And this drew many very worthleſs perſons thither, who had little learning, leſs piety, and no ſort of diſcretion. They came thither with great prejudices againſt them, and had many difficulties to wreſtle with. The former incumbents, who were for the moſt part Proteſtors, were a grave ſolemn ſort of people. Their ſpirits were eager, and their tempers ſour: But they had an appearance that created reſpect. They were related to the chief fa-

milies

milies in the country, either by blood or marriage; and had lived in ſo decent a man- 1662.
ner, that the Gentry paid great reſpect to them. They uſed to viſit their pariſhes much, and were ſo full of the ſcriptures, and ſo ready at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practice extempore ſermons: For the cuſtom in *Scotland* was after dinner or ſupper to read a chapter in the ſcripture: And where they happened to come, if it was acceptable, they on the ſudden expounded the chapter. They had brought the people to ſuch a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and ſervants would have prayed extempore. I have often overheard them at it: And, tho' there was a large mixture of odd ſtuff, yet I have been aſtoniſhed to hear how copious and ready they were in it. Their Miniſters generally brought them about them on the ſunday nights, where the ſermons were talked over; and every one, women as well as men, were deſired to ſpeak their ſenſe and their experience: And by theſe means they had a comprehenſion of matters of religion, greater than I have ſeen among people of that ſort any where. The preachers went all in one track, of raiſing obſervations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving theſe by reaſons, and then of applying thoſe, and ſhewing the uſe that was to be made of ſuch a point of doctrine, both for inſtruction and terrour, for exhortation and comfort, for trial of themſelves upon it, and for furniſhing them with proper directions and helps: And this was ſo methodical, that the people grew to follow a ſermon quite through every branch of it. To this ſome added, the reſolving of doubts concerning the ſtate they were in, or their progreſs or decay in it; which they called caſes of conſcience: And theſe were taken from what their people ſaid to them at any time; very oft being under fits of melancholy, or vapours, or obſtructions, which, tho' they flowed from natural cauſes, were looked on as the work of the ſpirit of God, and a particular exerciſe to them, and they fed this diſeaſe of weak minds too much. Thus they had labour'd very diligently, tho' with a wrong method and wrong notions. But as they lived in great familiarity with their people, and uſed to pray and to talk oft with them in private, ſo it can hardly be imagined to what a degree they were loved and reverenced by them. They kept ſcandalous perſons under a ſevere diſcipline: For breach of ſabbath, for an oath, or the leaſt diſorder in drunkenneſs, perſons were cited before the Church ſeſſion, that conſiſted of ten or twelve of the chief of the pariſh, who with the Miniſter had this care upon them, and were ſolemnly reproved for it: For fornication they were not only reproved before theſe; but there was a high place in the church called the ſtool or pillar of repentance where they ſate at the times of Worſhip for three Lord's days, receiving admonitions, and making profeſſion of repentance on all thoſe days; which ſome did with many tears, and ſerious exhortations to all the reſt, to take warning by their fall: For adultery they were to ſit ſix months in that place, covered with ſackcloth. Theſe things had a grave appearance. Their faults and defects were not ſo conſpicuous. They had a very ſcanty meaſure of learning, and a narrow compaſs in it. They were little men, of a very indifferent ſize of capacity, and apt to fly out into great exceſs of paſſion and indiſcretion. They were ſervile, and too apt to fawn upon, and flatter their admirers. They were affected in their deportment, and very apt to cenſure all who differed from them, and to believe and report whatſoever they heard to their prejudice. And they were ſuperſtitious and haughty. In their ſermons they were apt to enlarge on the ſtate of the preſent time, and to preach againſt the ſins of Princes and Courts: A topick that naturally makes men popular. It has an appearance of courage: And the people are glad to hear thoſe ſins inſiſted on, in which they perceive they have no ſhare, and to believe that all the judgments of God come down by the means and procurement of other mens ſins. But their opinions about the independence of the Church and Clergy on the Civil power, and their readineſs to ſtir up the people to tumults and wars, was that which begot ſo ill an opinion of them at this time in all men, that very few, who were not deeply engaged with them in theſe conceits, pitied them much under all the ill uſage they now met with. I hope this is no impertinent nor ungrateful digreſſion. It is a juſt and true account of thoſe men and thoſe times, from which a judicious reader will make good inferences. I will conclude this with a judicious anſwer that one of the wiſeſt and beſt of them, *Colvil*, who ſucceeded *Leightoun* in the Headſhip of the College of *Edenburgh*, made to the Earl of *Midletoun*, when he preſs'd him in the point of defenſive arms to tell plainly his opinion, whether they were lawful or not. He ſaid, the queſtion had been often put to him, and he had always declined to anſwer it: But to him he plainly ſaid, he wiſhed that Kings and their Miniſters would believe them lawful, and ſo

1662.

govern as men that expect to be resisted; but he wished, that all their subjects would believe them to be unlawful, and so the world would be at quiet.

Prejudices infused against Episcopacy.

I do now return to end the account of the state of that country at this time. The people were much troubled, when so many of their Ministers were turned out. Their Ministers had, for some months before they were thus silenced, been infusing this into their people, both in publick and private; that all that was designed in this change of Church government was to destroy the power of godliness, and to give an impunity to vice; that Prelacy was a tyranny in the Church, set on by ambitious and covetous men, who aimed at nothing but authority and wealth, luxury and idleness; and that they intended to encourage vice, that they might procure to themselves a great party among the impious and immoral. The people, thus prepossessed, seeing the Earl of *Midletoun*, and all the train that followed him thro' those Counties, running into excesses of all sorts, and railing at the very appearance of vertue and sobriety, were confirmed in the belief of all that their Ministers had told them. What they had heard concerning *Sharp*'s betraying those that had employed him, and the other Bishops, who had taken the Covenant, and had forced it on others, and now preach'd against it, openly owning that they had in so doing gone against the express dictate of their own conscience, did very much heighten all their prejudices, and fixed them so in them, that it was scarce possible to conquer them afterwards. All this was out of measure increased by the new incumbents, who were put in the places of the ejected preachers, and were generally very mean and despicable in all respects. They were the worst preachers I ever heard: They were ignorant to a reproach: And many of them were openly vitious. They were a disgrace to their orders, and the sacred functions; and were indeed the dreg and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them, who arose above contempt and scandal, were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated, as the others were despised. This was the fatal beginning of restoring Episcopacy in *Scotland*, of which few of the Bishops seemed to have any sense. *Fairfoul*, the most concerned, had none at all: For he fell into a paralytick state, in which he languished a year before he died. I have thus opened the first settlement in *Scotland*: Of which I my self observed what was visible, and understood the more secret transactions from those, who had such a share in them, that it was not possible for them to mistake them: And I had no reason to think they intended to deceive, or misinform me.

1660.

The affairs of *England*.

I will in the next place change the climate, and give as particular an account as I can of the settlement of *England* both in Church and State: Which, tho' it will be perhaps imperfect, and will in some parts be out of order, yet I am well assured it will be found true; having picked it up at several times, from the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Sir *Robert Murray*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Earl of *Clarendon* the son of the Lord Chancellour, the Lord *Hollis*, and Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, who was the Speaker of the House of Commons, under whose protection I lived nine years when I was preacher at the Rolls, he being then Master of the Rolls. From such hands I could not be misled, when I laid all together, and considered what reason I had to make allowances for the different accounts that diversity of parties and interests may lead men to give, they too easily believing some things, and as easily rejecting others, as they stood affected.

After the King came over, no person in the House of Commons had the courage to move the offering propositions for any limitation of prerogative, or the defining of any doubtful points. All was joy and rapture. If the King had applyed himself to business, and had pursued those designs which he studied to retrieve all the rest of his reign, when it was too late, he had probably in those first transports carried every thing that he would have desired, either as to revenue or power. But he was so given up to pleasure, that he devolved the management of all his affairs on the Earl of *Clarendon*; who as he had his breeding in the law, so he had all along declared himself for the ancient liberties of *England*, as well as for the rights of the Crown. A domestick accident had happened to him, which heightened his zeal for the former. He, when he began to grow eminent in his profession, came down to see his aged father, a gentleman of *Wiltshire*: Who, one day, as they were walking in the field together, told him, that men of his profession did often stretch law and prerogative, to the prejudice of the liberty of the subject, to recommend and advance themselves: So he charged him, if ever he grew to any eminence in his profession, that he should never

never ſacrifice the laws and liberties of his country to his own intereſts, or to the will of a Prince. He repeated this twice: And immediately he fell into a fit of an apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours. This the Earl of *Clarendon* told the Lady *Ranelaugh*, who put him often in mind of it: And from her I had it. 1666.

Clarendon's juſt and moderate notions.

He reſolved not to ſtretch the prerogative beyond what it was before the wars, and would neither ſet aſide the Petition of Right, nor endeavour to raiſe the Courts of the Star Chamber or the High Commiſſion again, which could have been eaſily done, if he had ſet about it: Nor did he think fit to move for the repeal of the act for triennial Parliaments, till other matters were well ſettled. He took care indeed to have all the things that were extorted by the long Parliament from King *Charles* I. to be repealed. And ſince the diſpute of the power of the Militia was the moſt important, and the moſt inſiſted on, he was very earneſt to have that clearly determined for the future. But as to all the acts relating to property, or the juſt limitation of the prerogative, ſuch as the matter of the ſhip-money, the tonnage and poundage, and the *Habeas Corpus* act, he did not touch on theſe. And as for the ſtanding revenue, 1200000 *l.* a year was all that was asked: And, tho' it was much more than any of our Kings had formerly, yet it was readily granted. This was to anſwer all the ordinary expence of the government. It was believed, that if two millions had been asked, he could have carried it. But he had no mind to put the King out of the neceſſity of having recourſe to his Parliament. The King came afterwards to believe, that he could have raiſed both his authority and revenue much higher, but that he had no mind to carry it farther, or to truſt him too much. Whether all theſe things could have been got at that time, or not, is above my conjecture. But this I know, that all the Earl of *Clarendon*'s enemies after his fall ſaid, theſe things had been eaſily obtained, if he had taken any pains in the matter, but that he himſelf had no mind to it: And they infuſed this into the King, ſo that he believed it, and hated him mortally on that account. And in his difficulties afterwards he ſaid often, all thoſe things might have been prevented, if the Earl of *Clarendon* had been true to him.

Venner's fury.

The King had not been many days at *Whitehal*, when one *Venner*, a violent fifth-monarchy man, who thought it was not enough to believe that *Chriſt* was to reign on earth, and to put the ſaints in the poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, (an opinion that they were all unſpeakably fond of,) but added to this, that the ſaints were to take the Kingdom themſelves. He gathered ſome of the moſt furious of the party to a meeting in *Coleman* ſtreet. There they concerted the day and the manner of their riſing to ſet *Chriſt* on his Throne, as they called it. But withal they meant to manage the government in his name; and were ſo formal, that they had prepared ſtandards and colours with their devices on them, and furniſhed themſelves with very good arms. But when the day came, there was but a ſmall appearance, not exceeding twenty. However they reſolved to venture out into the ſtreets, and cry out, No King but *Chriſt*. Some of them ſeemed perſuaded that *Chriſt* would come down, and head them. They ſcoured the ſtreets before them, and made a great progreſs. Some were afraid, and all were amazed at this piece of extravagance. They killed a great many, but were at laſt maſtered by numbers: And were all either killed, or taken and executed. Upon this ſome troops of guards were raiſed. And there was a great talk of a deſign, as ſoon as the Army was disbanded, to raiſe a force that ſhould be ſo choſen and modelled that the King might depend upon it; and that it ſhould be ſo conſiderable, that there might be no reaſon to apprehend new tumults any more. The Earl of *Southampton* looked on a while: And, when he ſaw how this deſign ſeemed to be entertained and magnified, he entred into a very free expoſtulation with the Earl of *Clarendon* about it. He ſaid, they had felt the effects of a military government, tho' ſober and religious, in *Cromwell*'s army: He believed vitious and diſſolute troops would be much worſe: The King would grow fond of them: And they would quickly become inſolent and ungovernable: And then ſuch men as he was muſt be only inſtruments to ſerve their ends. He ſaid, he would not look on, and ſee the ruin of his country begun, and be ſilent: A white ſtaff ſhould not bribe him. The Earl of *Clarendon* was perſuaded he was in the right, and promiſed he would divert the King from any other force than what might be decent to make a ſhew with, and what might ſerve to diſperſe unruly multitudes. The Earl of *Southampton* ſaid, if it went no farther he could bear it; but it would not be eaſy to fix ſuch a number, as would pleaſe our Princes, and not give jealouſy. The Earl of *Clarendon* perſuaded the King, that it was neceſſary for him to carry himſelf with great caution, till the old Army ſhould

be

1660. be disbanded: For, if an ill humour got among them, they knew both their courage and their principles, which the present times had for a while a little suppressed: Yet upon any just jealousy there might be great cause to fear new and more violent disorders. By these means the King was so wrought on, that there was no great occasion given for jealousy. The Army was to be disbanded, but in such a manner, with so much respect, and so exact an account of arrears, and such gratuities, that it looked rather to be the dismissing them to the next opportunity, and a reserving them till there should be occasion for their service, than a breaking of them. They were certainly the bravest, the best disciplined, and the sobereſt Army that had been known in these latter ages: Every soldier was able to do the functions of an officer. The Court was at great quiet, when they got rid of such a burden, as lay on them from the fear of such a body of men. The guards, and the new troops that were raised, were made up of such of the Army as *Monk* recommended, and answered for. And with that his great interest at Court came to a stand. He was little considered afterwards.

The trial and execution of the Regicides.

In one thing the temper of the nation appeared to be contrary to severe proceedings: For, tho' the Regicides were at that time odious beyond all expression, and the trials and executions of the first that suffered were run to by vast crouds, and all people seemed pleased with the sight, yet the odiousness of the crime grew at last to be so much flatten'd by the frequent executions, and most of those who suffered dying with much firmness and shew of piety, justifying all they had done, not without a seeming joy for their suffering on that account, that the King was advised not to proceed farther, at least not to have the scene so near the Court as *Charing-cross*. It was indeed remarkable that *Peters*, a sort of an enthusiastical buffoon preacher, tho' a very vitious man, who had been of great use to *Cromwell*, and had been outragious in pressing the King's death with the cruelty and rudeness of an Inquisitor, was the man of them all that was the most sunk in his spirit, and could not in any sort bear his punishment. He had neither the honesty to repent of it, nor the strength of mind to suffer for it as all the rest of them did. He was observed all the while to be drinking some cordial liquors to keep him from fainting. *Harrison* was the first that suffered. He was a fierce and bloody enthusiast. And it was believed, that while the army was in doubt, whether it was fitter to kill the King privately, or to bring him to an open trial, that he offered, if a private way was settled on, to be the man that should do it. So he was begun with. But, however reasonable this might be in it self, it had a very ill effect: For he was a man of great heat and resolution, fixed in his principles, and so persuaded of them, that he had never looked after any interests of his own, but had opposed *Cromwell* when he set up for himself. He went thro' all the indignities and severities of his execution, in which the letter of the law in cases of treason was punctually observed, with a calmness, or rather a chearfulness, that astonished the spectators. He spoke very positively, that what they had done was the cause and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raise up again, how much soever it suffered at that time. Upon this a report was spread, and generally believed, that he said, he himself should rise again: Tho' the party denied that, and reported the words as I have set them down. One person escaped, as was reported, merely by his vices: *Henry Martin*, who had been a most violent enemy to Monarchy. But all that he moved for, was upon *Roman* or *Greek* principles. He never entered into matters of Religion, but on design to laugh both at them and all morality; for he was both an impious and vitious man. And now in his imprisonment he delivered himself up to vice and blasphemy. It was said, that this helped him to so many friends, that upon that very account he was spared. *John Goodwin* and *Milton* did also escape all censure, to the surprise of all people. *Goodwin* had so often not only justified, but magnified the putting the King to death, both in his sermons and books, that few thought he could have been either forgot or excused; for *Peters* and he were the only preachers that spoke of it in that strain. But *Goodwin* had been so zealous an Arminian, and had sown such division among all the sectaries upon these heads, that it was said this procured him friends. Upon what account soever it was, he was not censured. *Milton* had appeared so boldly, tho' with much wit and great purity and elegancy of style, against *Salmasius* and others, upon that argument of the putting the King to death, and had discovered such violence against the late King and all the Royal family, and against Monarchy, that it was thought a strange omission if he was forgot, and an odd strain of clemency, if it was intended he should be forgiven. He was not excepted out of the act

act of indemnity. And afterwards he came out of his concealment, and lived many years much visited by all strangers, and much admired by all at home for the poems he writ, tho' he was then blind; chiefly that of *Paradise Lost*, in which there is a nobleness both of contrivance and execution, that, tho' he affected to write in blank verse without rhyme, and made many new and rough words, yet it was esteemed the beautifullest and perfectest poem that ever was writ, at least in our language. 1660.

But as the sparing these persons was much censured, so on the other hand the putting Sir *Henry Vane* to death was as much blamed: For the declaration from *Breda* being full for an indemnity to all, except the Regicides, he was comprehended in that; since, tho' he was for changing the government, and deposing the King, yet he did not approve of the putting him to death, nor of the force put on the Parliament, but did for some time, while these things were acted, withdraw from the scene. This was so represented by his friends, that an address was made by both Houses on his behalf, to which the King gave a favourable answer, tho' in general words. So he reckoned that he was safe, that being equivalent to an act of Parliament, tho' it wanted the necessary forms. Yet the great share he had in the attainder of the Earl *Strafford*, and in the whole turn of affairs to the total change of government, but above all the great opinion that was had of his parts and capacity to embroil matters again, made the Court think it was necessary to put him out of the way. He was naturally a very fearful man: This one who knew him well told me, and gave me eminent instances of it. He had a head as darkened in his notions of religion, as his mind was clouded with fear: For tho' he set up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it consisted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular opinions or forms; from which he and his party were called Seekers, and seemed to wait for some new and clearer manifestations. In these meetings he preached and prayed often himself, but with so peculiar a darkness, that tho' I have sometimes taken pains to see if I could find out his meaning in his works, yet I could never reach it. And since many others have said the same, it may be reasonable to believe he did somewhat that was a necessary key to the rest. His friends told me, he leaned to *Origen*'s notion of an universal salvation of all, both of devils and the damned, and to the doctrine of pre-existence. When he saw his death was designed, he composed himself to it, with a resolution that surprised all who knew how little of that was natural to him. Some instances of this were very extraordinary, tho' they cannot be mentioned with decency. He was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, where a new and very indecent practice was begun. It was observed, that the dying speeches of the Regicides had left impressions on the hearers, that were not at all to the advantage of the government. So strains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, to prevent that, drummers were placed under the scaffold, who as soon as he began to speak of the publick, upon a sign given, struck up with their drums. This put him in no disorder. He desired they might be stopped, for he understood what was meant by it. Then he went thro' his devotions. And, as he was taking leave of those about him, he happening to say somewhat with relation to the times, the drums struck up a second time: So he gave over, and died with so much composedness, that it was generally thought, the government had lost more than it had gained by his death. 1661. *Vane*'s character. And execution.

The act of indemnity pass'd with very few exceptions; at which the Cavaliers were highly dissatisfied, and made great complaints of it. In the disposal of offices and places, as it was not possible to gratify all, so there was little regard had to mens merits or services. The King was determined to most of these by the cabal that met at Mistress *Palmer*'s lodgings. And tho' the Earl of *Clarendon* did often prevail with the King to alter the resolutions taken there, yet he was forced to let a great deal go that he did not like. He would never make applications to Mistress *Palmer*, nor let any thing pass the seal in which she was named, as the Earl of *Southampton* would never suffer her name to be in the Treasury books. Those vertuous Ministers thought it became them, to let the world see that they did not comply with the King in his vices. But whether the Earl of *Clarendon* spoke so freely to the King about his course of life, as was given out, I cannot tell. When the Cavaliers saw, they had not that share in places that they expected, they complained of it so highly, that the Earl of *Clarendon*, to excuse the King's passing them by, was apt to beat down the value they set on their services. This laid the foundation of an implacable hatred in many of them, that was compleated by the extent and comprehensiveness of the act of indemnity, The King gave himself up to his pleasures.

1661. The act of Indemnity maintained.

nity, which cut off their hopes of being re-imburſed out of the fines, if not the confiſcations of thoſe, who had during the courſe of the wars been on the Parliament's ſide. It is true, the firſt Parliament, called, by way of derogation, the Convention, had been too much on that ſide not to ſecure themſelves and their friends. So they took care to have the moſt comprehenſive words put in it, that could be thought of. But when the new Parliament was called a year after, in which there was a deſign to ſet aſide the act of indemnity, and to have brought in a new one, the King did ſo poſitively inſiſt on his adhering to the act of indemnity, that the deſign of breaking into it was laid aſide. The Earl of *Clarendon* owned it was his counſel. Acts or promiſes of indemnity, he thought, ought to be held ſacred: A fidelity in the obſervation of them was the only foundation, upon which any government could hope to quiet ſeditions or civil wars: And if people once thought, that thoſe promiſes were only made to deceive them, without an intention to obſerve them religiouſly, they would never for the future hearken to any treaty. He often ſaid, it was the making thoſe promiſes had brought the King home, and it was the keeping them muſt keep him at home. So that whole work from beginning to the end was entirely his. The angry men, that were thus diſappointed of all their hopes, made a jeſt of the title of it, *An act of oblivion and of indemnity*; and ſaid, the King had paſs'd an act of oblivion for his friends, and of indemnity for his enemies. To load the Earl of *Clarendon* the more, it was given out that he adviſed the King to gain his enemies, ſince he was ſure of his friends by their principles. With this he was often charged, tho' he always denied it. Whether the King faſtened it upon him after he had diſgraced him, to make him the more odious, I cannot tell. It is certain, the King ſaid many very hard things of him, for which he was much blamed: And in moſt of them he was but little believed.

1662. The King's Marriage.

It was natural for the King upon his Reſtoration to look out for a proper marriage. And it was ſoon obſerved, that he was reſolved not to marry a Proteſtant. He pretended a contempt of the *Germans*, and of the northern Crowns. *France* had no ſiſter. He had ſeen the Duke of *Orleans*'s daughters, and liked none of them. *Spain* had only two Infantas: And as the eldeſt was married to the King of *France*, the ſecond was to go to *Vienna*. So the Houſe of *Portugal* only remained, to furniſh him a wife, among the crowned heads. *Monk* began to hearken to a motion made him for this by a *Jew*, that managed the concerns of *Portugal*, which were now given for loſt, ſince they were abandoned by *France* by the treaty of the *Pyrenees*; in which it appears by Cardinal *Mazarin*'s letters, that he did entirely deliver up their concerns; which was imputed to his deſire to pleaſe the Queen-mother of *France*, who, being a daughter of *Spain*, owned herſelf ſtill to be in the intereſts of *Spain* in every thing in which *France* was not concerned, for in that caſe ſhe pretended ſhe was true to the Crown of *France*. And this was the true ſecret of Cardinal *Mazarin*'s carrying on that war ſo feebly as he did, to gratify the Queen-mother on the one hand, and his own covetouſneſs on the other: For the leſs publick expence was made, he had the greater occaſions of enriching himſelf, which was all he thought on. The *Portugueze* being thus, as they thought, caſt off by *France*, were very apprehenſive of falling under the *Caſtillians*, who, how weak ſoever they were in oppoſition to *France*, yet were like to be too hard for them, when they had nothing elſe on their hands. So, vaſt offers were made, if the King would marry their Infanta, and take them under his protection. *Monk* was the more encouraged to entertain the propoſition, becauſe ſome pretended, that, in the beginning of the war of *Portugal*, King *Charles* had entred into a negotiation for a marriage between his ſon and this Infanta. And the veneration paid his memory was then ſo high, that every thing he had projected was eſteemed ſacred. *Monk* promiſed to ſerve the intereſts of *Portugal*: And that was, as Sir *Robert Southwell* told me, the firſt ſtep made in that matter. Soon after the King came into *England*, an embaſſy of congratulation came from thence, with orders to negotiate that buſineſs. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, who had a pretenſion of merit from the King in behalf of that Crown, ſince they had received and entertained him at *Bruſſels*, when *France* had thrown him off, ſet himſelf much againſt this match: And among other things affirmed, that the Infanta was incapable of having children. But this was little conſidered. The *Spaniards* are not very ſcrupulous in affirming any thing that ſerves their ends: And this marriage was like to ſecure the Kingdom of *Portugal*. So it was no wonder that he oppoſed it: And little regard was had to all that he ſaid to break it.

At

1662.

An alliance proposed from *France*.

At this time Monsieur *Fouquet* was gaining an ascendant in the counsels of *France*, Cardinal *Mazarin* falling then into a languishing, of which he died a year after. He sent one over to the King with a project of an alliance between *France* and *England*. He was addressed first to the Earl of *Clarendon*, to whom he enlarged on all the heads of the scheme he had brought, of which the match with *Portugal* was a main article. And, to make all go down the better, *Fouquet* desired to enter into a particular friendship with the Earl of *Clarendon*; and sent him the offer of 10000 *l.* and assured him of the renewing the same present every year. The Lord *Clarendon* told him, he would lay all that related to the King faithfully before him, and give him his answer in a little time: But for what related to himself, he said, he served a great and bountiful master who knew well how to support and reward his servants: He would ever serve him faithfully; and, because he knew he must serve those from whom he accepted the hire, therefore he rejected the offer with great indignation. He laid before the King the heads of the proposed alliance, which required much consultation. But in the next place he told both the King and his brother what had been offered to himself. They both advised him to accept of it. Why, said he, have you a mind that I should betray you? The King answered, he knew nothing could corrupt him. Then, said he, you know me better than I do my self: For if I take the money I shall find the sweet of it, and study to have it continued to me by deserving it. He told them, how he had rejected the offer; and very seriously warned the King of the danger he saw he might fall into, if he suffered any of those, who served him, to be once pensioners to other Princes: Those presents were made only to bias them in their counsels, and to discover secrets by their means: And if the King gave way to it, the taking money would soon grow to a habit, and spread like an infection thro' the whole Court.

The Duke of *York*'s marriage.

As the motion for the match with *Portugal* was carried on, an incident of an extraordinary nature happened in the Court. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s daughter, being with child, and near her time, called upon the Duke of *York* to own his marriage with her. She had been maid of honour to the Princess Royal: And the Duke, who was even to his old age of an amorous disposition, tried to gain her to comply with his desires. She managed the matter with so much address, that in conclusion he married her. Her father did very solemnly protest, that he knew nothing of the matter, till now that it broke out. The Duke thought to have shaken her from claiming it by great promises, and as great threatnings, But she was a woman of a great spirit. She said, she was his wife, and would have it known that she was so, let him use her afterwards as he pleased. Many discourses were set about upon this occasion. But the King ordered some Bishops and Judges to peruse the proofs she had to produce: And they reported that, according to the doctrine of the Gospel, and the law of *England*, it was a good marriage. So it was not possible to break it, but by trying how far the matter could be carried against her, for marrying a person so near the King without his leave. The King would not break with the Earl of *Clarendon*: And so he told his brother, he must drink as he brewed, and live with her whom he had made his wife. All the Earl of *Clarendon*'s enemies rejoyced at this. For they reckoned, how much soever it seemed to raise him at present, yet it would raise envy so high against him, and make the King so jealous of him, as being more in his brother's intereſts than in his own, that they looked on it as that which would end in his ruin. And he himself thought so, as his son told me: For, as soon as he knew of it, and when he saw his son lifted up with it, he protested to him, that he knew nothing of the matter, till it broke out; but added, that he looked on it, as that which must be all their ruin sooner or later.

1660.

The Duke's character.

Upon this I will digress a little to give an account of the Duke's character, whom I knew for some years so particularly, that I can say much upon my own knowledge. He was very brave in his youth, and so much magnified by Monsieur *Turenne*, that, till his marriage lessened him he really clouded the King, and pass'd for the superiour genius. He was naturally candid and sincere, and a firm friend, till affairs and his religion wore out all his first principles and inclinations. He had a great desire to understand affairs: And in order to that he kept a constant journal of all that pass'd, of which he shewed me a great deal. The Duke of *Buckingham* gave me once a short but severe character of the two brothers. It was the more severe, because it was true: The King (he said) could see things if he would, and the Duke would see

1660.

see things if he could. He had no true judgment, and was soon determined by those whom he trusted: But he was obstinate against all other advices. He was bred with high notions of the Kingly authority, and laid it down for a maxim, that all who opposed the King were rebels in their hearts. He was perpetually in one amour or other, without being very nice in his choice: Upon which the King said once, he believed his brother had his mistresses given him by his Priests for penance. He gave me this account of his changing his religion: When he escaped out of the hands of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had the charge of his education trusted to him by the Parliament, and had used him with great respect, all due care was taken, as soon as he got beyond sea, to form him to a strict adherence to the Church of *England*: Among other things much was said of the authority of the Church, and of the tradition from the Apostles in support of Episcopacy: So that, when he came to observe that there was more reason to submit to the Catholick Church than to one particular Church, and that other traditions might be taken on her word, as well as Episcopacy was received among us, he thought the step was not great, but that it was very reasonable to go over to the Church of *Rome*: And Doctor *Steward* having taught him to believe a real but unconceivable presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament, he thought this went more than half way to transubstantiation. He said, that a Nun's advice to him to pray every day, that, if he was not in the right way, God would set him right, did make a great impression on him. But he never told me when or where he was reconciled. He suffered me to say a great deal to him on all these heads. I shewed the difference between submission and obedience in matters of order and indifferent things, and an implicite submission from the belief of infallibility. I also shewed him the difference between a speculation of a mode of *Christ*'s presence, when it rested in an opinion, and an adoration founded on it: Tho' the opinion of such a presence was wrong, there was no great harm in that alone: But the adoration of an undue object was idolatry. He suffered me to talk much and often to him on these heads. But I plainly saw, it made no impression: And all that he seemed to intend by it was, to make use of me as an instrument to soften the aversion that people began to be possessed with to him. He was naturally eager and revengeful: And was against the taking off any that set up in an opposition to the measures of the Court, and who by that means grew popular in the House of Commons. He was for rougher methods. He continued for many years dissembling his religion, and seemed zealous for the Church of *England*: But it was chiefly on design to hinder all propositions that tended to unite us among our selves. He was a frugal Prince, and brought his Court into method and magnificence: For he had 100000 *l.* a year allowed him. He was made High Admiral: And he came to understand all the concerns of the sea very particularly. He had a very able secretary about him, Sir *William Coventry*, a man of great notions and eminent vertues, the best Speaker in the House Commons, and capable of bearing the chief ministry, as it was once thought he was very near it. The Duke found, all the great seamen had a deep tincture from their education: They both hated Popery, and loved liberty: They were men of severe tempers, and kept good discipline. But in order to the putting the fleet into more confident hands, the Duke began a method of sending pages of honour, and other young persons of quality, to be bred to the sea. And these were put in command, as soon as they were capable of it, if not sooner. This discouraged many of the old seamen, when they saw in what a channel advancement was like to go; who upon that left the service, and went and commanded merchant-men. By this means the vertue and discipline of the navy is much lost. It is true, we have a breed of many gallant men, who do distinguish themselves in action. But it is thought, the Nation has suffered much by the vices and disorders of those Captains, who have risen by their quality, more than by merit or service.

The Duchess's character.

The Duchess of *York* was a very extraordinary woman. She had great knowledge, and a lively sense of things. She soon understood what belonged to a Princess; and took state on her rather too much. She writ well; and had begun the Duke's life, of which she shewed me a volume. It was all drawn from his journal: And he intended to have employed me in carrying it on. She was bred to great strictness in religion, and practised secret confession. *Morley* told me, he was her confessor. She began at twelve years old, and continued under his direction, till, upon her father's disgrace, he was put from the Court. She was generous and friendly; but was too severe an enemy.

The

1660.

The King's third brother, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, was of a temper different from his two brothers. He was active, and loved buſineſs, was apt to have particular friendſhips; and had an inſinuating temper, which was generally very acceptable. The King loved him much better than the Duke of *York*. But he was uneaſy, when he ſaw there was no poſt left for him, ſince *Monk* was General. So he ſpoke to the Earl of *Clarendon*, that he might be made Lord Treaſurer. But he told him it was a poſt below his dignity. He would not be put off with that: For he could not bear an idle life, nor to ſee his brother at the head of the Fleet, when he himſelf had neither buſineſs nor dependence. But the mirth and entertainments of that time raiſed his blood ſo high, that he took the ſmall pox; of which he died, much lamented by all, but moſt particularly by the King, who was never in his whole life ſeen ſo much troubled, as he was on that occaſion. Thoſe, who would not believe he had much tenderneſs in his nature, imputed this rather to his jealouſy of the brother that ſurvived, ſince he had now loſt the only perſon that could balance him. Not long after him the Princeſs Royal died likewiſe of the ſmall pox; but was not much lamented. She had lived in her widowhood for ſome years with great reputation, kept a decent Court, and ſupported her brothers very liberally; and lived within bounds. But her mother, who had the art of making herſelf believe any thing ſhe had a mind to, upon a converſation with the Queen Mother of *France*, fancied the King of *France* might be inclined to marry her. So ſhe writ to her to come to *Paris*. In order to that, ſhe made an equipage far above what ſhe could ſupport. So ſhe ran herſelf into debt, ſold all her jewels, and ſome eſtates that were in her power as her ſon's guardian; and was not only diſappointed of that vain expectation, but fell into ſome misfortunes, that leſſened the reputation ſhe had formerly lived in. Upon her death it might have been expected, both in juſtice and gratitude, that the King would in a moſt particular manner have taken her ſon, the young Prince of *Orange*, into his protection. But he fell into better hands: For his grandmother became his guardian, and took care both of his eſtate and his education.

The Duke of *Gloceſter*'s character.

Thus two of the branches of the Royal family were cut off ſoon after the Reſtoration. And ſo little do the events of things anſwer the firſt appearances, that a Royal family of three Princes and two Princeſſes, all young and graceful perſons, that promiſed a numerous iſſue, did moulder away ſo faſt, that now, while I am writing, all is reduced to the perſon of the Queen, and the Ducheſs of *Savoy*. The King had a very numerous iſſue, tho' none by his Queen. The Duke had by both his wives, and ſome irregular amours, a very numerous iſſue. And the preſent Queen has had a moſt fruitful marriage as to iſſue, tho' none of them ſurvive. The Princeſs *Henriette* was ſo pleaſed with the diverſion of the *French* Court, that ſhe was glad to go thither again to be married to the King's Brother.

The proſpect of the Royal family much changed.

As the treaty with *Portugal* went on, *France* did engage in the concerns of that Crown, tho' they had by treaty promiſed the contrary to the *Spaniards*. To excuſe their perfidy, Count *Schomberg*, a *German* by birth, and a Calviniſt by his religion, was ordered to go thither, as one prevailed with by the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour, and not as ſent over by the orders of the Court of *France*. He paſs'd thro' *England* to concert with the King the matters of *Portugal*, and the ſupply that was to be ſent thither from *England*. He told me, the King had admitted him into great familiarities with him at *Paris*. He had known him firſt at the *Hague*: For he was the Prince of *Orange*'s particular favourite; but had ſo great a ſhare in the laſt violent actions of his life, ſeizing the States, and in the attempt upon *Amſterdam*, that he left the ſervice upon his death; and gained ſo great a reputation in *France*, that, after the Prince of *Condè* and *Turenne*, he was thought the beſt General they had. He had much free diſcourſe with the King, tho' he found his mind was ſo turned to mirth and pleaſure, that he ſeemed ſcarce capable of laying any thing to heart. He adviſed him to ſet up for the head of the Proteſtant religion: For tho' he ſaid to him, he knew he had not much religion, yet his intereſt led him to that. It would keep the Princes of *Germany* in a great dependence on him, and make him the umpire of all their affairs; and would procure him great credit with the Huguenots of *France*, and keep that Crown in perpetual fear of him. He adviſed the King to employ the military men that had ſerved under *Cromwell*, whom he thought the beſt officers he had ever ſeen: And he was ſorry to ſee, they were diſmiſs'd, and that a company of wild young men were thoſe the King relied on. But what he preſs'd moſt on the King, as the buſineſs then in agitation, was concerning the ſale of *Dunkirk*. The *Spaniards* pretended it

Schomberg went thro' *England* to *Portugal*.

Dunkirk ſold to the *French*.

1661. ought to be reſtored to them, ſince it was taken from them by *Cromwell*, when they had the King and his brothers in their armies: But that was not much regarded. The *French* pretended, that, by their agreement with *Cromwell*, he was only to hold it, till they had repayed the charge of the war: Therefore they, offering to lay that down, ought to have the place delivered to them. The King was in no ſort bound by this. So the matter under debate was, whether it ought to be kept or ſold? The military men, who were believed to be corrupted by *France*, ſaid, the place was not tenable; that in the time of peace it would put the King to a great charge, and in time of war it would not quit the coſt of keeping it. The Earl of *Clarendon* ſaid, he underſtood not thoſe matters; but appealed to *Monk*'s judgment, who did poſitively adviſe the letting it go for the ſum that *France* offered. To make the buſineſs go the eaſier, the King promiſed, that he would lay up all the money in the Tower; and that it ſhould not be touched, but upon extraordinary occaſions. *Schomberg* adviſed, in oppoſition to all this, that the King ſhould keep it; for, conſidering the naval power of *England*, it could not be taken. He knew, that, tho' *France* ſpoke big, as if they would break with *England* unleſs that was delivered up, yet they were far from the thoughts of it. He had conſidered the place well; and he was ſure it could never be taken, as long as *England* was maſter of the ſea. The holding it would keep both *France* and *Spain* in a dependence upon the King. But he was ſingular in that opinion. So it was ſold: And all the money, that was paid for it, was immediately ſquandred away among the miſtreſs's creatures.

Tangier a part of the Queen's portion.

By this the King loſt his reputation abroad. The Court was believed venal. And becauſe the Earl of *Clarendon* was in greateſt credit, the blame was caſt chiefly on him; tho' his ſon aſſured me, he kept himſelf out of that affair entirely. The coſt beſtowed on that place ſince that time, and the great prejudice we have ſuffered by it, has made that ſale to be often reflected on very ſeverely. But it was pretended, that *Tangier*, which was offered as a part of the portion that the Infanta of *Portugal* was to bring with her, was a place of much greater conſequence. Its ſituation in the map is indeed very eminent. And if *Spain* had been then in a condition to put any reſtraint on our trade, it had been of great uſe to us; eſpecially, if the making a mole there had been more practicable, than it proved to be. It was then ſpoken of in the Court in the higheſt ſtrains of flattery. It was ſaid, this would not only give us the entire command of the *Mediterranean* trade, but it would be a place of ſafety for a ſquadron to be always kept there, for ſecuring our *Weſt* and *Eaſt India* trade. And ſuch mighty things were ſaid of it, as if it had been reſerved for the King's reign, to make it as glorious abroad, as it was happy at home: Tho' ſince that time we have never been able, neither by force nor treaty, to get ground enough round the town from the *Moors* to maintain the garriſon. But every man that was employed there ſtudied only his own intereſt, and how to rob the King. If the money, that was laid out in the mole at different times, had been raiſed all in a ſucceſſion, as faſt as the work could be carried on, it might have been made a very valuable place. But there were ſo many diſcontinuings, and ſo many new undertakings, that after an immenſe charge the Court grew weary of it: And in the year 1638 they ſent a ſquadron of ſhips to bring away the garriſon, and to deſtroy all the works.

To end this matter of the King's marriage with the Infanta of *Portugal* all at once: It was at laſt concluded. The Earl of *Sandwich* went for her, and was the King's proxy in the nuptial ceremony. The King communicated the matter both to the Parliament of *England*, and *Scotland*. And ſo ſtrangely were people changed, that tho' they all had ſeen the miſchievous effects of a Popiſh Queen in the former reign, yet not one perſon moved againſt it in either Parliament, except the Earl of *Caſſilis* in *Scotland*; who moved for an addreſs to the King to marry a Proteſtant. He had but one to ſecond him: So entirely were men run from one extream to another.

1662. When the Queen was brought over, the King met her at *Wincheſter* in ſummer 1662. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* came to perform the ceremony: But the Queen was bigotted to ſuch a degree, that ſhe would not ſay the words of matrimony, nor bear the ſight of the Archbiſhop. The King ſaid the words haſtily: And the Archbiſhop pronounced them married perſons. Upon this ſome thought afterwards to have diſſolved the marriage, as a marriage only *de facto*, in which no conſent had been given. But the Duke of *York* told me, they were married by the Lord *Aubigny* according to the *Roman* ritual, and that he himſelf was one of the witneſſes: And he added,

The manner of the King's marriage.

added, that, a few days before he told me this, the Queen had ſaid to him, that ſhe heard ſome intended to call her marriage in queſtion; and that, if that was done, ſhe muſt call on him as one of her witneſſes to prove it. I ſaw the letter that the King writ to the Earl of *Clarendon* the day after their marriage, by which it appeared very plainly that the marriage was conſummated, and that the King was well pleaſed with her. The King himſelf told me, ſhe had been with child: And *Willis* the great Phyſician told Doctor *Lloyd*, from whom I had it, that ſhe had once miſcarried of a child, which was ſo far advanced, that, if it had been carefully look'd to, the ſex might have been diſtinguiſhed. But ſhe proved a barren wife, and was a woman of a mean appearance, and of no agreeable temper: So that the King never conſidered her much. And ſhe made ever after but a very mean figure. For ſome time the King carried things decently, and did not viſit his miſtreſs openly. But he grew weary of that reſtraint; and ſhook it off ſo entirely, that he had ever after that miſtreſſes to the end of his life, to the great ſcandal of the world, and to the particular reproach of all that ſerved about him in the Church. He uſually came from his miſtreſſes lodgings to Church, even on Sacrument days. He held as it were a Court in them: And all his Miniſters made applications to them. Only the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Southampton* would never ſo much as make a viſit to any of them, which was maintaining the decencies of vertue in a very ſolemn manner. The Lord *Clarendon* put the juſtice of the Nation in very good hands; and employed ſome who had been on the bench in *Cromwell*'s time, the famous Sir *Matthew Hale* in particular. 1662.

The King lived in an avowed courſe of leudneſs.

The buſineſs of *Ireland* was a harder province. The *Iriſh* that had been in the rebellion had made a treaty with the Duke of *Ormond*, then acting in the King's name, tho' he had no legal power under the Great Seal, the King being then a priſoner. But the Queen-mother got, as they give out, the Crown of *France* to become the guarantee for the performance. By the treaty they were to furniſh him with an army, to adhere to the King's intereſts, and ſerve under the Duke of *Ormond*: And for this they were to be pardoned all that was paſs'd, to have the open exerciſe of their religion, and a free admittance into all employments, and to have a free Parliament without the curb of *Poyning*'s law. But after the misfortune at *Dublin*, they ſet up a ſupream council again, and refuſed to obey the Duke of *Ormond*; in which the Pope's Nuncio conducted them. After ſome diſputes, and that the Duke of *Ormond* ſaw he could not prevail with them to be commanded by him any more, he left *Ireland*. And *Cromwell* came over, and reduced the whole country, and made a ſettlement of the confiſcated eſtates, for the pay of the undertakers for the *Iriſh* war, and of the officers that had ſerved in it. The King had in his Declaration from *Breda* promiſed to confirm the ſettlement of *Ireland*. So now a great debate aroſe between the native *Iriſh* and the *Engliſh* ſettled in *Ireland*. The former claimed the articles that the Duke of *Ormond* had granted them. He in anſwer to this ſaid, they had broken firſt on their part, and ſo had forfeited their claim to them. They ſeemed to rely much on the Court of *France*, and on the whole Popiſh party abroad, of which they were the moſt conſiderable branch at home. But *England* did naturally incline to ſupport the *Engliſh* Intereſts. And, as that intereſt in *Ireland* had gone in very unanimouſly to the deſign of the King's Reſtoration, and had merited much on that account, ſo they drew over the Duke of *Ormond* to join with them, in order to an act confirming *Cromwell*'s ſettlement. Only a Court of claims was ſet up, to examine the pretenſions of ſome of the *Iriſh*, who had ſpecial excuſes for themſelves, why they ſhould not be included in the general forfeiture of the Nation. Some were under age: Others were travelling, or ſerving abroad: And many had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the King's ſervice, when he was in *Flanders*; chiefly under the Duke of *York*, who pleaded much for them, and was always depended on by them, as their chief patron. It was thought moſt equitable, to ſend over men from *England*, who were not concerned in the intereſts or paſſions of the parties of that Kingdom, to try thoſe claims. Their proceedings were much cried out on: For it was ſaid, that every mans claim, who could ſupport it with a good preſent, was found good, and that all the members of that Court came back very rich. So that, tho' the *Iriſh* thought they had not juſtice enough done them, the *Engliſh* ſaid they had too much. When any thing was to be proved by witneſſes, ſets of them were hired, to depoſe according to the inſtructions given them. This was then cried out on, as a new ſcene of wickedneſs, that was then opened, and which muſt in the end ſubvert all juſtice and good government, 1660.

The ſettlement of *Ireland*.

1660. vernment. The infection has ſpread ſince that time, and croſſed the ſea. And the danger of being ruined by falſe witneſſes has become ſo terrible, that there is no ſecurity againſt it, but from the ſincerity of juries. And if theſe come to be packt, then all men may be ſoon at mercy, if a wicked government ſhould ſet on a violent proſecution, as has happened oftner than once. I am not inſtructed enough in the affairs of *Ireland*, to carry this matter into more particulars. The *Engliſh* intereſt was managed chiefly by two men of a very indifferent reputation: The Earls of *Angleſey*, and *Orrery*. The chief manager of the *Iriſh* intereſt was *Richard Talbot*, one of the Duke's bedchamber men, who had much cunning, and had the ſecret both of his maſter's pleaſures, and of his religion, for ſome years, and was afterwards raiſed by him to be Earl and Duke of *Tirconnel*. Thus I have gone over the ſeveral branches of the ſettlement of matters after the Reſtoration. I have reſerved the affairs of the Church laſt, as thoſe about which I have taken the moſt pains to be well informed; and which I do therefore offer to the reader with ſome aſſurance, and on which I hope due reflexion will be made.

The Biſhops who had then the greateſt credit.

At the Reſtoration, *Juxon*, the ancienteſt and moſt eminent of the former Biſhops, who had aſſiſted the late King in his laſt hours, was promoted to *Canterbury*, more out of decency, than that he was then capable to fill that poſt; for as he was never a great divine, ſo he was now ſuperannuated. Tho' others have aſſured me, that after ſome diſcourſes with the King he was ſo much ſtruck with what he obſerved in him, that upon that he loſt both heart and hope. The King treated him with outward reſpect, but had no great regard to him. *Sheldon* and *Morley* were the men that had the greateſt credit. *Sheldon* was eſteemed a learned man before the wars: But he was now engaged ſo deep in politicks, that ſcarce any prints of what he had been remained. He was a very dextrous man in buſineſs, had a great quickneſs of apprehenſion, and a very true judgment. He was a generous and charitable man. He had a great pleaſantneſs of converſation, perhaps too great. He had an art, that was peculiar to him, of treating all that came to him in a moſt obliging manner: But few depended much on his profeſſions of friendſhip. He ſeemed not to have a deep ſenſe of religion, if any at all: And ſpoke of it moſt commonly as of an engine of government, and a matter of policy. By this means the King came to look on him as a wiſe and honeſt Clergyman. *Sheldon* was at firſt made Biſhop of *London*, and was upon *Juxon*'s death promoted to *Canterbury*. *Morley* had been firſt known to the world as a friend of the Lord *Falkland*'s: And that was enough to raiſe a mans character. He had continued for many years in the Lord *Clarendon*'s family, and was his particular friend. He was a Calviniſt with relation to the Arminian points, and was thought a friend to the Puritans before the wars: But he took care after his promotion to free himſelf from all ſuſpicions of that kind. He was a pious and charitable man, of a very exemplary life, but extream paſſionate, and very obſtinate. He was firſt made Biſhop of *Worceſter*. Doctor *Hammond*, for whom that See was deſigned, died a little before the Reſtoration, which was an unſpeakable loſs to the Church: For, as he was a man of great learning, and of moſt eminent merit, he having been the perſon that during the bad times had maintained the cauſe of the Church in a very ſingular manner, ſo he was a very moderate man in his temper, tho' with a high principle; and probably he would have fallen into healing counſels. He was alſo much ſet on reforming abuſes, and for raiſing in the Clergy a due ſenſe of the obligations they lay under. But by his death *Morley* was advanced to *Worceſter*: And not long after he was removed to *Wincheſter*, void by *Duppa*'s death, who had been the King's tutor, tho' no way fit for that poſt; but he was a meek and humble man, and much loved for the ſweetneſs of his temper and would have been more eſteemed, if he had died before the Reſtoration; for he made not that uſe of the great wealth that flowed in upon him that was expected. *Morley* was thought always the honeſter man of the two, as *Sheldon* was certainly the abler man.

Debates concerning the uniting with the Presbyterians.

The firſt point in debate was, whether conceſſions ſhould be made, and pains taken to gain the Diſſenters or not; eſpecially the Presbyterians. The Earl of *Clarendon* was much for it; and got the King to publiſh a declaration ſoon after his Reſtoration concerning Eccleſiaſtical affairs, to which if he had ſtood, very probably the greateſt part of them might have been gained. But the Biſhops did not approve of this: And after the ſervice they did that Lord in the Duke of *York*'s marriage, he would not put any hardſhip on thoſe who had ſo ſignally obliged him. This diſguſted the Lord *Southampton*, who was for carrying on the deſign that had been much talked of during the wars,

wars, of moderating matters both with relation to the government of the Church, and the worſhip and ceremonies: Which created ſome coldneſs between him and the Earl of *Clarendon*, when the Lord Chancellour went off from thoſe deſigns. The conſideration that thoſe Biſhops and their party had in the matter was this: The Presbyterians were poſſeſſed of moſt of the great benefices in the Church, chiefly in the City of *London*, and in the two Univerſities. It is true, all that had come into the room of thoſe who were turned out by the Parliament, or the viſitors ſent by them, were removed by the courſe of law, as men that were illegally poſſeſſed of other mens rights: And that even where the former incumbents were dead, becauſe a title originally wrong was ſtill wrong in law. But there were a great many of them in very eminent poſts, who were legally poſſeſſed of them. Many of theſe, chiefly in the city of *London*, had gone into the deſign of the Reſtoration in ſo ſignal a manner, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that they had great merit, and a juſt title to very high preferment. Now as there remained a great deal of the old animoſity againſt them for what they had done during the wars, ſo it was ſaid, it was better to have a ſchiſm out of the Church than within it; and that the half conformity of the Puritans before the war, had ſet up a faction in every city and town between the lecturers and the incumbents, that the former took all methods to render themſelves popular, and to raiſe the benevolence of their people, which was their chief ſubſiſtance, by diſparaging the government both in Church and State. They had alſo many ſtories among them, of the credit they had in the elections of Parliament men, which they infuſed in the King, to poſſeſs him with the neceſſity of having none to ſerve in the Church, but perſons that ſhould be firmly tied to his intereſt, both by principle, and by ſubſcriptions and oaths. It is true, the joy then ſpread thro' the Nation had got at this time a new Parliament to be elected of men ſo high and ſo hot, that, unleſs the Court had reſtrained them, they would have carried things much farther than they did, againſt all that had been concerned in the late wars: But they were not to expect ſuch ſucceſs at all times: Therefore they thought it was neceſſary to make ſure work at this time: And, inſtead of uſing methods to bring in the ſectaries, they reſolved rather to ſeek the moſt effectual ones for caſting them out, and bringing a new ſet of men into the Church. This took with the King, at leaſt it ſeemed to do ſo. But tho' he put on an outward appearance of moderation, yet he was in another and deeper laid deſign, to which the heat of theſe men proved ſubſervient, for bringing in of Popery. A Popiſh Queen was a great ſtep to keep it in countenance at Court, and to have a great many Prieſts going about the Court making converts. It was thought, a toleration was the only method for ſetting it a going all the Nation over. And nothing could make a toleration for Popery paſs, but the having great bodies of men put out of the Church, and put under ſevere laws, which ſhould force them to move for a toleration, and ſhould make it reaſonable to grant it to them. And it was reſolved, that whatever ſhould be granted of that ſort ſhould go in ſo large a manner, that Papiſts ſhould be comprehended within it. So the Papiſts had this generally ſpread among them, that they ſhould oppoſe all propoſitions for comprehenſion, and ſhould animate the Church party to maintain their ground againſt all the ſectaries. And in that point they ſeemed zealous for the Church. But at the ſame time they ſpoke of toleration, as neceſſary both for the peace and quiet of the Nation, and for the encouragement of trade. And with this the Duke was ſo poſſeſſed, that he declared himſelf a moſt violent enemy to comprehenſion, and as zealous for toleration. The King being thus reſolved on fixing the terms of conformity to what they had been before the war, without making the leaſt abatement or alteration, they carried on ſtill an appearance of moderation, till the ſtrength of the parties ſhould appear in the new Parliament. 1660.

So, after the declaration was ſet out, a commiſſion was granted to twelve of a ſide, with nine aſſiſtants to each ſide, who were appointed to meet at the *Savoy*, and to conſider on the ways of uniting both ſides. At their firſt meeting, *Sheldon* told them, that thoſe of the Church had not deſired this meeting, as being ſatisfied with the legal eſtabliſhment; and therefore they had nothing to offer; but it belonged to the other ſide, who moved for alterations, to offer both their exceptions to the laws in being, and the alterations that they propoſed. He told them, they were to lay all they had to offer before them at once; for they would not engage to treat about any one particular, till they ſaw how far their demands went: And he ſaid, that all was to be tranſacted in writing, tho' the others inſiſted on an amicable conference; which was at firſt denied: Yet ſome hopes were given of allowing it at laſt. Papers were upon this gi- A treaty in the *Savoy*.

1660. ven in. The Presbyterians moved, that Bishop *Usher's* Reduction should be laid down as a ground-work to treat on; that Bishops should not govern their diocese by their single authority, nor depute it to Lay officers in their Courts, but should in matters of ordination and jurisdiction take along with them the counsel and concurrence of the Presbyters. They did offer several exceptions to the Liturgy, against the many responses by the People; and they desired all might be made one continued prayer. They desired that no lessons should be taken out of the Apocryphal books; that the Psalms used in the daily service should be according to the new translation. They excepted to many parts of the office of baptism, that import the inward regeneration of all that were baptized. But as they proposed these amendments, so they did also offer a Liturgy new drawn by Mr. *Baxter*. They insisted mainly against kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, chiefly against the imposing it; and moved that the posture might be left free, and that the use of the surplice, of the cross in baptism, of Godfathers being the sponsors in baptism, and of the holy days, might be abolished. *Sheldon* saw well what the effect would be of putting them to make all their demands at once. The number of them raised a mighty outcry against them, as people that could never be satisfied. But nothing gave so great an advantage against them, as their offering a new Liturgy. In this they were divided among themselves. Some were for insisting only on a few important things, reckoning that, if they were gained, and a union followed upon that, it would be easier to gain other things afterwards. But all this was overthrown by Mr. *Baxter*, who was a man of great piety; and, if he had not meddled in too many things, would have been esteemed one of the learned men of the age: He writ near two hundred books: Of these, three are large folios: He had a very moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great zeal and much simplicity; but was most unhappily subtle and metaphysical in every thing. There was a great submission paid to him by the whole party. So he perswaded them, that from the words of the commission they were bound to offer every thing that they thought might conduce to the good or peace of the Church, without considering what was like to be obtained, or what effect their demanding so much might have, in irritating the minds of those who were then the superiour body in strength and number. All the whole matter was at last reduced to one single point, whether it was lawful to determine the certain use of things indifferent in the worship of God? The Bishops held them to that point, and pressed them to shew that any of the things imposed were of themselves unlawful. The Presbyterians declined this; but affirmed, that other circumstances might make it become unlawful to settle a peremptory law about things indifferent; which they applied chiefly to kneeling in the Sacrament, and stood upon it that a law, which excluded all that did not kneel from the Sacrament, was unlawful, as a limitation in the point of communion put on the laws of *Christ*, which ought to be the only condition of those who had a right to it. Upon this point there was a free conference that lasted some days. The two men, that had the chief management of the debate, were the most unfit to heal matters, and the fittest to widen them, that could have been found out. *Baxter* was the opponent, and *Gunning* was the respondent; who was afterwards advanced, first to *Chichester*, and then to *Ely*: He was a man of great reading, and noted for a special subtilty of arguing: All the arts of sophistry were made use of by him on all occasions, in as confident a manner, as if they had been found reasoning: He was a man of an innocent life, unweariedly active to very little purpose: He was much set on the reconciling us with Popery in some points: And, because the charge of idolatry seemed a bar to all thoughts of reconciliation with them, he set himself with very great zeal to clear the Church of *Rome* of idolatry: This made many suspect him as inclining to go over to them: But he was far from it; and was a very honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgment, and of no prudence in affairs: He was for our conforming in all things to the rules of the Primitive Church, particularly in praying for the dead, in the use of oil, with many other rituals: He formed many in *Cambridge* upon his own notions, who have carried them perhaps farther than he intended. *Baxter* and he spent some days in much logical arguing, to the diversion of the town, who thought here were a couple of fencers engaged in disputes, that could never be brought to an end, nor have any good effect. In conclusion, this commission, being limited to such a number of days, came to an end, before any one thing was agreed on. The Bishops insisted on the laws that were still in force, to which they would admit of no exception, unless it was proved that the matter of those laws was sinful. They charged the Presbyterians with having made a schism,

upon

upon a charge against the Church for things, which now they themſelves could not call ſinful. They ſaid, there was no reaſon to gratify ſuch a ſort of men in any thing: One demand granted would draw on many more: All authority both in Church and State was ſtruck at by the poſition they had inſiſted on, that it was not lawful to impoſe things indifferent, ſince they ſeemed to be the only proper matter in which human authority could interpoſe. So this furniſhed an occaſion to expoſe them as enemies to all order. Things had been carried at the *Savoy* with great ſharpneſs, and many reflexions. *Baxter* ſaid once, ſuch things would offend many good men in the Nation. *Stearn*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, upon that took notice that he would not ſay Kingdom, but Nation, becauſe he would not acknowledge a King. Of this great complaints were made, as an indecent return for the zeal they had ſhewn in the Reſtoration. 1660.

The conference broke up without doing any good. It did rather hurt and heightned the ſharpneſs that was then on peoples minds to ſuch a degree, that it needed no addition to raiſe it higher. The Presbyterians laid their complaints before the King: But little regard was had to them. And now all the concern that ſeemed to employ the Biſhops thoughts was, not only to make no alteration on their account, but to make the terms of conformity much ſtricter than they had been before the war. So it was reſolved to maintain conformity to the height, and to put lecturers in the ſame condition with the incumbents, as to oaths and ſubſcriptions; and to oblige all perſons to ſubſcribe an unfeigned aſſent and conſent to all and every particular contained and preſcribed in the book of Common Prayer. Many, who thought it lawful to conform in ſubmiſſion, yet ſcrupled at this, as importing a particular approbation of every thing: And great diſtinction was made between a conformity in practice, and ſo full and diſtinct an aſſent. Yet men got over that, as importing no more but a conſent of obedience: For tho' the words of the ſubſcription, which were alſo to be publickly pronounced before the congregation, declaring the perſon's unfeigned aſſent and conſent, ſeemed to import this, yet the clauſe of the act that enjoined this carried a clear explanation of it; for it enacted this declaration as an aſſent and conſent to the uſe of all things contained in the book. Another ſubſcription was enacted, with relation to the League and Covenant; by which they were required to declare it unlawful upon any pretence whatſoever to take arms againſt the King, renouncing the traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or thoſe commiſſioned by him, together with a declaration, that no obligation lay on them or any other perſon from the League or Covenant to endeavour any change or alteration of government in Church and State, and that the Covenant was in it ſelf an unlawful oath. This was contriv'd againſt all the old men, who had both taken the Covenant themſelves, and had preſs'd it upon others. So they were now to own themſelves very guilty in that matter. And thoſe, who thought it might be lawful upon great and illegal provocation to reſiſt unjuſt invaſions on the laws and liberties of the ſubjects, excepted to the ſubſcription, tho' it was ſcarce ſafe for any at that time to have inſiſted on that point. Some thought, that ſince the King had taken the Covenant, he at leaſt was bound to ſtand to it. 1661.

The terms of conformity made harder.

Another point was fixed by the Act of Uniformity, which was more at large formerly: Thoſe who came to *England* from the foreign Churches, had not been required to be ordained among us: But now all, that had not Epiſcopal ordination, were made incapable of holding any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice. Some few alterations were made in the Liturgy by the Biſhops themſelves: A few new collects were made, as the prayer for all conditions of men, and the general thankſgiving. A collect was alſo drawn for the Parliament, in which a new epithet was added to the King's title, that gave great offence, and occaſioned much indecent raillery: He was ſtyled our moſt religious King. It was not eaſy to give a proper ſenſe to this, and to make it go well down; ſince, whatever the ſignification of religion might be in the *Latin* word, as importing the ſacredneſs of the King's perſon, yet in the *Engliſh* Language it bore a ſignification that was no way applicable to the King. And thoſe who took great liberties with him have often asked him, what muſt all his people think, when they heard him prayed for as their moſt religious King? Some other leſſer additions were made. But care was taken, that nothing ſhould be altered, ſo as it had been moved by the Presbyterians; for it was reſolved to gratify them in nothing. One important addition was made, chiefly by *Gawden*'s means: He preſſed that a declaration, explaining the reaſons of their kneeling at the Sacrament, which had been in King *Edward*'s Liturgy, but

The Act of Uniformity.

1661. but was left out in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, ſhould be again ſet where it had once been. The Papiſts were highly offended, when they ſaw ſuch an expreſs declaration made againſt the real preſence, and the Duke told me, that when he asked *Sheldon* how they came to declare againſt a doctrine, which he had been inſtructed was the doctrine of the Church, *Sheldon* anſwered, ask *Gawden* about it, who is a Biſhop of your own making: For the King had ordered his promotion for the ſervice he had done. The Convocation that prepared thoſe alterations, as they added ſome new holy days, St. *Barnabas*, and the Converſion of St. *Paul*, ſo they took in more leſſons out of the Apocrypha, in particular the ſtory of *Bell* and the *Dragon*: New offices were alſo drawn for two new days, the thirtieth of *January*, called King *Charles* the Martyr, and the twenty ninth of *May*, the day of the King's birth and return. *Sancroft* drew for theſe ſome offices of a very high ſtrain. Yet others of a more moderate ſtrain were preferred to them. But he, coming to be advanced to the See of *Canterbury*, got his offices to be publiſhed by the King's authority, in a time when ſo high a ſtyle as was in them did not ſound well in the Nation. Such care was taken in the choice and returns of the members of the Convocation, that every thing went among them as was directed by *Sheldon* and *Morley*. When they had prepared all their alterations, they offered them to the King, who ſent them to the Houſe of Commons, upon which the Act of Uniformity was prepared by *Keeling*, afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice.

When it was brought into the Houſe, many did apprehend that ſo ſevere an act might have ill effects, and began to abate of their firſt heat: Upon which reports were ſpread, and much aggravated as they were reported to the Houſe of Commons, of the Plots of the Presbyterians in ſeveral Counties. Many were taken up on thoſe reports: But none were ever tried for them. So, the thing being let fall, it has been given out ſince, that theſe were forged by the direction of ſome hot ſpirits, who might think ſuch arts were neceſſary to give an alarm, and by rendring the party odious to carry ſo ſevere an act againſt them. The Lord *Clarendon* himſelf was charged as having directed this piece of artifice: But I could never ſee any ground for faſtening it on him: Tho' there were great appearances of foul dealing among ſome of the fiercer ſort. The Act paſs'd by no great majority: And by it all who did not conform to the Liturgy by the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, St. *Bartholomew*'s day, in the year 1662, were deprived of all Eccleſiaſtical benefices, without leaving any diſcretional power with the King in the execution of it, and without making proviſion for the maintainance of thoſe who ſhould be ſo deprived: A ſeverity neither practiſed by Queen *Elizabeth* in the enacting her Liturgy, nor by *Cromwell* in ejecting the Royaliſts, in both which a fifth part of the benefice was reſerved for their ſubſiſtance. St. *Bartholomew*'s day was pitched on, that, if they were then deprived, they ſhould loſe the profits of the whole year, ſince the tithes are commonly due at *Michaelmas*. The Presbyterians remembred what a St. *Bartholomew*'s had been held at *Paris* ninety years before, which was the day of that maſſacre, and did not ſtick to compare the one to the other. The Book of Common-prayer with the new corrections was that to which they were to ſubſcribe. But the corrections were ſo long a preparing, and the vaſt number of copies, above two thouſand, that were to be wrought off for all the pariſh Churches of *England*, made the impreſſion go on ſo ſlowly, that there were few Books ſet out to ſale when the day came. So, many that were well affected to the Church, but that made conſcience of ſubſcribing to a book that they had not ſeen, left their benefices on that very account. Some made a journey to *London* on purpoſe to ſee it. With ſo much precipitation was that matter driven on, that it ſeemed expected, that the Clergy ſhould ſubſcribe implicitely to a book they had never ſeen. This was done by too many, as I was informed by ſome of the Biſhops. But the Presbyterians were now in great difficulties. They had many meetings, and much diſputing about conformity. *Reynolds* accepted of the Biſhoprick of *Norwich*. But *Calamy* and *Baxter* refuſed the Sees of *Litchfield* and *Hereford*. And about two thouſand of them fell under the Parliamentary deprivation, as they gave out. The numbers have been much controverted. This raiſed a grievous outcry over the Nation; tho' it was leſs conſidered at that time, than it would have been at any other. *Baxter* told me, that had the terms of the King's Declaration been ſtood to, he did not believe that above three hundred of theſe would have been ſo deprived. Some few, and but few, of the Epiſcopal party were troubled at this ſeverity, or apprehenſive of the very ill effects it was like to have. Here were many men, much valued, ſome on better grounds, and

others on worſe, who were now caſt out ignominiouſly, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much ſpiteful uſage, and caſt upon thoſe popular practices that both their principles and their circumſtances ſeemed to juſtify, of forming ſeparate congregations, and of diverting men from the publick worſhip, and from conſidering their ſucceſſors as the lawful paſtors of thoſe Churches in which they had ſerved. The blame of all this fell heavieſt on *Sheldon*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was charged with his having entertained the Presbyterians with hopes and good words, while he was all the while carrying on, or at leaſt giving way to the Biſhops project. When the Convocation had gone thro' the book of Common-prayer; it was in the next place propoſed, that, according to a clauſe in the King's licenſe, they ſhould conſider the Canons of the Church. They had it then in their power to have reformed many abuſes, and particularly to have provided an effectual remedy to the root of all thoſe, which ariſe from the poor maintainance that is reſerved to the incumbents. Almoſt all the leaſes of the Church eſtates over *England* were fallen in, there having been no renewal for twenty years. The leaſes for years were determined: And the wars had carried off ſo many men, that moſt of the leaſes for lives were fallen into the incumbents hands. So that the Church eſtates were in them: And the fines raiſed by the renewing the leaſes roſe to about a million and a half. It was an unreaſonable thing to let thoſe who were now promoted carry off ſo great a treaſure. If the half had been applied to the buying of tithes or glebes for ſmall Vicaraages, here a foundation had been laid down for a great and effectual reformation. In ſome Sees forty or fifty thouſand pound was raiſed, and applied to the enriching the Biſhops families. Something was done to Churches and Colleges, in particular to St. *Paul*'s in *London*: And a noble collection was made for redeeming all the *Engliſh* ſlaves that were in any part of *Barbary*. But this fell far ſhort of what might have been expected. In this the Lord *Clarendon* was heavily charged, as having ſhewn that he was more the Biſhops friend than the Church's. It it true, the law made thoſe fines belong to the incumbents. But ſuch an extraordinary occaſion deſerved, that a law ſhould have been made on purpoſe. What the Biſhops did with thoſe great fines was a pattern to all the lower Dignitaries, who generally took more care of themſelves than of the Church. The men of merit and ſervice were loaded with many livings and many dignities. With this great acceſſion of wealth there broke in upon the Church a great deal of luxury and high living, on the pretence of hoſpitality; while others made purchaſes, and left great eſtates, moſt of which we have ſeen melt away. And with this overſet of wealth and pomp, that came on men in the decline of their parts and age, they, who were now growing into old age, became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the Church: They left preaching and writing to others, while they gave themſelves up to eaſe and ſloth. In all which ſad repreſentation ſome few exceptions are to be made; but ſo few, that, if a new ſet of men had not appeared of another ſtamp, the Church had quite loſt her eſteem over the Nation.

1661.

The great fines then raiſed on the Church eſtates ill applied.

Theſe were generally of *Cambridge*, formed under ſome divines, the chief of whom were Drs. *Whitchcot*, *Cudworth*, *Wilkins*, *More*, and *Worthington*. *Whitchcot* was a man of a rare temper, very mild and obliging. He had great credit with ſome that had been eminent in the late times; but made all the uſe he could of it to protect good men of all perſuaſions. He was much for liberty of conſcience: And being diſguſted with the dry ſyſtematical way of thoſe times, he ſtudied to raiſe thoſe who converſed with him to a nobler ſet of thoughts, and to conſider religion as a ſeed of a deiform nature, (to uſe one of his own phraſes.) In order to this, he ſet young ſtudents much on reading the ancient Philoſophers, chiefly *Plato*, *Tully*, and *Plotin*, and on conſidering the Chriſtian religion as a doctrine ſent from God, both to elevate and ſweeten human nature, in which he was a great example, as well as a wiſe and kind inſtructer. *Cudworth* carried this on with a great ſtrength of genius, and a vaſt compaſs of learning. He was a man of great conduct and prudence: Upon which his enemies did very falſly accuſe him of craft and diſſimulation. *Wilkins* was of *Oxford*, but removed to *Cambridge*. His firſt riſe was in the Elector Palatine's family, when he was in *England*. Afterwards he married *Cromwell*'s ſiſter; but made no other uſe of that alliance, but to do good offices, and to cover the Univerſity from the ſourneſs of *Owen* and *Goodwin*. At *Cambridge* he joined with thoſe who ſtudied to propagate better thoughts, to take men off from being in parties, or from narrow notions, from ſuperſtitious conceits, and a fierceneſs about opinions. He was alſo a great obſerver and a promoter of experimental philoſophy, which was then a new thing, and much looked after. He

Divines called Latitudinarians.

1661. was naturally ambitious, but was the wiſeſt Clergy-man I ever knew. He was a lover of mankind, and had a delight in doing good. *More* was an open hearted, and ſincere chriſtian philoſopher, who ſtudied to eſtabliſh men in the great principles of religion againſt atheiſm, that was then beginning to gain ground, chiefly by reaſon of the hypocriſy of ſome, and the fantaſtical conceits of the more ſincere enthuſiaſts.

Hobbs's Leviathan. *Hobbs*, who had long followed the Court, and paſſed there for a mathematical man, tho' he really knew little that way, being diſguſted by the Court, came into *England* in *Cromwell's* time, and publiſhed a very wicked book, with a very ſtrange title, *The Leviathan*. His main principles were, that all men acted under an abſolute neceſſity, in which he ſeemed protected by the then received doctrine of abſolute decrees. He ſeemed to think that the univerſe was God, and that ſouls were material, Thought being only ſubtil and unperceptible motion. He thought intereſt and fear were the chief principles of ſociety: And he put all morality in the following that which was our own private will or advantage. He thought religion had no other foundation than the laws of the land. And he put all the law in the will of the Prince, or of the people: For he writ his book at firſt in favour of abſolute monarchy, but turned it afterwards to gratify the republican party. Theſe were his true principles, tho' he had diſguiſed them, for deceiving unwary readers. And this ſet of notions came to ſpread much. The novelty and boldneſs of them ſet many on reading them. The impiety of them was acceptable to men of corrupt minds, which were but too much prepared to receive them by the extravagancies of the late times. So this ſet of men at *Cambridge* ſtudied to aſſert, and examine the principles of religion and morality on clear grounds, and in a philoſophical method. In this *More* led the way to many that came after him. *Worthington* was a man of eminent piety and great humility, and practiſed a moſt ſublime way of ſelf-denial and devotion. All theſe, and thoſe who were formed under them, ſtudied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared againſt ſuperſtition on the one hand, and enthuſiaſm on the other. They loved the conſtitution of the Church, and the Liturgy, and could well live under them: But they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wiſhed that things might have been carried with more moderation. And they continued to keep a good correſpondence with thoſe who had differed from them in opinion, and allowed a great freedom both in philoſophy and in divinity: From whence they were called men of Latitude. And upon this men of narrower thoughts and fiercer tempers faſtened upon them the name of Latitudinarians. They read *Epiſcopius* much. And the making out the reaſons of things being a main part of their ſtudies, their enemies called them Socinians. They were all very zealous againſt popery. And ſo, they becoming ſoon very conſiderable, the Papiſts ſet themſelves againſt them to decry them as Atheiſts, Deiſts, or at beſt Socinians. And now that the main principle of religion was ſtruck at by *Hobbs* and his followers, the Papiſts acted upon this a very ſtrange part. They went in ſo far even into the argument for Atheiſm, as to publiſh many books, in which they affirmed, that there was no certain proofs of the Chriſtian religion, unleſs we took it from the authority of the Church as infallible. This was ſuch a delivering up of the cauſe to them, that it raiſed in all good men a very high indignation at Popery; that party ſhewing, that they choſe to make men, who would not turn Papiſts, become Atheiſts, rather than believe Chriſtianity upon any other ground than infallibility.

A character of ſome divines. The moſt eminent of thoſe, who were formed under thoſe great men I have mentioned, were *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, and *Patrick*. The firſt of theſe was a man of a clear head, and a ſweet temper. He had the brighteſt thoughts, and the moſt correct ſtyle of all our divines; and was eſteemed the beſt preacher of the age. He was a very prudent man; and had ſuch a management with it, that I never knew any Clergy-man ſo univerſally eſteemed and beloved, as he was for above twenty years. He was eminent for his oppoſition to Popery. He was no friend to perſecution, and ſtood up much againſt Atheiſm. Nor did any man contribute more to bring the City to love our worſhip, than he did. But there was ſo little ſuperſtition, and ſo much reaſon and gentleneſs in his way of explaining things, that malice was long levelled at him, and in concluſion broke out fiercely on him. *Stillingfleet* was a man of much more learning, but of a more reſerved, and a haughtier temper. He in his youth writ an *Irenicum* for healing our diviſions, with ſo much learning and moderation, that it was eſteemed a maſter-piece. His notion was, that the Apoſtles had ſettled the Church in a conſtitution of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, but had made no perpetual

law

law about it, having only taken it in, as they did many other things, from the cuſtoms and practice of the ſynagogue; from which he inferred, that certainly the conſtitution was lawful ſince authoriſed by them, but not neceſſary, ſince they had made no ſettled law about it. This took with many; but was cried out upon by others as an attempt againſt the Church. Yet the argument was managed with ſo much learning and skill, that none of either ſide ever undertook to anſwer it. After that, he wrote againſt infidelity, beyond any that had gone before him. And then he engaged to write againſt Popery, which he did with ſuch an exactneſs and livelineſs, that no books of controverſy were ſo much read and valued, as his were. He was a great man in many reſpects. He knew the world well, and was eſteemed a very wiſe man. The writing of his *Irenicum* was a great ſnare to him: For to avoid the imputations which that brought upon him, he not only retracted the book, but he went into the humours of that high ſort of people beyond what became him, perhaps beyond his own ſenſe of things. He applied himſelf much to the ſtudy of the law and records, and the original of our conſtitution, and was a very extraordinary man. *Patrick* was a great preacher. He wrote much, and well, and chiefly on the Scriptures. He was a laborious man in his function, of great ſtrictneſs of life, but a little too ſevere againſt thoſe who differed from him. But that was, when he thought their doctrines ſtruck at the fundamentals of religion. He became afterwards more moderate. To theſe I ſhall add another divine, who, tho' of *Oxford*, yet as he was formed by Biſhop *Wilkins*, ſo he went into moſt of their principles; but went far beyond them in learning. *Lloyd* was a great critick in the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, but chiefly in the Scriptures; of the words and phraſes of which he carried the moſt perfect concordance in his memory, and had it the readieſt about him, of all men that ever I knew. He was an exact hiſtorian, and the moſt punctual in chronology of all our divines. He had read the moſt books, and with the beſt judgment, and had made the moſt copious abſtracts out of them, of any in this age: So that *Wilkins* uſed to ſay, he had the moſt learning in ready caſh of any he ever knew. He was ſo exact in every thing he ſet about, that he never gave over any part of ſtudy, till he had quite maſtered it. But when that was done, he went to another ſubject, and did not lay out his learning with the diligence with which he laid it in. He had many volumes of materials upon all ſubjects laid together in ſo diſtinct a method, that he could with very little labour write on any of them. He had more life in his imagination, and a truer judgment, than may ſeem conſiſtent with ſuch a laborious courſe of ſtudy. Yet, as much as he was ſet on learning, he had never neglected his paſtoral care. For ſeveral years he had the greateſt cure in *England*, St. *Martins*, which he took care of with an application and diligence beyond any about him; to whom he was an example, or rather a reproach, ſo few following his example. He was a holy, humble, and patient man, ever ready to do good when he ſaw a proper opportunity: Even his love of ſtudy did not divert him from that. He did upon his promotion find a very worthy ſucceſſor in his cure, *Temiſon*, who carried on and advanced all thoſe good methods that he had begun in the management of that great cure. He endowed ſchools, ſet up a publick library, and kept many Curates to aſſiſt him in his indefatigable labours among them. He was a very learned man, and took much pains to ſtate the notions and practices of heatheniſh idolatry, and ſo to faſten that charge on the Church of *Rome*. And, *Whitehal* lying within that pariſh, he ſtood as in the front of the battel all King *James*'s reign; and maintained, as well as managed, that dangerous poſt with great courage and much judgment, and was held in very high eſteem for his whole deportment, which was ever grave and moderate. Theſe have been the greateſt divines we have had theſe forty years: And may we ever have a ſucceſſion of ſuch men to fill the room of thoſe who have already gone off the ſtage, and of thoſe who, being now very old, cannot hold their poſts long. Of theſe I have writ the more fully, becauſe I knew them well, and have lived long in great friendſhip with them; but moſt particularly with *Tillotſon* and *Lloyd*. And, as I am ſenſible I owe a great deal of the conſideration that has been had for me to my being known to be their friend, ſo I have really learned the beſt part of what I know from them. But I owed them much more on the account of thoſe excellent principles and notions, of which they were in a particular manner communicative to me. This ſet of men contributed more than can be well imagined to reform the way of preaching; which among the divines of *England* before them was over-run with pedantry, a great mixture of quotations from fathers and ancient writers, a long opening of a text with the concordance of every

1661.

1661. The way of preaching which then prevailed.

every word in it, and a giving all the different expoſitions with the grounds of them, and the entring into ſome parts of controverſy, and all concluding in ſome, but very ſhort, practical applications, according to the ſubject or the occaſion. This was both long and heavy, when all was pye-balled, full of many ſayings of different languages. The common ſtyle of ſermons was either very flat and low, or ſwelled up with rhetorick to a falſe pitch of a wrong ſublime. The King had little or no literature, but true and good ſenſe; and had got a right notion of ſtyle; for he was in *France* at a time when they were much ſet on reforming their language. It ſoon appear'd that he had a true taſte. So this help'd to raiſe the value of theſe men, when the King approved of the ſtyle their diſcourſes generally ran in; which was clear, plain, and ſhort. They gave a ſhort paraphraſe of their text, unleſs where great difficulties required a more copious enlargement: But even then they cut off unneceſſary ſhews of learning, and applied themſelves to the matter, in which they opened the nature and reaſons of things ſo fully, and with that ſimplicity, that their hearers felt an inſtruction of another ſort than had commonly been obſerved before. So they became very much followed: And a ſet of theſe men brought off the City in a great meaſure from the prejudices they had formerly to the Church.

1662. The Act of Uniformity executed with rigour.

There was a great debate in Council, a little before St. *Bartholomew*'s day, whether the Act of Uniformity ſhould be punctually executed, or not. Some moved to have the execution of it delayed to the next ſeſſion of Parliament. Others were for executing it in the main, but to connive at ſome eminent men, and to put Curates into their Churches to read and officiate according to the Common-prayer, but to leave them to preach on, till they ſhould die out. The Earl of *Manchester* laid all theſe things before the King with much zeal, but with no great force. *Sheldon* on the other hand preſs'd the execution of the law: *England* was accuſtomed to obey laws: So while they ſtood on that ground, they were ſafe, and needed fear none of the dangers that ſeemed to be threatned: He alſo undertook to fill all the vacant pulpits, that ſhould be forſaken in *London*, better and more to the ſatisfaction of the people, than they had been before: And he ſeemed to apprehend, that a very ſmall number would fall under the deprivation, and that the groſs of the party would conform. On the other hand, thoſe who led the party took great pains to have them all ſtick together: They infuſed it into them, that if great numbers ſtood out, that would ſhew their ſtrength, and produce new laws in their favour; whereas they would be deſpiſed, if, after ſo much noiſe made, the greater part of them ſhould conform. So it was thought, that many went out in the croud to keep their friends company. Many of theſe were diſtinguiſhed by their abilities and zeal. They caſt themſelves upon the providence of God, and the charity of their friends, which had a fair appearance, as of men that were ready to ſuffer perſecution for their conſciences. This begot eſteem, and raiſed compaſſion: Whereas the old Clergy, now much enriched, were as much deſpiſed. But the young Clergy that came from the Univerſities did good ſervice. Learning was then high at *Oxford*; chiefly the ſtudy of the oriental tongues, which was much raiſed by the *Polyglot* Bible, then lately ſet forth. They read the fathers much there. Mathematicks and the new philoſophy were in great eſteem. And the meetings that *Wilkins* had begun at *Oxford* were now held in *London* too, in ſo publick manner, that the King himſelf encouraged them much, and had many experiments made before him.

The Royal ſociety.

The men that formed the Royal Society in *London* were Sir *Robert Murray*, the Lord *Brounker*, a profound mathematician, and Doctor *Ward*, ſoon after promoted to *Exeter*, and afterwards removed to *Salisbury*. *Ward* was a man of great reach, went deep in mathematical ſtudies, and was a very dextrous man, if not too dextrous; for his ſincerity was much queſtioned. He had complied during the late times, and held in by taking the Covenant: So he was hated by the high men as a time-ſerver. But the Lord *Clarendon* ſaw, that moſt of the Biſhops were men of merit by their ſufferings, but of no great capacity for buſineſs. He brought *Ward* in, as a man fit to govern the Church: For *Ward*, to get his former errours to be forgot went into the high notions of a ſevere conformity, and became the moſt conſiderable man on the Biſhops bench. He was a profound States-man, but a very indifferent Clergy-man. Many Phyſicians, and other ingenious men went into the Society for natural Philoſophy. But he who laboured moſt, at the greateſt charge, and with the moſt ſucceſs at experiments, was *Robert Boyle*, the Earl of *Cork*'s youngeſt ſon. He was looked

looked on by all who knew him as a very perfect pattern. He was a very devout Christian, humble and modest, almost to a fault, of a most spotless and exemplary life in all respects. He was highly charitable; and was a mortified and self-denied man, that delighted in nothing so much as in the doing good. He neglected his person, despised the world, and lived abstracted from all pleasures, designs, and interests. I preached his funeral sermon, in which I gave his character so truly, that I do not think it necessary now to enlarge more upon it. The Society for Philosophy grew so considerable, that they thought fit to take out a patent, which constituted them a body, by the name of the Royal Society; of which Sir *Robert Murray* was the first President, Bishop *Ward* the second, and the Lord *Brounker* the third. Their history is writ so well by Doctor *Sprat*, that I will insist no more on them, but go on to other matters. 1662.

Consultations among the Papists.

After St. *Bartholomew*'s day, the Dissenters, seeing both Court and Parliament was so much set against them, had much consultation together what to do. Many were for going over to *Holland*, and settling there with their Ministers. Others proposed *New-England*, and the other Plantations. Upon this the Earl of *Bristoll* drew to his house, a meeting of the chief Papists in Town: And after an oath of secrecy he told them, now was the proper time for them to make some steps towards the bringing in of their religion: In order to that it seemed advisable for them to take pains to procure favour to the Nonconformists, (for that became the common name to them all, as Puritan had been before the war:) They were the rather to bestir themselves to procure a toleration for them in general terms, that they themselves might be comprehended within it. The Lord *Aubigny* seconded the motion. He said it was so visibly the interest of *England* to make a great body of the trading men stay within the Kingdom, and be made easy in it, that it would have a good grace in them to seem zealous for it: And, to draw in so great a number of those, who had been hitherto the hottest against them, to feel their care, and to see their zeal to serve them, he recommended them to make this the subject of all their discourses, and to engage all their friends in the design. *Bennet* did not meet with them, but was known to be of the secret, as the Lord *Stafford* told me in the Tower a little before his death. But that Lord soon withdrew from those meetings: For he apprehended the Earl of *Bristoll*'s heat, and that he might raise a storm against them by his indiscreet meddling.

A Declaration for toleration.

The King was so far prevailed on by them, that in *December* 1662 he set out a Declaration, that was generally thought to be procured by the Lord *Bristoll*: But it had a deeper root, and was designed by the King himself. In it the King expressed his aversion to all severities on the account of religion, but more particularly to all sanguinary laws; and gave hopes both to Papists and Nonconformists, that he would find out such ways for tempering the severities of the laws, that all his subjects should be easy under them. The wiser of the Nonconformists saw at what all this was aimed, and so received it coldly. But the Papists went on more warmly, and were preparing a scheme for a toleration for them. And one part of it raised great disputes among themselves. Some were for their taking the oath of allegiance, which renounced the Pope's deposing Power. But all those that were under a management from *Rome* refused this. And the Internuntio at *Brussels* proceeded to censure those that were for it, as enemies to the Papal authority. A proposition was also made for having none but secular Priests tolerated in *England*, who should be under a Bishop, and under an established government. But that all the regulars, in particular all Jesuits, should be under the strictest penalties forbid the Kingdom.

Designed for the Papists.

The Earl of *Clarendon* set this on; for he knew well it would divide the Papists among themselves. But, tho' a few honest Priests, such as *Blacklow*, *Serjeant*, *Caron*, and *Walsh* were for it, yet they could not make a party among the leading men of their own side. It was pretended, that this was set on foot with a design to divide them, and so to break their strength. The Earl of *Clarendon* knew, that Cardinal *de Retz*, for whom he saw the King had a particular esteem, had come over incognito, and had been with the King in private. So, to let the King see how odious a thing his being suspected of Popery would be, and what a load it would lay on his government if it came to be believed, he got some of his party, as Sir *Allan Brodrick* told me, to move in the House of Commons for an Act rendring it capital to say the King was a Papist. And, whereas the King was made to believe that the old Cavaliers were become milder with relation to Popery, the Lord *Clarendon* upon this new Act inferred, that it still appeared that the opinion of his being a Papist would

1662. ſo certainly make him odious, that for that reaſon the Parliament had made the ſpreading thoſe reports ſo penal. But this was taken by another handle, while ſome ſaid, that this Act was made on purpoſe, that, tho' the deſign of bringing in Popery ſhould become ever ſo viſible, none ſhould dare to ſpeak of it. The Earl of *Clarendon* had a quite contrary deſign in it, to let the King ſee how fatal the effects of any ſuch ſuſpicions were like to be. When the Earl of *Briſtoll*'s declaration was propoſed in Council, Lord *Clarendon* and the Biſhops oppoſed it. But there was nothing in it directly againſt law, hopes being only given of endeavours to make all men eaſy under the King's government: So it paſs'd. The Earl of *Briſtoll* carried it as a great victory. And he with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and all Lord *Clarendon*'s enemies, declared openly againſt him. But the poor Prieſts, who had made thoſe honeſt motions, were very ill looked on by all their own party, as men gained on deſign to betray them. I knew all this from *Peter Walſh* himſelf, who was the honeſteſt and learnedeſt man I ever knew among them. He was of *Iriſh* extraction, and of the Franciſcan order: And was indeed in all points of controverſy almoſt wholly Proteſtant: But he had ſenſes of his own, by which he excuſed his adhering to the Church of *Rome*: And he maintained, that with theſe he could continue in the communion of that Church without ſin: And he ſaid, that he was ſure he did ſome good ſtaying ſtill on that ſide, but that he could do none at all if he ſhould come over: He thought, no man ought to forſake that religion in which he was born and bred, unleſs he was clearly convinced, that he muſt certainly be damned if he continued in it. He was an honeſt and able man, much practiſed in intrigues, and knew well the methods of the Jeſuits, and other Miſſionaries. He told me often, there was nothing which the whole Popiſh party feared more than an union of thoſe of the Church of *England* with the Presbyterians: They knew, we grew the weaker, the more our breaches were widened; and that, the more we were ſet againſt one another, we would mind them the leſs. The Papiſts had two maxims, from which they never departed: The one was to divide us: And the other was to keep themſelves united, and either to ſet on an indiſcriminated toleration, or a general proſecution; for ſo we loved to ſoften the harſh word of perſecution. And he obſerved, not without great indignation at us for our folly, that we, inſtead of uniting among our ſelves, and dividing them, according to their maxims, did all we could to keep them united, and to diſjoint our own body: For he was perſwaded, if the government had held an heavy hand on the Regulars and the Jeſuits, and had been gentle to the Seculars, and had ſet up a diſtinguiſhing teſt, renouncing all ſort of power in the Pope over the temporal rights of Princes, to which the Regulars and the Jeſuits could never ſubmit, that this would have engaged them into ſuch violent quarrels among themſelves, that cenſures would have been thundred at *Rome* againſt all that ſhould take any ſuch teſt; which would have procured much diſputing, and might have probably ended in the revolt of the ſoberer part of that Church. But he found, that, tho' the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Duke of *Ormond* liked the project, little regard was had to it by the governing party in the Court.

1663. The Church party was alarmed at all this. And tho' they were unwilling to ſuſpect the King or the Duke, yet the management for Popery was ſo viſible, that in the next ſeſſion of Parliament the King's declaration was ſeverely arraigned, and the authors of it were plainly enough pointed at. This was done chiefly by the Lord *Clarendon*'s Friends. And at this the Earl of *Briſtoll* was highly diſpleaſed, and reſolved to take all poſſible methods to ruin the Earl of *Clarendon*. He had a great skill in aſtrology, and had poſſeſſed the King with an high opinion of it: And told the Duke of *Buckingham*, as he ſaid to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, *Wilmot*, from whom I had it, that he was confident that he would lay that before the King, which would totally alienate him both from his brother, and from the Lord *Clarendon*: For he could demonſtrate by the principles of that art, that he was to fall by his brother's means, if not by his hand: And he was ſure this would work on the King. It would ſo, ſaid the Duke of *Buckingham*, but in another way than he expected: For it would make the King be ſo afraid of offending him, that he would do any thing rather than provoke him. Yet the Lord *Briſtoll* would lay this before the King. And the Duke of *Buckingham* believed, that it had the effect ever after, that he had apprehended: For tho' the King never loved nor eſteemed the Duke, yet he ſeemed to ſtand in ſome ſort of awe of him.

Briſtoll's deſigns.

But

1663.

He accuſed *Clarendon* in the Houſe of Lords.

But this was not all: The Lord *Briſtoll* reſolved to offer articles of impeachment againſt the Earl of *Clarendon* to the Houſe of Lords, tho' it was plainly provided againſt by the ſtature againſt appeals in the reign of *Henry* the fourth. Yet both the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Briſtoll*, the fathers of theſe two Lords, had broken through that in the former reign. So the Lord *Briſtoll* drew his impeachment, and carried it to the King, who took much pains on him in a ſoft and gentle manner to diſſwade him from it. But he would not be wrought on. And he told the King plainly, that, if he forſook him, he would raiſe ſuch diſorders that all *England* ſhould feel them, and the King himſelf ſhould not be without a large ſhare in them. The King, as the Earl of *Lauderdale* told me, who ſaid he had it from himſelf, ſaid, he was ſo provoked at this, that he durſt not truſt himſelf in anſwering it, but went out of the room, and ſent the Lord *Aubigny* to ſoften him: But all was in vain. It is very probable, that the Lord *Briſtoll* knew the ſecret of the King's religion, which both made him ſo bold, and the King ſo fearful. The next day he carried the charge to the Houſe of Lords. It was of a very mixed nature: In one part he charged the Lord *Clarendon* with raiſing jealouſies, and ſpreading reports of the King's being a Papiſt: And yet in the other articles he charged him with correſpondence with the Court of *Rome*, in order to the making the Lord *Aubigny* a Cardinal, and ſeveral other things of a very ſtrange nature. As ſoon as he put it in, he, it ſeems, either repented of it, or at leaſt was prevailed with to abſcond. He was ever after that looked on, as a man capable of the higheſt extravagances poſſible. He made the matter worſe by a letter that he wrote to the Lords, in which he expreſſed his fear of the danger the King was in by the Duke's having of guards. Proclamations went out for diſcovering him. But he kept out of the way till the ſtorm was over. The Parliament expreſſed a firm reſolution to maintain the Act of Uniformity. And the King being run much in debt, they gave him four ſubſidies, being willing to return to the ancient way of taxes by ſubſidies. But theſe were ſo evaded, and brought in ſo little Money, that the Court reſolved never to have recourſe to that method of raiſing money any more, but to betake themſelves for the future to the aſſeſſment begun in the war. The Convocation gave at the ſame time four ſubſidies, which proved as heavy on them, as they were light on the temporalty. This was the laſt aid that the ſpiritualty gave: For the whole proving ſo inconſiderable, and yet ſo unequally heavy on the Clergy, it was reſolved on hereafter to tax Church benefices as temporal eſtates were taxed; which proved indeed a lighter burden, but was not ſo honourable as when it was given by themſelves. Yet intereſt prevailing above the point of honour, they acquieſced in it. So the Convocations being no more neceſſary to the Crown, this made that there was leſs regard had to them afterwards. They were often diſcontinued, and prorogued: And when they met, it was only for form. The Parliament did paſs another Act, that was very acceptable to the Court, and that ſhewed a confidence in the King, repealing the Act of triennial Parliaments, which had been obtained with ſo much difficulty, and was clogged with ſo many clauſes, which ſeemed to transfer the power from the Crown to the people, that, when it was carried, it was thought the greateſt ſecurity that the people had for all their other liberties. But it was now given up without a ſtruggle, or any clauſes for a certainty of Parliaments, beſides a general one, that there ſhould be a Parliament called within three years after the diſſolution of the preſent Parliament, and ſo ever afterwards; but without any ſevere clauſes, in caſe the Act was not obſerved.

As for our foreign negotiations I know nothing in particular concerning them. Secretary *Bennet* had them all in his hands: And I had no confidence with any about him. Our concerns with *Portugal* were publick: And I knew no ſecrets about theſe.

A Plot diſcovered.

By a melancholy inſtance to our private family it appeared, that *France* was taking all poſſible methods to do every thing that the King deſired. The Common-wealthsmen were now thinking, that they ſaw the ſtream of the Nation beginning to turn againſt the Court: And upon that they were meeting, and laying plots to retrieve their loſt game. One of theſe being taken, and apprehending he was in danger, begg'd his life of the King, and ſaid, if he might be aſſured of his pardon, he would tell where my uncle *Wariſtoun* was, who was then in *Rouen*: For the air of *Hambourgh* agreed ſo ill with him, that he was adviſed to go to *France*; and this man was on the ſecret. The King ſent one to the Court of *France*, deſiring he might be put in his hands: And this was immediately done: And no notice was ſent to my uncle to go out of the way, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, when a perſon is not charged with aſſaſſinations or

any

1663. any infamous action, but only with crimes of State. He was ſent over, and kept ſome months in the Tower of *London*; and from that was ſent to *Scotland*, as ſhall be told afterwards.

The deſign of a war with the States.

The deſign of a war with *Holland* was now working. I have been very poſitively aſſured by States-men of both ſides, that the *French* ſet it on in a very artificial manner. For while they encouraged us to inſiſt on ſome extravagant demands, they at the ſame time preſſed the *Dutch* not to yield to them: And as they put them in hopes, that, if a rupture ſhould follow, they would aſſiſt them according to their alliance, ſo they aſſured us that they would do us no hurt. *Downing* was then employed in *Holland*, a crafty fawning man, who was ready to turn to every ſide that was uppermoſt, and to betray thoſe who by their former friendſhip and ſervices thought they might depend on him; as he did ſome of the Regicides, whom he got in his hands under truſt, and then delivered them up. He had been *Cromwell's* Ambaſſadour in *Holland*, where he had offered perſonal affronts both to the King and the Duke: Yet he had by ſome baſe practices got himſelf to be ſo effectually recommended by the Duke of *Albemarle*, that all his former offences were forgiven, and he was ſent into *Holland* as the King's Ambaſſadour, whoſe behaviour towards the King himſelf the States had obſerved. So they had reaſon to conclude he was ſent over with no good intent, and that he was capable of managing a bad deſign, and very ready to undertake it. There was no viſible cauſe of war. A complaint of a ſhip taken was ready to have been ſatisfied. But *Downing* hindred it. So it was plain, the King hated them; and fancied they were ſo feeble, and the *Engliſh* were ſo much ſuperiour to them, that a war would humble them to an entire ſubmiſſion and dependence on him in all things. The States had treated, and preſented the King with great magnificence, and at a vaſt charge, during the time that he had ſtaid among them, after *England* had declared for him. And, as far as appearances could go, the King ſeem'd ſenſible of it: Inſomuch that the party for the Prince of *Orange* were not pleaſed, becauſe their applications to him could not prevail to make him interpoſe, either in the behalf of himſelf, or of his friends, to get the reſolutions taken againſt him to be repealed, or his party again put in places of truſt and command. The King put that off as not proper to be preſſed by him at that time. But neither then nor afterwards did he beſtir himſelf in that matter. Tho' if either gratitude or intereſt had been of force, and if theſe had not been over-ruled by ſome more prevalent conſiderations, he muſt have been inclined to make ſome returns for the ſervices the late Prince did him: And he muſt have ſeen, what a figure he muſt make by having the Prince of *Orange* tied to him in intereſt, as much as he was by blood. *France* and Popery were the true ſprings of all theſe counſels. It was the intereſt of the King of *France*, that the Armies of the States might fall under ſuch a feebleneſs, that they ſhould be in no condition to make a vigorous reſiſtance, when he ſhould be ready either to invade them, or to fall into *Flanders*; which he was reſolved to do, whenſoever the King of *Spain* ſhould die. The *French* did thus ſet on the war between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, hoping that our Fleets ſhould mutually weaken one another ſo much, that the naval force of *France*, which was increaſing very conſiderably, ſhould be near an equality to them, when they ſhould be ſhattered by a war. The States were likewiſe the greateſt ſtrength of the Proteſtant intereſt, and were therefore to be humbled. So, in order to make the King more conſiderable both at home and abroad, the Court reſolved to prepare for a war, and to ſeek for ſuch colours as might ſerve to juſtify it. The Earl of *Clarendon* was not let into the ſecret of this deſign, and was always againſt it. But his intereſt was now ſunk low: And he began to feel the power of an imperious miſtreſs over an amorous King, who was ſo diſguſted at the Queen, that he abandoned himſelf wholly to amour and luxury.

This was, as far as I could penetrate into it, the ſtate of the Court for the firſt four years after the Reſtoration. I was in the Court a great part of the years 1662, 1663, and 1664; and was as inquiſitive as I could poſſibly be, and had more than ordinary occaſions to hear and ſee a great deal.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

But now I return to the affairs of *Scotland*: The Earl of *Middletoun* after a delay of ſome months came up to *London*, and was very coldly received by the King. The Earl of *Lauderdale* moved that a *Scottiſh* Council might be called. The Lord *Clarendon* got this to be delayed a fortnight. When it met, the Lord *Lauderdale* accuſed the Earl of *Middletoun* of many malverſations in the great truſt he had been in, which he aggravated ſeverely. The Lord *Middletoun* deſired he might have what was ob-

Middletoun was accuſed by *Lauderdale*.

jected

jected to him in writing. And when he had it, he ſent it to *Scotland*; ſo that it was ſix weeks before he had his anſwer ready; all on deſign to gain time. He excuſed ſome errours in point of form, by ſaying, that, having ſerved in a military way, he underſtood not ſo exactly what belonged to law and form: But inſiſted on this, that he deſigned nothing, but that the King's ſervice might go on, and that his friends might be taken care of, and his enemies be humbled; and that ſo a loyal Parliament might be encouraged, who were full of zeal and affection to his ſervice; that, in complying with them, he had kept every thing ſo entirely in his Majeſty's power, that the King was under no difficulties by any thing they had done. In the mean while *Sheldon* was very earneſt with the King to forgive the Lord *Midletoun*'s crime, otherwiſe he concluded the change ſo newly made in the Church would be ſo ill ſupported, that it muſt fall to the ground. The Duke of *Albemarle*, who knew *Scotland*, and had more credit on that head than on any other, pretended that the Lord *Midletoun*'s party was that on which the King could only rely: He magnified both their power and their zeal; and repreſented the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s friends, as cold and hollow in the King's ſervice: And, to ſupport all this, the letters that came from *Scotland* were full of the inſolencies of the Presbyterians, and of the dejection the Biſhops and their friends were under. *Sharp* was prevailed on to go up. He promiſed to all the Earl of *Midletoun*'s friends, that he would ſtick firm to him; and that he would lay before the King, that his ſtanding or falling muſt be the ſtanding or falling of the Church. Of this the Earl of *Lauderdale* had advice ſent him. Yet when he came to *London*, and ſaw that the King was alienated from the Lord *Midletoun*, he reſolved to make great ſubmiſſions to the Lord *Lauderdale*. When he reproached him for his engagements with the Earl of *Midletoun*, he denied all; and ſaid, he had never gone farther than what was decent, conſidering his poſt. He alſo denied, he had writ to the King in his favour. But the King had given the original letter to the Lord *Lauderdale*, who upon that ſhewed it to *Sharp*; with which he was ſo ſtruck, that he fell a crying in a moſt abject manner. He begged pardon for it; and ſaid, what could a company of poor men refuſe to the Earl of *Midletoun*, who had done ſo much for them, and had them ſo entirely in his power. The Lord *Lauderdale* upon this comforted him; and ſaid, he would forgive them all that was paſt, and would ſerve them and the Church at another rate than Lord *Midletoun* was capable of doing. So *Sharp* became wholly his. Of all this Lord *Lauderdale* gave me a full relation the next day; and ſhewed me the papers that paſs'd between Lord *Midletoun* and him. *Sharp* thought he had eſcaped well. The Earl of *Midletoun* treated the Biſhops too much as his creatures, and aſſumed a great deal to himſelf, and expreſſed a ſort of authority over them; which *Sharp* was uneaſy under, tho' he durſt not complain of it, or reſiſt it: Whereas he reckoned, that Lord *Lauderdale*, knowing the ſuſpicions that lay on him, as favouring the Presbyterians, would have leſs credit and courage in oppoſing any thing that ſhould be neceſſary for their ſupport. It proved that in this he judged right: For the Lord *Lauderdale*, that he might maintain himſelf at Court, and with the Church of *England*, was really more compliant and eaſy to every propoſition that the Biſhops made, than he would otherwiſe have been, if he had been always of the Epiſcopal party. But all he did that way was againſt his heart, except when his paſſions were vehemently ſtirred, which a very ſlight occaſion would readily do.

When the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Midletoun* had been writing papers and anſwers for above three months, an accident happened which haſtened Lord *Midletoun*'s diſgrace. The Earl of *Lauderdale* laid before the King the unjuſt proceedings in the laying on of the fines. And, to make all that party ſure to himſelf, he procured a letter from the King to the Council in *Scotland*, ordering them to iſſue out a proclamation, for ſuperſeding the execution of the Act of fining till farther order. The Privy Council being then for the greater part compoſed of Lord *Midletoun*'s friends, it was pretended by ſome of them, that, as long as he was the King's Commiſſioner, they could receive and execute no orders from the King, but thro' his hands. So they writ to him, deſiring to repreſent to the King, that this would be an affront put on the proceedings of Parliament, and would raiſe the ſpirits of a party that ought to be kept down. Lord *Midletoun* writ back, that he had laid the matter before the King; and that he, conſidering better of it, ordered, that no proceeding ſhould be made upon his former letter. This occaſioned a hot debate in Council. It was ſaid, a letter under the King's hand could not be countermanded, but from the ſame hand. So the Council wrote to know the King's mind in the matter. The

1663. King proteſted he knew nothing of it, and that Lord *Midletoun* had not ſpoke one word on the ſubject to him. He upon that ſent for him, and chid him ſo ſeverely, that Lord *Midletoun* concluded from it that he was ruined. Yet he always ſtood upon it, that he had the King's order by word of mouth for what he had done, tho' he was not ſo cautious as to procure an inſtruction under his hand for his warrant. It is very probable, that he ſpoke of it to the King, when his head was full of ſomewhat elſe, ſo that he did not mind it; and that, to get rid of the Earl of *Midletoun*, he bid him do whatſoever he propoſed, without reflecting much on it. For the King was at that time often ſo diſtracted in his thoughts, that he was not at all times maſter of himſelf. The Queen-mother had brought over from *France* one Mrs. *Steward*, reckoned a very great beauty, who was afterwards married to the Duke of *Richmond*. The King was believed to be deeply in love with her. Yet his former Miſtreſs kept her ground ſtill. And, what with her humours and jealouſy, and what with this new amour, the King had very little quiet, between both their paſſions and his own.

Towards the end of *May* the King called many of the *Engliſh* Counſellours together, and did order all the papers that had paſſed between the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Midletoun* to be read to them. When that was done, many of them who were *Midletoun*'s friends ſaid much in excuſe of his errours, and of the neceſſity of continuing him ſtill in that high truſt. But the King ſaid, his errours were ſo great and ſo many, that the credit of his affairs muſt ſuffer, if he continued them any longer in ſuch hands. Yet he promiſed them, he would be ſtill kind to him; for he looked on him as a very honeſt man. Few days after that, Secretary *Morrice* was ſent to him, with a warrant under the King's hand, requiring him to deliver up his commiſſion, which he did. And ſo his Miniſtry came to an end, after a ſort of a reign of much violence and injuſtice: For he was become very imperious. He and his company were delivered up to ſo much exceſs, and to ſuch a madneſs of frolick and intemperance, that as *Scotland* had never ſeen any thing like it, ſo upon this diſgrace there was a general joy over the Kingdom: Tho' that laſted not long; for thoſe that came after him grew worſe than ever he was like to be. He had lived in great magnificence, which made him acceptable to many: And he was a firm friend, tho' a violent enemy. The Earl of *Rothes* was declared the King's Commiſſioner. But the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not truſt him. So he went down with him, and kept him too viſibly in a dependence on him, for all his high character.

And turned out of all.

Wariſtoun's execution. One of the firſt things that was done in this ſeſſion of Parliament, was the execution of my unfortunate uncle, *Wariſtoun*. He was ſo diſordered both in body and mind, that it was a reproach to a government to proceed againſt him: His memory was ſo gone, that he did not know his own children. He was brought before the Parliament, to hear what he had to ſay, why his execution ſhould not be awarded. He ſpoke long, but in a broken and diſordered ſtrain, which his enemies fancied was put on to create pity. He was ſentenced to die. His deportment was unequal, as might be expected from a man in his condition. Yet when the day of his execution came, he was very ſerene. He was chearful, and ſeemed fully ſatisfied with his death. He read a ſpeech twice over on the ſcaffold, that to my knowledge he compoſed himſelf, in which he juſtified all the proceedings in the Covenant, and aſſerted his own ſincerity; but condemned his joyning with *Cromwell* and the Sectaries, tho' even in that his intentions had been ſincere, for the good of his country, and the ſecurity of religion. Lord *Lauderdale* had lived in great friendſhip with him: But he ſaw the King was ſo ſet againſt him, that he, who at all times took more care of himſelf than of his friends, would not in ſo critical a time ſeem to favour a man, whom the Presbyterians had ſet up as a ſort of an idol among them, and on whom they did depend more than on any other man then alive.

The buſineſs of the Parliament went on as the Lord *Lauderdale* directed. The whole proceeding in the matter of the balloting was laid open. It appeared, that the Parliament had not deſired it, but had been led into it by being made believe that the King had a mind to it. And of all the members of Parliament not above twelve could be prevailed on to own, that they had adviſed the Earl of *Midletoun* to ask leave of the King for it, whoſe private ſuggeſtions he had repreſented to the King as the deſire of the Parliament. This finiſhed his diſgrace, as well as it occaſioned the putting all his party out of employments.

An Act againſt Conventicles. While they were going on with their affairs, they underſtood that an Act had paſs'd in the Parliament of *England* againſt all Conventicles, impowering Juſtices of Peace

Peace to convict offenders without Juries; which was thought a great breach on the 1663.
ſecurity of the *Engliſh* conſtitution, and a raiſing the power of Juſtices to a very arbitrary pitch. Any meeting for religious worſhip, at which five were preſent more than the family, was declared a conventicle. And every perſon above ſixteen, that was preſent at it, was to lye three months in priſon, or to pay 5 *l.* for the firſt offence; ſix months for the ſecond offence, or to pay 20 *l.* fine; and for the third offence, being convict by a Jury, was to be baniſhed to any plantation, except *New England* or *Virginia*, or to pay an 100 *l.* All people were amazed at this ſeverity. But the Biſhops in *Scotland* took heart upon it, and reſolved to copy from it. So an Act paſs'd there, almoſt in the ſame terms. And, at the paſſing it, Lord *Lauderdale* in a long ſpeech expreſſed great zeal for the Church. There was ſome little oppoſition made to it by the Earl of *Kincardin*, who was an enemy to all perſecution. But, tho' ſome few voted againſt it, it was carried by a great majority.

Another Act paſs'd, declaring the conſtitution of a National Synod. It was to be compoſed of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, of all Deans, and of two to be deputed from every Presbytery; of which the Moderator of the Presbytery named by the Biſhop was to be one: All things were to be propoſed to this Court by the King or his Commiſſioner. And whatſoever ſhould be agreed to by the majority and the Preſident, the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, was to have the force of an Eccleſiaſtical law, when it ſhould be confirmed by the King. Great exceptions were taken to this Act. The Church was reſtrained from meddling with any thing, but as it ſhould be laid before them by the King; which was thought a ſevere reſtraint, like that of the *Propoſitionibus Legatis* ſo much complained of at *Trent*. The putting the negative, not in the whole bench of the Biſhops, but ſingly in the Preſident, was thought very irregular. But it paſs'd with ſo little obſervation, that the Lord *Lauderdale* could ſcarce believe it was penned as he found it to be, when I told him of it. *Primeroſe* told me, *Sharp* put that clauſe in with his own hand. The inferiour Clergy complained, that the power was wholly taken from them; ſince as one of their deputies was to be a perſon named by the Biſhops, ſo, the Moderators claiming a negative vote in their Presbyteries as the Biſhops delegates, the other half were only to conſiſt of Perſons to whom they conſented. The Act was indeed ſo penned, that no body moved for a National Synod, when they ſaw how it was to be conſtituted. The conſtitution of a National Synod.

Two other Acts paſs'd in favour of the Crown. The Parliament of *England* had laid great impoſitions on all things imported from *Scotland*: So the Parliament, being ſpeedily to be diſſolved, and not having time to regulate ſuch impoſitions on *Engliſh* goods, as might force the *Engliſh* to bring that matter to a juſt balance, they put that confidence in the King, that they left the laying of impoſitions on all foreign merchandize wholly to him.

Another Act was looked on as a pompous compliment: And ſo it paſs'd without obſervation, or any oppoſition. In it they made an offer to the King of an Army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe to be ready upon ſummons to march with forty days proviſion into any part of his Majeſty's dominions, to oppoſe invaſions, to ſuppreſs inſurrections, or for any other cauſe in which his authority, power, or greatneſs was concerned. No body dream'd, that any uſe was ever to be made of this. Yet the Earl of *Lauderdale* had his end in it, to let the King ſee what uſe he might make of *Scotland*, if he ſhould intend to ſet up arbitrary government in *England*. He told the King, that the Earl of *Midletoun* and his party underſtood not, what was the greateſt ſervice that *Scotland* could do him: They had not much treaſure to offer him: The only thing they were capable of doing was, to furniſh him with a good Army, when his affairs in *England* ſhould require it. And of this he made great uſe afterwards to advance himſelf, tho' it could never have ſignified any thing to the advancing the King's ends. Yet ſo eaſy was it to draw the Parliament of *Scotland* to paſs Acts of the greateſt conſequence in a hurry, without conſidering the effects they might have. After theſe Acts were paſs'd, the Parliament was diſſolved; which gave a general ſatisfaction to the country, for they were a furious ſet of people. The Government was left in the Earl of *Glencairn*'s hands, who began, now that he had little favour at Court, to ſet himſelf on all occaſions to oppoſe *Sharp*'s violent notions. The Earl of *Rothes* ſtuck firm to *Sharp*; and was recommended by him to the Biſhops of *England*, as the only man that ſupported their intereſts. The King at this time reſtored Lord *Lorn* to his Grandfather's honour, of being Earl of *Argile*, paſſing over his Father; and gave him a great part of his eſtate, leaving the reſt to An Act offering an Army to the King.

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1663. be ſold for the payment of debts, which did not raiſe in value above a third part of them. This occaſioned a great outcry, that continued long to purſue him.

1664. *Sharp* went up to *London* to complain of the Lord *Glencairn*, and of the Privy Council; where, he ſaid, there was ſuch a remiſſneſs, and ſo much popularity appeared on all occaſions, that, unleſs ſome more ſpirit were put in the adminiſtration, it would be impoſſible to preſerve the Church. That was the word always uſed, as if there had been a charm in it. He moved, that a letter might be writ, giving him the precedence of the Lord Chancellour. This was thought an inexcuſable piece of vanity: For in *Scotland* when there was no Commiſſioner, all matters paſs'd thro' the Lord Chancellour's hands, who by Act of Parliament was to preſide in all Courts, and was conſidered as repreſenting the King's perſon. He alſo moved, that the King would grant a ſpecial commiſſion to ſome perſons for executing the Laws relating to the Church. All the Privy Counſellours were to be of it. But to theſe he deſired many others might be added, for whom he undertook, that they would execute them with zeal. Lord *Lauderdale* ſaw that this would prove a High-Commiſſion Court: Yet he gave way to it, tho' much againſt his own mind. Upon theſe things I took the liberty, tho' then too young to meddle in things of that kind, to expoſtulate very freely with him. I thought he was acting the Earl of *Traquair*'s part, giving way to all the follies of the Biſhops on deſign to ruin them. He upon that ran into a great deal of freedom with me: He told me many paſſages of *Sharp*'s paſt life: He was perſwaded he would ruin all: But, he ſaid, he was reſolved to give him line: For he had not credit enough to ſtop him; nor would he oppoſe any thing that he propoſed, unleſs it were very extravagant: He ſaw the Earl of *Glencairn* and he would be in a perpetual war: And it was indifferent to him how matters might go between them: Things would run to a height: And then the King would of himſelf put a ſtop to their career: For the King ſaid often, he was not Prieſt-ridden: He would not venture a war, nor travel again for any party. This was all that I could obtain from the Earl of *Lauderdale*. I preſſed *Sharp* himſelf to think of more moderate methods. But he deſpiſed my applications: And from that time he was very jealous of me.

Sharp drove very violently.

Lauderdale gave way to it.

Fairfoul, Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, died this year: And one *Burnet* ſucceeded him, who was a near kinſman of the Lord *Rutherford*'s; who, from being Governour of *Dunkirk*, when it was ſold, was ſent to *Tangier*, but ſoon after in an unhappy encounter, going out to view ſome grounds, was intercepted, and cut to pieces by the *Moors*. Upon *Rutherford*'s recommendation, *Burnet*, who had lived many years in *England*, and knew nothing of *Scotland*, was ſent thither, firſt to be Biſhop of *Aberdeen*: And from thence he was raiſed to *Glaſcow*. He was of himſelf a ſoft and good natured man, tolerably learned, and of a blameleſs life: But was a man of no genius: And tho' he was inclined to peaceable and moderate counſels, yet he was much in the power of others, and took any impreſſion that was given him very eaſily. I was much in his favour at firſt, but could not hold it long: For as I had been bred up by my father to love liberty and moderation, ſo I ſpent the greateſt part of the year 1664 in *Holland* and *France*, which contributed not a little to root and fix me in thoſe principles.

Burnet Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*.

A view of the ſtate of affairs in *Holland* and *France*.

I ſaw much peace and quiet in *Holland*, notwithſtanding the diverſity of opinions among them; which was occaſioned by the gentleneſs of the government, and the toleration that made all people eaſy and happy. An univerſal induſtry was ſpread thro' the whole country. There was little aſpiring to preferment in the State, becauſe little was to be got that way. They were then apprehending a war with *England*, and were preparing for it. From thence, where every thing was free, I went to *France*, where nothing was free. The King was beginning to put things in great method, in his revenue, in his troops, in his government at home, but above all in the increaſing of trade, and the building of a great fleet. His own deportment was ſolemn and grave, ſave only that he kept his Miſtreſſes very avowedly. He was diligent in his own counſels, and regular in the diſpatch of his affairs: So that all things about him looked like the preparing of matters for all that we have ſeen acted ſince. The King of *Spain* was conſidered as dying: And the infant his ſon was like to die as ſoon as he: So that it was generally believed, the *French* King was deſigning to ſet up a new Empire in the *Weſt*. He had carried the quarrel at *Rome* about the *Corſes* ſo high with the Houſe of *Ghigi*, that the Proteſtants were beginning to flatter themſelves with great hopes. When I was in *France*, Cardinal *Ghigi* came, as Legate, to give the King full ſatisfaction in that matter. Lord *Hollis* was then Ambaſſadour at *Paris*.

I was

I was so effectually recommended to him, that he used me with great freedom, which he continued to do to the end of his days. He stood upon all the points of an Ambassadour with the stiffness of former ages, which made him very unacceptable to a high-spirited young Prince, who began even then to be flattered, as if he had been somewhat more than a mortal. This established me in my love of law and liberty, and in my hatred of absolute power. When I came back, I stay'd for some months at Court, and observed the scene as carefully as I could, and became acquainted with all the men that were employed in *Scottish* affairs. I had more than ordinary opportunities of being well informed about them. This drew a jealousy on me from the Bishops, which was increased from the friendship into which *Leighton* received me. I past for one, who was no great friend to Church power, nor to persecution. So it was thought, that Lord *Lauderdale* was preparing me as one who was known to have been always Episcopal, to be set up against *Sharp* and his set of men, who were much hated by one side, and not loved, nor trusted, by the other. 1664.

In the mean time while the Earl of *Glencairn* died, which set *Sharp* at ease, but put him on new designs. He apprehended, that the Earl of *Tweedale* might be advanced to that post: For in the settlement of the Dutchess of *Buccleugh*'s estate, who was married to the Duke of *Monmouth*, the best beloved of all the King's children, by which in default of issue by her, it was to go to the Duke of *Monmouth* and the issue he might have by any other wife, the Earl of *Tweedale*, tho' his children were the next heirs, who were by this depriv'd of their right, had yet given way to it in so frank a manner, that the King was enough inclined both to oblige and to trust him. But *Sharp* had great suspicions of him, as cold in their concerns. So he writ to *Sheldon*, that upon the disposal of the seals the very being of the Church did so absolutely depend, that he begged he would press the King very earnestly in the matter, and that he would move that he might be called up before that post should be filled. The King bid *Sheldon* assure him, he should take a special care of that matter, but that there was no occasion for his coming up: For the King by this time had a very ill opinion of him. *Sharp* was so mortified with this, that he resolved to put all to hazard; for he believed all was at stake: And he ventured to come up. The King received him coldly; and asked him if he had not received the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s letter. He said, he had: But he would choose rather to venture on his Majesty's displeasure, than to see the Church ruined thro' his caution or negligence: He knew the danger they were in, in *Scotland*, where they had but few and cold friends, and many violent enemies: His Majesty's protection, and the execution of the law, were the only things they could trust to: And these so much depended on the good choice of a Chancellour, that he could not answer it to God and the Church, if he did not bestir himself in that matter: He knew many thought of himself for that post; But he was so far from that thought, that, if his Majesty had any such intention, he would rather choose to be sent to a plantation: He desired, that he might be a Church-man in heart, but not in habit, that should be raised to that trust. These were his very words as the King reported them. From him he went to *Sheldon*, and press'd him to move the King for himself, and furnished him with many reasons to support the proposition; a main one being, that the late King had raised his predecessor *Spotswood* to that trust. *Sheldon* upon that did move the King with more than ordinary earnestness in it. The King suspected *Sharp* had set him on, and charged him to tell him the truth. The other did it, tho' not without some uneasiness. Upon that the King told him what he had said to himself. And then it may be easily imagined in what a style they both spoke of him. Yet *Sheldon* prayed the King, that whatsoever he might think of the man, he would consider the Archbishop and the Church; which the King assured him he would do. *Sheldon* told *Sharp*, that he saw the motion for himself did not take; so he must think of somewhat else. *Sharp* proposed, that the seals might be put in the Earl of *Rothes*'s hands, till the King should pitch on a proper person. He also proposed, that the King would make him his Commissioner, in order to the preparing matters for a National Synod, that they might settle a book of Common-prayer, and a book of Canons. This, he said, must be carried on slowly, and with great caution; of which the late troubles did demonstrate the necessity.

Sharp aspired to be Chancellour of *Scotland*.

All this was easily agreed to: For the King loved the Lord *Rothes*: And the Earl of *Lauderdale* would not oppose his advancement: Tho' it was a very extravagant thing to see one man possess so many of the chief Places of so poor a Kingdom.

Rothes had the whole power of *Scotland* put in his hands.

1664. The Earl of *Crawford* would not abjure the Covenant: So he had been made Lord Treaſurer in his place: He continued to be ſtill, what he was before, Lord Preſident of the Council: And, upon the Earl of *Middletoun's* diſgrace, he was made Captain of a troop of guards: And now he was both the King's Commiſſioner, and upon the matter Lord Chancellour. *Sharp* reckoned this was his maſter-piece. Lord *Rothes*, being thus advanced by his means, was in all things governed by him. His inſtructions were ſuch as *Sharp* propoſed, to prepare matters for a National Synod, and in the mean while to execute the Laws that related to the Church with a ſteddy firmneſs. So, when he parted from *Whitehal*, *Sharp* ſaid to the King, that he had now done all that could be deſired of him for the good of the Church: So that, if all matters went not right in *Scotland*, none muſt bear the blame, but either the Earl of *Lauderdale* or *Rothes*. And ſo they came to *Scotland*, where a very furious ſcene of illegal violence was opened. *Sharp* governed Lord *Rothes*, who abandoned himſelf to pleaſure. And, when ſome cenſured this, all the anſwer that was made was, a ſevere piece of raillery, that the King's Commiſſioner ought to repreſent his perſon.

1665. The government of *Scotland* as to civil matters was very eaſy. All were quiet and obedient. But all thoſe Counties that lye towards the *Weſt* became very fierce and intractable: And the whole work of the Council was to deal with them, and to ſubdue them. It was not eaſy to prove any thing againſt any of them, for they did ſtick firm to one another. The people complained of the new ſet of Miniſters, that was ſent among them, as immoral, ſtupid, and ignorant. Generally they forſook their Churches. And, if any of them went to Church, they ſaid, they were little edified with their ſermons. And the whole country was full of ſtrange reports of the weakneſs of their preaching, and of the indecency of their whole deportment. The people treated them with great contempt, and with an averſion that broke out often into violence and injuſtice. But their Miniſters on their parts were not wanting in their complaints, aggravating matters, and poſſeſſing the Biſhops with many ſtories of deſigns and plottings againſt the State. So, many were brought before the Council, and the new Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, for pretended riots, and for uſing their Miniſters ill, but chiefly for not coming to Church, and for holding Conventicles. The proofs were often defective, and lay rather in preſumptions, than clear evidence: And the puniſhments propoſed were often arbitrary, not warranted by law. So the Judges and other lawyers, that were of thoſe Courts, were careful to keep proceedings according to forms of law: Upon which *Sharp* was often complaining, that favour was ſhewn to the enemies of the Church, under the pretence of law. It was ſaid, that the people of the country were in ſuch a combination, that it was not poſſible to find witneſſes to prove things fully: And he often ſaid, muſt the Church be ruined for punctilio's of law? When he could not carry matters by a vote, as he had a mind, he uſually looked to the Earl of *Rothes*; who upon that was ever ready to ſay, he would take it upon him to order the matter as *Sharp* propoſed, and would do it in the King's name. Great numbers were caſt into priſon, where they were kept long, and ill uſed: And ſometimes they were fined, and the younger ſort whipt about the ſtreets. The people grew more ſullen on all this ill uſage. Many were undone by it, and went over to the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, where they were well received, and had all manner of liberty as to their way of religion.

Illegal and ſevere proceedings in *Scotland*.

Burnet was ſent up to poſſeſs the King with the apprehenſions of a rebellion in the beginning of the *Dutch* war. He propoſed that about twenty of the chief gentlemen of thoſe Counties might be ſecured: And he undertook for the peace of the country, if they were clap'd up. This was plainly illegal. But the Lord *Lauderdale* oppoſed nothing. So it was done: But with a very ill effect. For thoſe Gentlemen, knowing how obnoxious they were, had kept meaſures a little better: But they being put in priſon, both their friends and tenants laid all to the door of the Clergy, and hated them the more, and uſed them the worſe for it. The Earls of *Argile*, *Tweedale*, and *Kincardin*, who were conſidered as the Lord *Lauderdale*'s chief friends, were cold in all thoſe matters. They ſtudied to keep proceedings in a legal channel, and were for moderate cenſures. Upon which *Sharp* ſaid, they appeared to be the friends and favourers of the enemies of the Church.

Turner executed the laws in a military way.

Wherever the people had generally forſaken their Churches, the guards were quartered thro' the country. Sir *James Turner*, that commanded them, was naturally fierce, but was mad when he was drunk; and that was very often. So he was ordered by the

the Lord *Rothes* to act according to such directions as *Burnet* should send him. And he went about the country, and received such lists, as the ministers brought him, of those who came not to Church: And, without any other proof or any legal conviction, he set such a fine on them, as he thought they could pay, and sent soldiers to lie on them till it was paid. I knew him well afterwards, when he came to himself, being out of employment. He was a learned man; but had been always in armies, and knew no other rule but to obey orders. He told me, he had no regard to any law, but acted, as he was commanded, in a military way. He confessed, it went often against the grain with him to serve such a debauched and worthless company, as the Clergy generally were; and that sometimes he did not act up to the rigour of his orders; for which he was often chid, both by Lord *Rothes* and *Sharp*, but was never check'd for his illegal and violent proceedings. And, tho' the complaints of him were very high, so that, when he was afterwards seized on by the party, they intended to make a sacrifice of him; yet when they looked into his orders, and found that his proceedings, how fierce soever, fell short of these, they spared him, as a man that had merited by being so gentle among them. 1665.

The truth is, the whole face of the government looked liker the proceedings of an inquisition, than of legal Courts: And yet *Sharp* was never satisfied. So Lord *Rothes* and he went up to Court in the first year of the *Dutch* war. When they waited first on the King, *Sharp* put him in mind of what he had said at his last parting, that if their matters went not well, none must be blamed for it, but either the Earl of *Lauderdale*, or of *Rothes*: And now he came to tell his Majesty, that things were worse than ever: And he must do the Earl of *Rothes* the justice to say, he had done his part. Lord *Lauderdale* was all on fire at this, but durst not give himself vent before the King. So he only desired, that *Sharp* would come to particulars: And then he should know what he had to say. *Sharp* put that off in a general charge; and said, he knew the party so well, that, if they were not supported by secret encouragements, they would have been long ago weary of the opposition they gave the government. The King had no mind to enter farther into their complaints. So Lord *Rothes* and he withdrew; and were observed to look very pleasantly upon one another, as they went away. Lord *Lauderdale* told the King, he was now accused to his face: But he would quickly let him see what a man *Sharp* was. So he obtained a message from the King to him, of which he himself was to be the bearer, requiring him to put his complaints in writing, and to come to particulars. He followed *Sharp* home, who received him with such a gayity, as if he had given him no provocation. But Lord *Lauderdale* was more solemn; and told him, it was the King's pleasure, that he should put the accusation with which he had charged him in writing. *Sharp* pretended, he did not comprehend his meaning. He answered, the matter was plain: He had accused him to the King: And he must either go thorough with it, and make it out, otherwise he would charge him with leasing-making: And spoke in a terrible tone to him. Upon that, as he told me, *Sharp* fell a trembling and weeping: He protested, he meant no harm to him: He was only sorry that his friends were upon all occasions pleading for favour to the *Fanaticks*: (That was become the name of reproach.) Lord *Lauderdale* said, that would not serve turn: He was not answerable for his friends, except when they acted by directions from him. *Sharp* offer'd to go with him presently to the King, and to clear the whole matter. Lord *Lauderdale* had no mind to break openly with him. So he accepted of this, and carried him to the King; where he retracted all he had said, in so gross a manner, that the King said afterwards, Lord *Lauderdale* was ill natured to press it so heavily, and to force *Sharp* on giving himself the lye in such course terms.

Sharp studies to bring *Midletoun* into business again.

This went to *Sharp*'s heart: So he made a proposition to the Earl of *Dunfrieze*, who was a great friend of the Lord *Midletoun*'s, to try if a reconciliation could be made between him and the Earl of *Rothes*, and if he would be content to come into the government under Lord *Rothes*. Lord *Dunfrieze* went into *Kent*, where the Lord *Midletoun* was then employed in a military command on the account of the war: And he laid *Sharp*'s proposition before him. The Earl of *Midletoun* gave Lord *Dunfrieze* power to treat in his name; but said, he knew *Sharp* too well to regard any thing that came from him. Before Lord *Dunfrieze* came back, *Sharp* had tried Lord *Rothes*, but found he would not meddle in it: And they both understood, that the Earl of *Clarendon*'s interest was declining, and that the King was like to change his measures. So when Lord *Dunfrieze* came back to give *Sharp* an account of his negotiation, he seemed

1665. seemed surprised, and denied he had given him any such commission. This enraged the Earl of *Dunfriese* so, that he published the thing in all companies. Among others he told it very particularly to my self.

At that time *Leighton* was prevailed on to go to Court, and to give the King a true account of the proceedings in *Scotland*, which he said, were so violent, that he could not concur in the planting the christian religion it self in such a manner, much less a form of government. He therefore begged leave to quit his Bishopprick, and to retire: For he thought he was in some sort accessary to the violences done by others, since he was one of them, and all was pretended to be done to establish them and their order. There were indeed no violences committed in his diocese. He went round it continually every year, preaching and catechising from parish to parish. He continued in his private and ascetick course of life, and gave all his income, beyond the small expence of his own person, to the poor. He studied to raise in his Clergy a greater sense of spiritual matters, and of the care of souls, and was in all respects a burning and shining light, highly esteemed by the greater part of his diocese: Even the Presbyterians were much mollified, if not quite overcome, by his mild and heavenly course of life. The King seemed touched with the state that the country was in: He spoke very severely of *Sharp*, and assured *Leighton*, he would quickly come to other measures, and put a stop to those violent methods: But he would by no means suffer him to quit his Bishoprick. So the King gave orders that the Ecclesiastical Commission should be discontinued, and signified his pleasure, that another way of proceeding was necessary for his affairs.

More forces rais'd in Scotland.

He understood by his intelligence from *Holland*, that the exiles at *Rotterdam* were very busy, and that perhaps the *Dutch* might furnish the malecontents of *Scotland* with money and arms: So he thought it was necessary to raise more troops. Two gallant officers, that had served him in the wars, and, when these were over, had gone with his letters to serve in *Muscovy*, where one of them, *Dalzell*, was raised to be a General, and the other, *Drummond*, was advanced to be a Lieutenant General, and Governour of *Smolensko*, were now, not without great difficulty, sent back by the *Czar*. So the King intended they should command some forces that he was to raise. *Sharp* was very apprehensive of this: But the King was positive. A little before this, the Act of fining, that had lain so long asleep that it was thought forgot, was revived. And all who had been fined were required to bring in one moiety of their fines: But the other moiety was forgiven those who took the Declaration renouncing the Covenant. The money was by Act of Parliament to be given among those who had served, and suffered for the King; so that the King had only the trust of distributing it. There was no more *Scottish* Councils called at *Whitehall* after Lord *Middleton*'s fall. But upon particular occasions the King ordered the Privy Counsellours of that Kingdom, that were about the town, to be brought to him: Before whom he now laid out the necessity of raising some more force for securing the quiet of *Scotland*: He only asked their advice, how they should be paid. *Sharp* very readily said, the money raised by the fining was not yet disposed of: So he proposed the applying it to that use. None opposed this: So it was resolved on. And by that means the Cavaliers, who were come up with their pretensions, were disappointed of their last hopes of being recompensed for their sufferings. The blame of all this was cast upon *Sharp*, at which they were out of measure enraged, and charged him with it. He denied it boldly. But the King published it so openly, that he durst not contradict him. Many, to whom he had denied that he knew any thing of the matter, and called that advice diabolical invention, affirmed it to the King. And the Lord *Lauderdale*, to compleat his disgrace with the King, got many of his letters, which he had writ to the Presbyterians after the time in which the King knew that he was negotiating for Episcopacy, in which he had continued to protest with what zeal he was soliciting their concerns, not without dreadful imprecations on himself if he was prevaricating with them, and laid these before the King: So that the King looked on him as one of the worst of men.

1666.

Some eminent Clergymen in Scotland offended at these proceedings.

Many of the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland* were much offended at all these proceedings. They saw the prejudices of the people were increased by them. They hated violent courses, and thought they were contrary to the meek spirit of the gospel, and that they alienated the Nation more from the Church. They set themselves much to read Church-history, and to observe the state of the Primitive Church, and the spirits

ſpirit of thoſe times: And they could not but obſerve ſo great a difference between the conſtitution of the Church under thoſe Biſhops and our own, that they ſeemed to agree in nothing but the name. I happened to be ſettled near two of the moſt eminent of them, who were often moved to accept of Biſhopricks, but always refuſed them, both out of a true principle of humility and ſelf-denial, and alſo becauſe they could not engage in the methods by which things were carried on. One of theſe Mr. *Nairn*, was one of the politeſt Clergy-men I ever knew bred in *Scotland*. He had formed clear and lively ſchemes of things, and was the moſt eloquent of all our preachers. He conſidered the paſtoral function as a dedication of the whole man to God and his ſervice. He read the moral philoſophers much; and had wrought himſelf into their equal temper, as much as could conſiſt with a great deal of fire that was in his own: But he turned it all to melting devotion. He had a true notion of ſuperſtition, as a narrowneſs of ſoul, and a meanneſs of thought in religion. He ſtudied to raiſe all that converſed with him to great notions of God, and to an univerſal charity. This made him pity the Presbyterians, as men of low notions and ill tempers. He had indeed too much heat of imagination, which carried him to be very poſitive in ſome things, in which he afterwards changed his mind: And that made him paſs for an inconſtant man. In a word, he was the brighteſt man I ever knew among all our *Scottiſh* Divines. Another of theſe was Mr. *Charteris*, a man of a compoſed and ſerene gravity, but without affectation or ſourneſs. He ſcarce ever ſpoke in company, but was very open and free in private. He made true judgments of things, and of men; and had a peculiar talent in managing ſuch as he thought deſerved his pains. He had little heat, either in body or mind: For as he had a moſt emaciated body, ſo he ſpoke both ſlow, and in ſo low a voice that he could not eaſily be heard. He had great tenderneſs in his temper; and was a very perfect friend, and a moſt ſublime Chriſtian. He lived in a conſtant contempt of the world, and a neglect of his perſon. There was a gravity in his converſation that raiſed an attention, and begot a compoſedneſs, in all about him, without frightening them; for he made religion appear amiable in his whole deportment. He read all the lives and the epiſtles of great men very carefully. He had read the fathers much; and gave me this notion of them, that in ſpeculative points, for which writers of Controverſy ſearched into their works, they were but ordinary men: But their excellency lay in that, which was leaſt ſought for, their ſenſe of ſpiritual things, and of the paſtoral care. In theſe he thought their ſtrength lay. And he often lamented, not without ſome indignation, that in the diſputes about the government of the Church, much pains were taken to ſeek out all thoſe paſſages that ſhewed what their opinions were; but that due care was not taken to ſet out the notions that they had of the ſacred function, of the preparation of mind, and inward vocation, with which men ought to come to holy orders; or of the ſtrictneſs of life, the deadneſs to the world, the heavenly temper, and the conſtant application to the doing of good, that became them. Of theſe he did not talk like an angry reformer, that ſet up in that ſtrain, becauſe he was neglected or provoked; but like a man full of a deep, but humble ſenſe of them. He was a great enemy to large confeſſions of faith, chiefly when they were impoſed in the lump as teſts: For he was poſitive in very few things. He had gone thro' the chief parts of learning: But was then moſt converſant in hiſtory, as the innocenteſt ſort of ſtudy, that did not fill the mind with ſubtilty, but helped to make a man wiſer and better. Theſe were both ſingle perſons, and men of great ſobriety: And they lived in a conſtant low diet, which they valued more than ſeverer faſting. Yet they both became miſerable by the ſtone. *Nairn* went to *Paris*, where he was cut of a great one, of which he recovered, but lived not many years after. *Charteris* lived to a great age, and died in the end of the year 1700, having in his laſt years ſuffered unſpeakable torment from the ſtone, which the operators would not venture to cut. But all that ſaw what he ſuffered, and how he bore it, acknowledged that in him they ſaw a moſt perfect pattern of patience and ſubmiſſion to the will of God. It was a great happineſs for me, after I had broke into the world by ſuch a ramble as I had made, that I fell into ſuch hands, with whom I entred into a cloſe and particular friendſhip. They both ſet me right, and kept me right; tho' I made at this time a falley that may be mentioned, ſince it had ſome relation to publick affairs. I obſerved the deportment of our Biſhops was in all points ſo different from what became their function, that I had a more than ordinary zeal kindled within me upon it. They were not only furious againſt all that ſtood out againſt them, but were very remiſs in all the parts of their function.

1666.

1666. Some did not live within their diocefs. And thofe who did ſeemed to take no care of them: They ſhewed no zeal againſt vice: The moſt eminently wicked in the County were their particular confidents: They took no pains to keep their Clergy ſtrictly to rules, and to their duty: On the contrary there was a levity and a carnal way of living about them, that very much ſcandalized me. There was indeed one *Scougal*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, that was a man of rare temper, great piety and prudence: But I thought he was too much under *Sharp*'s conduct, and was at leaſt too eaſy to him.

Some of the grievances of the Clergy laid before the Biſhops.

Upon all this I took a reſolution of drawing up a memorial of the grievances we lay under by the ill conduct of our Biſhops. I reſolved that no other perſon beſides my ſelf ſhould have a ſhare in any trouble it might bring on me: So I communicated it to none. This made it not to be in all the parts of it ſo well digeſted, as it otherwiſe might have been: And I was then but three and twenty. I laid my foundation in the conſtitution of the primitive Church; and ſhewed how they had departed from it, by their neglecting their diocefe, meddling ſo much in ſecular affairs, raiſing their families out of the revenues of the Church, and above all by their violent proſecuting of thoſe who differ'd from them. Of this I writ out ſome copies, and ſigned them, and ſent them to all the Biſhops of my acquaintance. *Sharp* was much alarmed at it, and fancied I was ſet on to it by ſome of the Lord *Lauderdale*'s friends. I was called before the Biſhops, and treated with great ſeverity. *Sharp* called it a libel. I ſaid, I had ſet my name to it, ſo it could not be called a libel. He charged me with the preſumption of offering to teach my ſuperiours. I ſaid, ſuch things had been not only done, but juſtified in all ages. He charged me for reflecting on the King's putting them on his counſels: I ſaid, I found no fault with the King for calling them to his counſels. But with them for going out of that which was their proper province, and for giving ill counſel. Then he charged me for reflecting on ſome ſeverities, which, he ſaid, was a reproaching publick Courts, and a cenſuring the laws. I ſaid, laws might be made *in terrorem*, not always fit to be executed: But I only complained of Clergy-mens preſſing the rigorous execution of them, and going often beyond what the law dictated. He broke out into a great vehemence; and propoſed to the Biſhops that I ſhould be ſummarily deprived, and excommunicated: But none of them would agree to that. By this management of his the thing grew publick. What I had ventured on was variouſly cenſured: But the greater part approved of it. Lord *Lauderdale* and all his friends were delighted with it: And he gave the King an account of it, who was not ill pleaſed at it. Great pains was taken to make me aſk pardon, but to no purpoſe: So *Sharp* let the thing fall. But, that it might appear that I had not done it upon any factious deſign, I entred into a very cloſe ſtate of retirement; and gave my ſelf wholly to my ſtudy, and the duties of my function.

1664. Affairs in *England*.

Thus I have run over the ſtate of *Scotland* in the years, 1663, 1664, 1665, and till near the end of 1666. I now return to the affairs of *England*; in which I muſt write more defectively, being then ſo far from the ſcene. In winter 1664, the King declared his reſolution of entring into a war with the *Dutch*. The grounds were ſo light, that it was viſible there was ſomewhat more at bottom, than was openly owned. A great comet, which appeared that winter, raiſed the apprehenſions of thoſe, who did not enter into juſt ſpeculations concerning thoſe matters. The Houſe of Commons was ſo far from examining nicely into the grounds of the war, that without any difficulty they gave the King two millions and a half for carrying it on. A great fleet was ſet out, which the Duke commanded in perſon; as *Opdam* had the command of the *Dutch* fleet. But as ſoon as the war broke out, a moſt terrible Plague broke out alſo in the city of *London*, that ſcattered all the inhabitants that were able to remove themſelves elſewhere. It broke the trade of the Nation, and ſwept away about an hundred thouſand ſouls; the greateſt havock that any Plague had ever made in *England*. This did diſhearten all people: And, coming in the very time in which ſo unjuſt a war was begun, it had a dreadful appearance. All the King's enemies, and the enemies of Monarchy ſaid, here was a manifeſt character of God's heavy diſpleaſure upon the Nation; as indeed the ill life the King led, and the vicious neſs of the whole Court, gave but a melancholy proſpect. Yet God's ways are not as our ways. What all had ſeen in the year 1660 ought to have ſilenced thoſe, who at this time pretended to comment on providence. But there will be always much diſcourſe of things that are very viſible, as well as very extraordinary.

1665. The Plague broke out at the ſame time.

The *Dutch* war.

When

When the two fleets met, it is well known what accidents disordered the *Dutch*, and what advantage the *English* had. If that first success had been followed, as was proposed, it might have been fatal to the *Dutch*, who finding they had suffered so much steered off. The Duke ordered all the sail to be set on to overtake them. There was a Council of war called, to concert the method of action, when they should come up with them. In that Council, *Pen*, who commanded under the Duke, happened to say, that they must prepare for hotter work in the next engagement. He knew well the courage of the *Dutch* was never so high, as when they were desperate. The Earl of *Montague*, who was then a voluntier, and one of the Duke's Court, said to me, it was very visible that made an impression. And all the Duke's domesticks said, he had got honour enough; Why should he venture a second time? The Duchess had also given a strict charge to all the Duke's servants, to do all they could to hinder him to engage too far. When matters were settled, they went to sleep: And the Duke ordered a call to be given him, when they should get up to the *Dutch* fleet. It is not known what pass'd between the Duke and *Brounker*, who was of his Bed-chamber, and was then in waiting: But he came to *Pen*, as from the Duke, and said, the Duke ordered the sail to be slackened. *Pen* was struck with the order; but did not go to argue the matter with the Duke himself as he ought to have done, but obey'd it. When the Duke had slept, he, upon his waking, went out on the quarter-deck, and seemed amazed to see the sails slackened, and that thereby all hope of overtaking the *Dutch* was lost. He questioned *Pen* upon it. *Pen* put it on *Brounker*, who said nothing. The Duke denied, he had given any such order. But he neither punished *Brounker* for carrying it, nor *Pen* for obeying it. He indeed put *Brounker* out of his service: And it was said, that he durst do no more, because he was so much in the King's favour, and in the Mistress's. *Pen* was more in his favour after that, than ever before, which he continued to his son after him, tho' a Quaker: And it was thought that all that favour was to oblige him to keep the secret. Lord *Montague* did believe, that the Duke was struck seeing the Earl of *Falmouth*, the King's favourite, and two other persons of quality, killed very near him; and that he had no mind to engage again, and that *Pen* was privately with him. If *Brounker* was so much in fault, as he seemed to be, it was thought, the Duke, in the passion that this must have raised in him, would have proceeded to greater extremities, and not have acted with so much phlegm. This proved the breaking the designs of the King's whole reign: For the *Dutch* themselves believed that, if our fleet had followed them with full sail, we must have come up with them next tide, and have either sunk or taken their whole fleet. *De Wit* was struck with this misfortune: And, imputing some part of it to errours in conduct, he resolved to go on board himself, as soon as their fleet was ready to go to sea again.

1665.

The victory at Sea not followed.

Upon this occasion I will say a little of him, and of the affairs of *Holland*. His father was the deputy of the town of *Dort* in the States, when the late Prince of *Orange* was so much offended with their proceedings in disbanding a great part of their army: And he was one of those whom he ordered upon that to be carried to the Castle of *Loevestein*. Soon after that, his design on *Amsterdam* miscarrying, he saw a necessity of making up the best he could with the States. But, before he had quite healed that wound, he died of the small-pox. Upon his death all his party fell in disgrace, and the *Loevesteiners* carried all before them. So *De Wit* got his son *John*, then but twenty five years of age, to be made pensioner of *Dort*. And within a year after, the pensioner of *Holland* dying, he was made pensioner of *Holland*. His breeding was to the civil law, which he understood very well. He was a great mathematician: And as his *Elementa Curvarum* shew what a man he was that way, so perhaps no man ever applied *Algebra* to all matters of trade so nicely as he did. He made himself so entirely the master of the state of *Holland*, that he understood exactly all the concerns of their revenue, and what sums, and in what manner, could be raised upon any emergent of State: For this he had a pocket-book full of tables, and was ever ready to shew how they could be furnished with money. He was a frank sincere man, without fraud or any other artifice but silence: To which he had so accustomed the world, that it was not easy to know, whether he was silent on design, or custom. He had a great clearness of apprehension: And when any thing was proposed to him, how new soever, he heard all patiently, and then asked such questions as occurred to him: And by the time he had done all this, he was as much master of the proposition, as the person was that had made it. He knew nothing of modern history, nor

An account of the affairs in *Holland*.

of

1665. of the ſtate of Courts: And was eminently defective in all points of form. But he laid down this for a maxim, that all Princes and States followed their own intereſts: So, by obſerving what their true intereſts were, he thought, he could without great intelligence calculate what they were about. He did not enough conſider how far paſſions, amours, humours and opinions wrought on the world: chiefly on Princes. He had the notions of a Common-wealth from the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And from them he came to fancy, that an army commanded by officers of their own country was both more in their own power, and would ſerve them with the more zeal, ſince they themſelves had ſuch an intereſt in the ſucceſs. And ſo he was againſt their hiring foreigners, unleſs it was to be common ſoldiers to ſave their own people. But he did not enough conſider the phlegm and covetouſneſs of his countrymen; of which he felt the ill effects afterwards. This was his greateſt errour, and it turned fatally upon him. But for the adminiſtration of juſtice at home, and for the management of their trade, and their forces by ſea, he was the ableſt Miniſter they ever had. He had an hereditary hatred to the Houſe of *Orange*. He thought it was impoſſible to maintain their liberty, if they were ſtill Stadtholders. Therefore he did all that was poſſible to put an invincible bar in their way, by the perpetual edict. But at the ſame time he took great care of preſerving the young Prince's fortune; and looked well to his education, and gave him, as the Prince himſelf told me, very juſt notions of every thing relating to their State. For he ſaid, he did not know, but that at ſome time or other he would be ſet over them: Therefore he intended to render him fit to govern well.

The Town of *Amſterdam* became at that time very ungovernable. It was thought, that the *Weſt-India* Company had been given up chiefly by their means; for it was in value ſo equal to the *Eaſt-India* Company, that the actions of both were often exchanged for one another. When the Biſhop of *Munſter* began his pretenſions on the City of *Munſter*, and on a great part of *Weſtphalia*, they offered themſelves up to the States, if they would preſerve them. But the Town of *Amſterdam* would not conſent to it, nor ſubmit to the charge. Yet they never ſeemed to ſet up for a ſuperiority over the reſt, nor to break the credit of the Court at the *Hague*. Only they were backward in every thing that was propoſed, that encreaſed the charge. And they were become ſo weary of *De Wit*, that he felt how much the late miſcarriage at ſea had ſhaken his credit; ſince misfortunes are always imputed to the errours of thoſe that govern. So he reſolved to go on board. *De Ruyter* often ſaid, that he was amazed to ſee how ſoon he came to a perfect underſtanding of all the ſea affairs. The winds were ſo long backward, that it was not eaſy to get their great ſhips thro' the *Zuyder* ſea. So he went out in boats himſelf, and plummed it all ſo carefully, that he found many more ways to get out by different winds, than was thought formerly practicable. He got out in time to be maſter of the ſea, before the end of the ſeaſon: And ſo he recovered the affront of the former loſſes, by keeping at ſea after the *Engliſh* fleet was forced to put in. The Earl of *Sandwich* was ſent to the North with a great part of the fleet, to lie for the *Eaſt-India* ſhips. But he was thought too remiſs. They got, before he was aware of it, into *Berghen* in *Norway*. If he had followed them quick, he would have forced the port, and taken them all. But he obſerved forms, and ſent to the Viceroy of *Norway* demanding entrance. That was denied him. But, while theſe meſſages went backward and forward, the *Dutch* had ſo fortifyed the entrance into the port, that, tho' it was attempted with great courage, yet *Tiddiman*, and thoſe who compoſed that ſquadron, were beat off with great loſs, and forced to let go a very rich fleet: For which Lord *Sandwich* was much blamed, tho' he was ſent Ambaſſadour into *Spain*, that his diſgrace might be a little ſoftned by that employment. The Duke's conduct was alſo much blamed: And it was ſaid, he was moſt in fault, but that the Earl of *Sandwich* was made the ſacrifice.

An account of the affairs of *Berghen*.

Here I will add a particular relation of a tranſaction relating to that affair, taken from the account given of it by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, then the King's Envoy at the Court of *Denmark*, in a MS. that I have in my hands. That King did in *June* 1665 open himſelf very freely to *Talbot*, complaining of the States, who, as he ſaid, had drawn the *Swediſh* war on him, on deſign that he might be forced to depend on them for ſupplies of money and ſhipping, and ſo to get the cuſtoms of *Norway* and the *Sound* into their hands for their ſecurity. *Talbot* upon that told him, that the *Dutch Smyrna* fleet was now in *Berghen*, beſides many rich *Weſt-India* ſhips; and that they ſtaid there in expectation of a double *Eaſt-India* fleet, and of *De Ruyter*, who was returning with the ſpoils of the coaſt of *Guinea*. So he ſaid, the King of

Denmark

Denmark might ſeize thoſe ſhips before the convoy came, which they expected. The King of *Denmark* ſaid, he had not ſtrength to execute that. *Talbot* ſaid, the King his maſter would ſend a force to effect it: But it was reaſonable he ſhould have half the ſpoil. To which the King of *Denmark* readily agreed, and ordered him to propoſe it to his maſter. So he immediately tranſmitted it to the King, who approved of it, and promiſed to ſend a fleet to put it in execution. The Miniſters of *Denmark* were appointed to concert the matter with *Talbot*. But nothing was put in writing; for the King of *Denmark* was aſhamed to treat of ſuch an affair, otherwiſe than by word of mouth. Before the end of *July*, news came, that *De Ruyter* with the *Eaſt-India* Fleet was on the coaſt of *Norway*. Soon after he came into *Berghen*. The riches then in that port were reckoned at many millions. 1665.

The Earl of *Sandwich* was then in thoſe ſeas. So *Talbot* ſent a veſſel expreſs to him with the news. But that veſſel fell into the hands of the *Dutch* Fleet, and was ſent to *Holland*. The King of *Denmark* writ to the Viceroy of *Norway*, and to the Governour of *Berghen*, ordering them to uſe all fair means to keep the *Dutch* ſtill in their harbour, promiſing to ſend particular inſtructions in a few days to them how to proceed. *Talbot* ſent letters with theſe, to be delivered ſecretly to the Commanders of the *Engliſh* frigats, to let them know that they might boldly aſſault the *Dutch* in port; for the *Danes* would make no reſiſtance, pretending a fear that the *Engliſh* might deſtroy their Town: But that an account was to be kept of their prizes, that the King of *Denmark* might have a juſt half of all: They were not to be ſurprized, if the *Danes* ſeemed at firſt to talk high: That was to be done for ſhew: But they would grow calmer, when they came to engage. The Earl of *Sandwich* ſent his Secretary to *Talbot*, to know the particulars of the agreement with the King of *Denmark*. But the veſſel that brought him was ordered, upon landing the Secretary, to come back to the fleet. So that it was impoſſible to ſend by that veſſel what was deſired. And no other ſhips could be got to carry back the Secretary. And thus the Earl of *Sandwich* went to attack the *Dutch* Fleet without ſtaying for an anſwer from *Talbot*, or knowing what orders the Governour of *Berghen* had yet received: For tho' the orders were ſent, yet it was ſo great a way, ten or twelve days journey, that they could not reach the place, but after the *Engliſh* fleet had made the attack. The Viceroy of *Norway*, who reſided at *Chriſtiana*, had his orders ſooner, and ſent out two gallies to communicate the agreement to the Earl of *Sandwich*; but miſſed him, for he was then before *Berghen*. The Governour of *Berghen*, not having yet the orders that the former expreſs promiſed him, ſent a Gentleman to the *Engliſh* fleet, deſiring they would make no attack for two or three days; for by that time he expected his orders. *Clifford* was ſent to the Governour, who inſiſted that till he had orders he muſt defend the port, but that he expected them in a very little time. Upon *Clifford*'s going back to the fleet, a Council of war was called, in which the officers, animated with the hope of a rich booty, reſolved without farther delay to attack the port, either doubting the ſincerity of the *Daniſh* Court, or unwilling to give them ſo large a ſhare of that, on which they reckoned as already their prize. Upon this *Tiddiman* began the attack, which ended fatally. Divers frigats were diſabled, and many officers and ſeamen were killed. The ſquadron was thus ruined, and *Tiddiman* was ready to ſink: So he was forced to ſlip his cables, and retire to the fleet, which lay without the rocks. This action was on the third of *Auguſt*: And on the fourth the Governour received his orders. So he ſent for *Clifford*, and ſhewed him his orders. But, as the *Engliſh* fleet had by their precipitation forced him to do what he had done, ſo he could not, upon what had happened the day before, execute thoſe orders, till he had ſent an account of what had paſs'd to the Court of *Denmark*, and had the King's ſecond orders upon it. And, if the whole *Engliſh* fleet would not ſtay in thoſe ſeas ſo long, he deſired they would leave ſix frigats before the harbour, and he would engage, the *Dutch* ſhould not in the mean while go out to ſea. But the *Engliſh* were ſullen upon their diſappointment, and ſailed away. The King of *Denmark* was unſpeakably troubled at the loſs of the greateſt treaſure he was ever like to have in his hands. This was a deſign well laid, that would have been as fatal to the *Dutch*, as ignominious to the King of *Denmark*, and was by the impatient ravenouſneſs of the *Engliſh* loſt, without poſſibility of recovering it. And indeed there was not one good ſtep made after this in the whole progreſs of the war.

England was at this time in a diſmal ſtate. The plague continued for the moſt part of the ſummer in and about *London*, and began to ſpread over the country. The Earl

The Parliament at *Oxford*.

1665. Earl of *Clarendon* moved the King to go to *Salisbury*. But the Plague broke out there. So the Court went to *Oxford*, where another ſeſſion of Parliament was held. And tho' the conduct at ſea was ſeverely reflected on, yet all that was neceſſary for carrying on the war another year was given. The Houſe of Commons kept up the ill humour they were in againſt the Non-conformiſts very high. A great many of the Miniſters of *London* were driven away by the Plague; tho' ſome few ſtaid. Many Churches being ſhut up, when the inhabitants were in a more than ordinary diſpoſition to profit by good ſermons, ſome of the Non-conformiſts upon that went into the empty pulpits, and preached; and, it was given out, with very good ſucceſs: And in many other places they began to preach openly, not without reflecting on the ſins of the Court, and on the ill uſage that they themſelves had met with. This was repreſented very odiouſly at *Oxford*. So a ſevere bill was brought in, requiring all the ſilenced Miniſters to take an oath, declaring it was not lawful on any pretence whatſoever to take arms againſt the King, or any commiſſioned by him, and that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of the Church or State. Such as refuſed this were not to come within five miles of any City, or Parliament Borough, or of the Church where they had ſerved. This was much oppoſed in both Houſes, but more faintly in the Houſe of Commons. The Earl of *Southampton* ſpoke vehemently againſt it in the Houſe of Lords. He ſaid, he could take no ſuch oath himſelf: For how firm ſoever he had always been to the Church, yet, as things were managed, he did not know but he himſelf might ſee cauſe to endeavour an alteration. Doctor *Earl*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, died at that time. But, before his death, he declared himſelf much againſt this Act. He was the man of all the Clergy for whom the King had the greateſt eſteem. He had been his ſubtutor, and had followed him in all his exile with ſo clear a character, that the King could never ſee or hear of any one thing amiſs in him. So he, who had a ſecret pleaſure in finding out any thing that leſſened a man eſteemed eminent for piety, yet had a value for him beyond all the men of his order. *Sheldon* and *Ward* were the Biſhops that acted and argued moſt for this Act, which came to be called the Five Mile Act. All that were the ſecret favourers of Popery promoted it: Their conſtant maxim being, to bring all the Sectaries into ſo deſperate a ſtate, that they ſhould be at mercy, and forced to deſire a toleration on ſuch terms, as the King ſhould think fit to grant it on. *Clifford* began to make a great figure in the Houſe of Commons. He was the ſon of a Clergy-man, born to a ſmall fortune: But was a man of great vivacity. He was reconciled to the Church of *Rome* before the Reſtoration. The Lord *Clarendon* had many ſpies among the Prieſts: And the news of this was brought him among other things. So, when *Clifford* began firſt to appear in the Houſe, he got one to recommend him to the Lord *Clarendon*'s favour. The Lord *Clarendon* looked into the advice that was brought him: And by comparing things together, he perceived that he muſt be that man: And upon that he excuſed himſelf the beſt he could. So *Clifford* ſtruck in with his enemies; and tied himſelf particularly to *Bennet*, made Lord, and afterwards Earl of *Arlington*. While the Act was before the Houſe of Commons, *Vaughan*, afterwards made Chief Juſtice of the Common-pleas, moved that the word *legally* might be added to the words *commiſſioned by the King:* But *Finch*, then Attorney General, ſaid, that was needleſs; ſince unleſs the commiſſion was legal it was no commiſſion, and, to make it legal, it muſt be iſſued out for a lawful occaſion, and to perſons capable of it, and muſt paſs in the due form of law. The other inſiſted that the addition would clear all ſcruples, and procure an univerſal compliance. But that could not be obtained; for it was intended to lay difficulties in the way of thoſe againſt whom the Act was levelled. When the bill came up to the Lords, the Earl of *Southampton* moved for the ſame addition; but was anſwered by the Earl of *Angleſey*, upon the ſame grounds on which *Finch* went. Yet this gave great ſatisfaction to many who heard of it, this being the avowed ſenſe of the legiſlators. The whole matter was ſo explained by *Bridgman*, when *Bates* with a great many more came into the Court of Common-pleas to take the oath. The Act paſs'd: And the Nonconformiſts were put to great ſtraits. They had no mind to take the oath. And they ſcarce knew how to diſpoſe of themſelves according to the terms of the Act. Some moderate men took pains to perſuade them to take the oath. It was ſaid by *endeavour* was only meant an unlawful endeavour; and that it was ſo declared in the debates in both Houſes. Some Judges did on the bench expound it in that ſenſe. Yet few of them took it. Many more refuſed it, who were put to hard ſhifts to live, being

being ſo far ſeparated from the places from which they drew their chief ſubſiſtence. Yet as all this ſeverity in a time of war, and of ſuch a publick calamity, drew very hard cenſures on the promoters of it, ſo it raiſed the compaſſions of their party ſo much, that I have been told they were ſupplied more plentifully at that time than ever. There was better reaſon, than perhaps thoſe of *Oxford* knew, to ſuſpect practices againſt the State. 1665.

The deſigns of the Common-wealth party.

Algernoon Sidney, and ſome others of the Common-wealth party, came to *De Wit*, and preſs'd him to think of an invaſion of *England* and *Scotland*, and gave him great aſſurances of a ſtrong party: And they were bringing many officers to *Holland* to join in the undertaking. They dealt alſo with ſome in *Amſterdam* who were particularly ſharpened againſt the King, and were for turning *England* again into a Common-wealth. The matter was for ſome time in agitation at the *Hague*. But *De Wit* was againſt it, and got it to be laid aſide. He ſaid, their going into ſuch a deſign would provoke *France* to turn againſt them: It might engage them in a long war, the conſequences of which could not be foreſeen: And, as there was no reaſon to think, that, while the Parliament was ſo firm to the King, any diſcontents could be carried ſo far as to a general riſing, which theſe men undertook for; ſo, he ſaid, what would the effect be of turning *England* into a Common-wealth, if it could poſſibly be brought about, but the ruin of *Holland*? It would naturally draw many of the *Dutch* to leave their country, that could not be kept and maintained but at a vaſt charge, and to exchange that for the plenty and ſecurity that *England* afforded. Therefore all that he would engage in was, to weaken the trade of *England*, and to deſtroy their fleet; in which he ſucceeded the following year beyond all expectation. The buſy men in *Scotland*, being encouraged from *Rotterdam*, went about the country, to try if any men of weight would ſet themſelves at the head of their deſigns for an inſurrection. The Earl of *Caſſilis* and *Lockhart* were the two perſons they reſolved to try. But they did it at ſo great a diſtance, that from the propoſition made to them, there was no danger of miſpriſion of treaſon. Lord *Caſſilis* had given his word to the King, that he would never engage in any plots: And he had got under the King's hand a promiſe, that he and his family ſhould not be diſturbed, let him ſerve God in what way he pleaſed. So he did not ſuffer them to come ſo far as to make him any propoſitions. *Lockhart* did the ſame. They ſeeing no other perſon that had credit enough in the country to bring the people about him, gave over all the projects for that year. But, upon the informations that the King had of their caballing at *Rotterdam*, he raiſed thoſe troops of which mention was formerly made.

The Duke of *York*'s jealouſy.

An accident happened this winter at *Oxford*, too inconſiderable, and too tender to be mentioned, if it were not that great effects were believed to have followed on it. The Duke had always one private amour after another, in the managing of which he ſeemed to ſtand more in awe of the Ducheſs, than, conſidering the inequality of their rank, could have been imagined. *Talbot* was looked on as the chief manager of theſe intrigues. The Ducheſs's deportment was unexceptionable, which made her authority the greater. At *Oxford* there was then a very graceful young man of quality that belonged to her Court, whoſe ſervices were ſo acceptable, that ſhe was thought to look at him in a particular manner. This was ſo repreſented to the Duke, that he, being reſolved to emancipate himſelf into more open practices, took up a jealouſy; and put the perſon out of his Court with ſo much precipitation, that the thing became very publick by this means. The Ducheſs loſt the power ſhe had over him ſo entirely, that no method ſhe could think on was like to recover it, except one. She began to diſcover what his religion was, tho' he ſtill came not only to Church, but to Sacrament. And upon that ſhe, to regain what ſhe had loſt, entred into private diſcourſes with his Prieſts; but in ſo ſecret a manner, that there was not for ſome years after this the leaſt ſuſpicion given. She began by degrees to ſlacken in her conſtant coming to Prayers and to Sacrament, in which ſhe had been before that regular, almoſt to ſuperſtition. She put that on her ill health: For ſhe fell into an ill habit of body, which ſome imputed to the effect of ſome of the Duke's diſtempers communicated to her. A ſtory was ſet about, and generally believed, that the Earl of *Southeſk*, that had married a daughter of Duke *Hamilton*'s ſuſpecting ſome familiarities between the Duke and his wife, had taken a ſure method to procure a diſeaſe to himſelf, which he communicated to his wife, and was by that means ſet round till it came to the Ducheſs, who was ſo tainted with it that it was the occaſion of the death of all her children, except the two daughters, our two Queens; and was believed the cauſe of

His amours.

1665. of an illneſs under which ſhe languiſhed long, and died ſo corrupted, that in dreſſing her body after her death, one of her breaſts burſt, being a maſs of corruption. Lord *Southesk* was for ſome years not ill pleaſed to have this believed. It looked like a peculiar ſtrain of revenge, with which he ſeemed much delighted. But I know he has to ſome of his friends denied the whole of the ſtory very ſolemnly. Another acted a better part. He did not like a commerce that he obſerved between the Duke and his wife. He went and expoſtulated with him upon it. The Duke fell a commending his wife much. He told him, he came not to ſeek his wife's character from him: The moſt effectual way of commending her, was to have nothing to do with her. He added, that if Princes would do thoſe wrongs to ſubjects, who could not demand ſuch reparations of honour as they could from their equals, it would put them on ſecreter methods of revenge: For ſome injuries were ſuch, that men of honour could not bear them. And, upon a new obſervation he made of the Duke's deſigns upon his wife, he quitted a very good poſt, and went with her into the country, where he kept her till ſhe died. Upon the whole matter the Duke was often ill. The children were born with ulcers, or they broke out upon them ſoon after: And all his ſons died young and unhealthy. This has, as far as any thing that could not be brought in the way of proof, prevailed to create a ſuſpicion, that ſo healthy a child as the pretended Prince of *Wales* could neither be his, nor be born of any wife with whom he had lived long. The violent pain that his eldeſt daughter had in her eyes, and the gout which has early ſeized our preſent Queen, are thought the dregs of a tainted original. *Willis*, the great phyſician, being called to conſult for one of his ſons, gave his opinion in thoſe words, *Mala Stamina Vitæ*; which gave ſuch offence, that he was never called for afterwards.

1666. I know nothing of the counſels of the year 1666, nor whoſe advices prevailed. It was reſolved on, that the Duke ſhould not go to ſea; but that *Monk* ſhould command the great fleet of between fifty and ſixty ſhips of the line, and that Prince *Rupert* ſhould be ſent with a ſquadron of about twenty five ſhips to meet the *French* fleet, and to hinder their conjunction with the *Dutch*: For the *French* had promiſed a fleet to join the *Dutch*, but never ſent it. *Monk* went out ſo certain of victory, that he ſeemed only concerned for fear the *Dutch* ſhould not come out. The Court flattered themſelves with the hopes of a very happy year: But it proved a fatal one. The *Dutch* fleet came out, *De Wit* and ſome of the States being on board. They engaged the *Engliſh* fleet for two days, in which they had a manifeſt ſuperiority. But it coſt them dear; for the *Engliſh* fought well. But the *Dutch* were ſuperiour in number, and were ſo well furniſhed with chained ſhot, (a peculiar contrivance of which *De Wit* had the honour to be thought the inventer, that the *Engliſh* fleet was quite unrigged.) And they were in no condition to work themſelves off. So they muſt have all been taken, ſunk, or burnt, if Prince *Rupert*, being yet in the channel, and hearing that they were engaged by the continued roaring of guns, had not made all poſſible haſte to get to them. He came in good time. And the *Dutch*, who had ſuffered much, ſeeing ſo great a force come up, ſteered off. He was in no condition to purſue them; but brought off our fleet, which ſaved us a great loſs that ſeemed otherwiſe unavoidable. The Court gave out that it was a victory: And publick thankſgivings were ordered, which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world. We had in one reſpect reaſon to thank God, that we had not loſt our whole fleet. But to compleat the miſeries of this year: The Plague was ſo ſunk in *London*, that the inhabitants began to return to it, and brought with them a great deal of manufacture, which was lying on the hands of the clothiers and others, now in the ſecond year of the war, in which trade and all other conſumptions were very low. It was reckoned, that a peace muſt come next winter. The merchants were upon that preparing to go to market as ſoon as poſſible. The ſummer had been the dryeſt that was known of ſome years. And *London* being for the moſt part built of timber filled up with plaiſter, all was extream dry. On the ſecond of *September* a fire broke out, that raged for three days, as if it had a commiſſion to devour every thing that was in its way. On the fourth day it ſtopt in the midſt of very combuſtible matter.

The fleet was almoſt quite loſt and happily ſaved by Prince *Rupert*.

The fire of *London*.

I will

1666.

I will not enlarge on the extent nor the deſtruction made by the fire: Many books are full of it. That which is ſtill a great ſecret is, whether it was caſual, or raiſed on deſign. The *Engliſh* fleet had landed on the *Vly*, an iſland lying near the *Texel*, and had burnt it: Upon which ſome came to *De Wit*, and offered a revenge, that, if they were aſſiſted they would ſet *London* on fire. He rejected the propoſition: For he ſaid, he would not make the breach wider, nor the quarrel irreconcilable. He ſaid, it was brought him by one of the *Labadiſts*, as ſent to them by ſome others. He made no farther reflexions on the matter till the City was burnt. Then he began to ſuſpect there had been a deſign, and that they had intended to draw him into it, and to lay the odium of it upon the *Dutch*. But he could hear no news of thoſe who had ſent that propoſition to him. In the *April* before, ſome Common-wealths-men were found in a plot, and hanged; who at their execution confeſſed, they had been ſpoken to, to aſſiſt in a deſign of burning *London* on the ſecond of *September*. This was printed in the gazette of that week, which I my ſelf read. Now the fire breaking out on the ſecond made all people conclude, that there was a deſign ſome time before on foot for doing it.

It was charged on the Papiſts.

The Papiſts were generally charged with it. One *Hubert*, a *French* Papiſt, was ſeized on in *Eſſex*, as he was getting out of the way in great confuſion. He confeſſed, he had begun the fire, and perſiſted in his confeſſion to his death; for he was hanged upon no other evidence but that of his own confeſſion. It is true, he gave ſo broken an account of the whole matter, that he was thought mad. Yet he was blindfolded, and carried to ſeveral places of the City: And then, his eyes being opened, he was asked, if that was the place: And he being carried to wrong places, after he looked round about for ſome time, he ſaid, that was not the place: But when he was brought to the place where it firſt broke out, he affirmed that was the true place. And *Tillotſon* told me, that *Howell*, then the recorder of *London*, was with him, and had much diſcourſe with him; and that he concluded, it was impoſſible that it could be a melancholy dream: The horrour of the fact, and the terrour of death, and perhaps ſome engagements in confeſſion, might put him in ſuch diſorder, that it was not poſſible to draw a clear account of any thing from him, but of what related to himſelf. *Tillotſon*, who believed that the City was burnt on deſign, told me a circumſtance that made the Papiſts employing ſuch a crazed man in ſuch a ſervice more credible. *Langhorn*, the Popiſh counſellour at law, who for many years paſs'd for a Proteſtant, was diſpatching a half-witted man to manage elections in *Kent* before the Reſtoration. *Tillotſon*, being preſent, and obſerving what a ſort of man he was, asked *Langhorn*, how he could employ him in ſuch ſervices. *Langhorn* anſwered, it was a maxim with him in dangerous ſervices to employ none but half-witted men, if they could be but ſecret and obey orders: For if they ſhould change their minds, and turn informers inſtead of agents, it would be eaſy to diſcredit them, and to carry off the weight of any diſcoveries they could make, by ſhewing they were mad-men, and ſo not like to be truſted in critical things.

A ſtrong preſumption of it.

The moſt extraordinary paſſage, tho' it is but a preſumption, was told me by Doctor *Lloyd* and the Counteſs of *Clarendon*. The latter had a great eſtate in the new river that is brought from *Ware* to *London*, which is brought together at *Iſlington*, where there is a great room full of pipes that convey it thro' all the ſtreets of *London*. The conſtant order of that matter was, to ſet all the pipes a running on *Saturday* night, that ſo the ciſterns might be all full by *Sunday* morning, there being a more than ordinary conſumption of water on that day. There was one *Grant*, a Papiſt, under whoſe name Sir *William Petty* publiſhed his obſervations on the bills of mortality: He had ſome time before applied himſelf to *Lloyd*, who had great credit with the Counteſs of *Clarendon*; and ſaid, he could raiſe that eſtate conſiderably, if ſhe would make him a truſtee for her. His ſchemes were probable: And he was made one of the board that governed that matter: And by that he had a right to come, as oft as he pleaſed, to view their works at *Iſlington*. He went thither the *Saturday* before the fire broke out, and called for the key of the place where the heads of the pipes were, and turned all the cocks that were then open, and ſtopt the water, and went away, and carried the keys with him. So when the fire broke out next

1666. morning, they opened the pipes in the ſtreets to find water, but there was none. And ſome hours were loſt in ſending to *Iſlington*, where the door was to be broke open, and the cocks turned. And it was long before the water got to *London*. *Grant* indeed denied that he had turned the cocks. But the officer of the works affirmed, that he had, according to order, ſet them all a running, and that no perſon had got the keys from him, beſides *Grant*; who confeſſed he had carried away the keys, but pretended he did it without deſign. There were many other ſtories ſet about, as that the Papiſts in ſeveral places had asked, if there was no news of the burning of *London*, and that it was talked of in many parts beyond ſea, long before the news could get thither from *London*. In this matter I was much determined by what Sir *Thomas Littleton*, the father, told me. He was a man of a ſtrong head, and ſound judgment. He had juſt as much knowledge in trade, hiſtory, the diſpoſition of *Europe*, and the conſtitution of *England*, as ſerved to feed and direct his own thoughts, and no more. He lived all the ſummer long in *London*, where I was his next neighbour, and had for ſeven years a conſtant and daily converſation with him. He was Treaſurer of the Navy in conjunction with *Osborn*, who was afterwards Lord Treaſurer, who ſupplanted him in that poſt, and got it all into his own hands. He had a very bad opinion of the King; and thought, that he had worſe intentions than his brother, but that he had a more dextrous way of covering and managing them; only his lazineſs made him leſs earneſt in proſecuting them. He had generally the character of the ableſt Parliament man in his time. His chief eſtate lay in the City, not far from the place where the fire broke out, tho' it did not turn that way. He was one of the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, that examined all the preſumptions of the City's being burnt on deſign: And he often aſſured me, that there was no clear preſumption made out about it, and that many ſtories, which were publiſhed with good aſſurance, came to nothing upon a ſtrict examination. He was at that time, that the inquiry was made, in employment at Court. So, whether that biaſſed him, or not, I cannot tell. There was ſo great a diverſity of opinions in the matter, that I muſt leave it under the ſame uncertainty in which I found it. If the *French* and *Dutch* had been at that time deſigning an impreſſion elſewhere, it might have been more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it was done on deſign to diſtract our affairs. But it fell out at a dead time, when no advantage could be made of it. And it did not ſeem probable, that the Papiſts had engaged in the deſign, merely to impoveriſh and ruin the Nation; for they had nothing ready then to graft upon the confuſion that this put all the people in. Above twelve thouſand houſes were burnt down, with the greateſt part of the furniture and merchandize that was in them. All means uſed to ſtop it proved ineffectual; tho' the blowing up of houſes was the moſt effectual of any. But the wind was ſo high, that fleaks of fire and burning matter were carried in the air croſs ſeveral ſtreets. So that the fire ſpread not only in the next neighbourhood, but at a great diſtance. The King and the Duke were almoſt all the day long on horſeback with the guards, ſeeing to all that could be done, either for quenching the fire, or for carrying off perſons and goods to the fields all about *London*. The moſt aſtoniſhing circumſtance of that dreadful conflagration was, that, notwithſtanding the great deſtruction that was made, and the great confuſion in the ſtreets, I could never hear of any one perſon that was either burnt, or trodden to death. The King was never obſerved to be ſo much ſtruck with any thing in his whole life, as with this. But the citizens were not ſo well ſatisfied with the Duke's behaviour. They thought he looked too gay, and too little concerned. A jealouſy of his being concerned in it was ſpread about with great induſtry, but with very little appearance of truth. Yet it grew to be generally believed, chiefly after he owned he was a Papiſt.

Diſorders in *Scotland*.

In *Scotland* the fermentation went very high. *Turner* was ſent again into the Weſt in *October* this year: And he began to treat the country at the old rate. The people were alarmed, and ſaw they were to be undone. They met together, and talked with ſome fiery Miniſters. *Semple*, *Maxwell*, *Welſh*, and *Guthry* were the chief incendiaries. Two Gentlemen that had ſerved in the wars, one a Lieutenant Colonel, *Wallace*, and the other that had been a Major, *Learmoth*, were the beſt officers they had to rely on. The chief Gentlemen of thoſe Counties

Counties were all clapt up in priſon, as was formerly told. So that preſerved them: Otherwiſe they muſt either have engaged with the people, or have loſt their intereſt among them. The people were told, that the fire of *London* had put things in that confuſion at Court, that any vigorous attempt would diſorder all the King's affairs. If the new levied troops had not ſtood in their way, they would have been able to have carried all things againſt them: For the two troops of guards with the regiment of foot guards would not have been able to have kept their ground before them. The people, as ſome of them told me afterwards, were made to believe that the whole Nation was in the ſame diſpoſition. So on the thirteenth of *November* they ran together: And two hundred of them went to *Dunfrieze*, where *Turner* then lay with a few ſoldiers about him; the greateſt part of his men being then out in parties for the levying of fines. So they ſurpriſed him before he could get to his arms: Otherwiſe, he told me, he would have been killed rather than taken, ſince he expected no mercy from them. With himſelf they ſeized his papers and inſtructions, by which it appeared he had been gentler than his orders were. So they reſolved to keep him, and exchange him as occaſion ſhould be offered. But they did not tell him what they intended to do with him: So he thought, they were keeping him, till they might hang him up with the more ſolemnity. There was a conſiderable caſh in his hands, partly for the pay of his men, partly of the fines which he had raiſed in the country, that was ſeized: But he, to whom they truſted the keeping of it, ran away with it. They ſpread a report, which they have ſince printed, and it paſſed for ſome time current, that this riſing was the effect of a ſudden heat, that the country was put in by ſeeing one of their neighbours tied on a horſe hand and foot, and carried away, only becauſe he could not pay a high fine that was ſet upon him; and that upon this provocation the neighbours, who did not know how ſoon ſuch uſage would fall to their own turn, ran together, and reſcued him; and that, fearing ſome ſevere uſage for that, they kept together, and that, others coming into them, they went on, and ſeized *Turner*. But this was a ſtory made only to beget compaſſion: For, after the inſurrection was quaſh'd, the Privy Council ſent ſome round the country, to examine the violences that had been committed, particularly in the pariſh where it was given out that this was done. I read the report they made to the Council, and all the depoſitions that the people of the country made before them: But this was not mentioned in any one of them. 1666.

A rebellion in the Weſt.

The news of this riſing was brought to *Edenburgh*, fame encreaſing their numbers to ſome thouſands. And this happening to be near *Carliſle*, the Governour of that place ſent an expreſs to Court, in which the ſtrength of the party was magnified much beyond the truth. The Earl of *Rothes* was then at Court, who had aſſured the King, that all things were ſo well managed in *Scotland*, that they were in perfect quiet. There were, he ſaid, ſome ſtubborn Fanaticks ſtill left, that would be ſoon ſubdued: But there was no danger from any thing that they or their party could do. He gave no credit to the expreſs from *Carliſle*: But, two days after, the news was confirmed by an expreſs from *Scotland*. *Sharp* was then at the head of the government: So he managed this little war, and gave all the orders and directions in it. *Dalziel* was commanded to draw all the force they had together, which lay then diſperſed in quarters. When that was done, he marched Weſtward. A great many ran to the rebels, who came to be called Whiggs. At *Lanerick* in *Cliddiſdale* they had a ſolemn faſt day, in which after much praying they renewed the Covenant, and ſet out their manifeſto: In which they denied, that they roſe againſt the King; they complained of the oppreſſion under which they had groaned; they deſired that Epiſcopacy might be put down, and that Presbytery, and the Covenant, might be ſet up, and their Miniſters reſtored again to them; and then they promiſed, that they would be in all other things the King's moſt obedient ſubjects. The Earl of *Argile* raiſed fifteen hundred men, and wrote to the Council that he was ready to march upon order. *Sharp* thought, that if he came into the country, either he or his men would certainly join with the rebels: So he ſent him no order at all. But he was at the charge of keeping his men together to no purpoſe. *Sharp* was all the while in a dreadful conſternation, and wrote diſmal letters to Court,

1666. Court, praying that the few forces which lay in the North of *England* might be ordered down: For, he wrote, they were ſurrounded with the rebels, and did not know what was become of the King's forces. He alſo moved, that the Council would go, and ſhut themſelves up in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*. But that was oppoſed by the reſt of the board, as an abandoning of the Town, and the betraying an unbecoming fear, which might very much encourage the rebels, and ſuch as intended to go over to them. Orders were given out for raiſing the country: But there was no militia yet formed. In the mean while *Dalziel* followed the rebels as cloſe as he could. He publiſhed a proclamation of pardon, as he was ordered, to all that ſhould in twenty four hours time return to their houſes, and declared all that continued any longer in arms rebels. He found the country was ſo well affected towards them, that he could get no ſort of intelligence, but what his own parties brought in to him. The Whiggs marched towards *Edenburgh*, and came within two miles of the Town. But, finding neither Town nor Country declare for them, and that all the hopes their leaders had given them proved falſe, they loſt heart. From being once above two thouſand they were now come to be not above eight or nine hundred. So they reſolved to return back to the Weſt, where they knew the people were of their ſide; and where they could more eaſily diſperſe themſelves, and get either into *England* or *Ireland*. The Miniſters were very buſy in all thoſe Counties, plying people of rank not to forſake their brethren in this extremity. And they had got a company of about three or fourſcore Gentlemen together, who were marching towards them, when they heard of their defeat: And upon that they diſperſed themſelves. The rebels thought to have marched back by the way of *Pentland* Hill. They were not much concerned for the few horſes they had. And they knew that *Dalziel*, whoſe horſe was fatigued with a fortnight's conſtant march, could not follow them. And if they had gained but one night more in their march, they had got out of his reach. But on the twenty eighth of *November*, about an hour before ſun ſet, he came up to them. They were poſted on the top of a hill: So he engaged with a great diſadvantage. They, finding they could not get off, ſtopt their march. Their Miniſters did all they could by preaching and praying to infuſe courage into them: And they ſung the ſeventy fourth and the ſeventy eighth Pſalms. And ſo they turned on the King's forces. They received the firſt charge that was given by the troop of guards very reſolutely, and put them in diſorder. But that was all the action; for immediately they loſt all order, and ran for their lives. It was now dark: About forty were killed on the ſpot, and a hundred and thirty were taken. The reſt were favoured by the darkneſs of the night, and the wearineſs of the King's troops, that were not in caſe to purſue them, and had no great heart to it: For they were a poor harmleſs company of men, become mad by oppreſſion: And they had taken nothing during all the time they had been together, but what had been freely given them by the country people. The rebellion was broken with the loſs of only five on the King's ſide. The General came next day into *Edenburgh* with his priſoners.

The defeat given the rebels at *Pentland* Hill.

Severe proceedings againſt the priſoners.

The two Archbiſhops were now delivered out of all their fears: And the common obſervation, that cruelty and cowardiſe go together, was too viſibly verified on this occaſion. Lord *Rothes* came down full of rage: And, that being inflamed by the two Archbiſhops, he reſolved to proceed with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the priſoners. *Burnet* adviſed the hanging of all thoſe who would not renounce the Covenant, and promiſe to conform to the laws for the future: But that was thought too ſevere. Yet he was ſent up to *London*, to procure of the King an inſtruction, that they ſhould tender the Declaration renouncing the Covenant to all who were thought diſaffected; and proceed againſt thoſe who refuſed that, as againſt ſeditious perſons. The beſt of the Epiſcopal Clergy ſet upon the Biſhops, to lay hold on this opportunity for regaining the affections of the country, by becoming interceſſours for the priſoners, and for the country, that was like to be quartered on and eat up for the favour they had expreſſed to them. Many of the Biſhops went into this, and particularly *Wiſhart* of *Edenburgh*, tho' a rough man, and ſharpened by ill uſage. Yet upon this occaſion he expreſſed a very Chriſtian temper, ſuch as became one who had felt what the

rigours

rigours of a priſon had been; for he ſent every day very liberal ſupplies to the priſoners: Which was indeed done by the whole Town, in ſo bountiful a manner, that many of them, who being ſhut up had neither air nor exerciſe, were in greater danger by their plenty, than they had been by all their unhappy campaign. But *Sharp* could not be mollified. On the contrary he encouraged the Miniſters in the diſaffected Counties to bring in all the informations they could gather, both againſt the priſoners, and againſt all thoſe who had been among them, that they might be ſought for, and proceeded againſt. Moſt of thoſe got over to *Ireland*. But the Miniſters in thoſe parts acted ſo ill a part, ſo unbecoming their characters, that the averſion of the country to them was encreaſed to all poſſible degrees: They looked on them now as wolves, and not as ſhepherds. It was a moving ſight, to ſee ten of the priſoners hanged upon one gibbet at *Edenburgh*: Thirty five more were ſent to their countries, and hanged up before their own doors; their Miniſters all the while uſing them hardly, and declaring them damned for their rebellion. They might all have ſaved their lives, if they would have renounced the Covenant: So they were really a ſort of martyrs for it. They did all at their death give their teſtimony, according to their phraſe, to the Covenant, and to all that had been done purſuant to it: And they expreſſed great joy in their ſufferings. Moſt of them were but mean and inconſiderable men in all reſpects: Yet even theſe were firm and inflexible in their perſuaſions. Many of them eſcaped, notwithſtanding the great ſearch was made for them. *Guthry* the chief of their preachers was hid in my mother's houſe, who was bred to her brother *Wariſtown*'s principles, and could never be moved from them: He died next ſpring. One *Maccail*, that was only a probationer preacher, and who had been chaplain in Sir *James Steward*'s houſe, had gone from *Edenburgh* to them. It was believed, he was ſent by the party in town, and that he knew their correſpondents. So he was put to the torture, which in *Scotland* they call the boots; for they put a pair of iron boots cloſe on the leg, and drive wedges between theſe and the leg. The common torture was only to drive theſe in the calf of the leg: But I have been told they were ſometimes driven upon the ſhin bone. He bore the torture with great conſtancy: And either he could ſay nothing, or he had the firmneſs not to diſcover thoſe who had truſted him. Every man of them could have ſaved his own life, if he would accuſe any other: But they were all true to their friends. *Maccail*, for all the pains of the torture, died in a rapture of joy: His laſt words were, farewel ſun, moon and ſtars, farewel kindred and friends, farewel world and time, farewel weak and frail body, welcome eternity, welcome Angels and Saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and welcome God the Judge of all; which he ſpoke with a voice and manner that ſtruck all that heard it. 1666.

His death was the more cried out on, becauſe it came to be known afterwards, that *Burnet*, who had come down before his execution, had brought with him a letter from the King, in which he approved of all that they had done; but added, that he thought there was blood enough ſhed, and therefore he ordered that ſuch of the priſoners as ſhould promiſe to obey the laws for the future ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that the incorrigible ſhould be ſent to Plantations. *Burnet* let the execution go on, before he produced his letter, pretending there was no Council-day between. But he, who knew the contents of it, ought to have moved the Lord *Rothes* to call an extraordinary Council to prevent the execution. So that blood was laid on him. He was, contrary to his natural temper, very violent at that time, much inflamed by his family, and by all about him. Thus this rebellion, that might have been ſo turned in the concluſion of it, that the Clergy might have gained reputation and honour by a wiſe and merciful conduct, did now exaſperate the country more than ever againſt the Church. The forces were ordered to lye in the Weſt, where *Dalziel* acted the *Muſcovite* too groſſly. He threatned to ſpit men, and to roaſt them: And he killed ſome in cold blood, or rather in hot blood; for he was then drunk, when he ordered one to be hanged, becauſe he would not tell where his father was, for whom he was in ſearch. When he heard of any that did not go to Church, he did not trouble himſelf to ſet a fine upon him: But he ſet as many ſoldiers upon him, as ſhould eat him up in a night. By this means all people were ſtruck with ſuch a ter- 1667. The King is more gentle than the Biſhops

1667. rotin, that they came regularly to Church. And the Clergy were so delighted with it, that they used to speak of that time, as the poets do of the golden age. They never interceded for any compassion to their people, nor did they take care to live more regularly, or to labour more carefully. They looked on the soldiery as their patrons: They were ever in their company, complying with them in their excesses: And, if they were not much wronged, they rather led them into them, than check'd them for them. *Dalziel* himself and his officers were so disgusted with them, that they encreased the complaints, that had now more credit from them, than from those of the country, who were looked on as their enemies. Things of so strange a pitch in vice were told of them, that they seemed scarce credible. The person, whom I believed the best as to all such things, was one Sir *John Cunningham*, an eminent lawyer, who had an estate in the country, and was the most extraordinary man of his profession in that Kingdom. He was Episcopal beyond most men in *Scotland*, who for the far greatest part thought that forms of government were in their own nature indifferent, and might be either good or bad according to the hands in which they fell, whereas he thought Episcopacy was of a divine right, settled by *Christ*. He was not only very learned in the civil and canon law, and in the philosophical learning, but was very universal in all other learning: He was a great divine, and well read in the Fathers, and in ecclesiastical history. He was above all, a man of eminent probity, and of a sweet temper, and indeed one of the piousest men of the Nation. The state of the Church in those parts went to his heart: For it was not easy to know how to keep an even hand between the perverseness of the people on the one side, and the vices of the Clergy on the other. They looked on all those that were sensible of their miscarriages, as enemies of the Church. It was after all hard to believe all that was set about against them.

A change of counsel and more moderation in the Government.

The King's affairs in *England* forced him to soften his government every where. So at this time the Earls of *Tweedale* and *Kincardin* went to Court, and laid before the King the ill state the country was in. Sir *Robert Murray* talked often with him about it. Lord *Lauderdale* was more cautious by reason of the jealousy of his being a Presbyterian. Upon all which the King resolved to put *Scotland* into other hands. A Convention of Estates had been called the year before, to raise money for maintaining the troops. This was a very ancient practice in the *Scottish* constitution: A Convention was summoned to meet within twenty days. They could only levy money, and petition for the redress of grievances; but could make no new laws; and meddled only with that for which they were brought together. In the former Convention *Sharp* had presided, being named by the Earl of *Rothes* as the King's Commissioner. In the winter 1666, or rather in the spring 1667, there was another Convention called, in which the King by a special letter appointed Duke *Hamilton* to preside. And the King in a letter to Lord *Rothes* ordered him to write to *Sharp* to stay within his diocese, and to come no more to *Edenburgh*. He upon this was struck with so deep a melancholy, that he shewed as great an abjectness under this slight disgrace, as he had shewed insolence before, when he had more favour. The Convention continued the assessment for another year at 6000 pounds a month. *Sharp*, finding he was now under a cloud, studied to make himself popular by looking after the education of the Marquis of *Huntley*, now the Duke of *Gordon*. He had an order long before from the King to look to his education, that he might be bred a Protestant; for the strength of Popery within that Kingdom lay in his family. But, tho' this was ordered during the Earl of *Middletoun*'s ministry, *Sharp* had not all this while looked after it. The Earl of *Rothes*'s mistress was a Papist, and nearly related to the Marquis of *Huntley*. So *Sharp*, either to make his court the better, or at the Lord *Rothes*'s desire, had neglected it these four years: But now he called for him. He was then above 15, well hardened in his prejudices by the loss of so much time. What pains was taken on him, I know not. But, after a trial of some months, *Sharp* said, he saw he was not to be wrought on, and sent him back to his mother. So the interest that popery had in *Scotland* was believed to be chiefly owing to *Sharp*'s compliance with the Earl of *Rothes*'s amours. The neglect of his duty in so important a matter was much blamed: But the doing it upon such a motive was reckoned yet more infamous. After the convention was over, Lord *Rothes* sent up *Drummond* to represent to the King the ill affections of the western parts,

1667.

parts. And, to touch the King in a ſenſible point, he ſaid, the Covenant ſtuck ſo deep in their hearts, that no good could be done till that was rooted out. So he propoſed, as an expedient, that the King would give the Council a power to require all whom they ſuſpected to renounce the Covenant, and to proceed againſt ſuch as refuſed it as traitors. *Drummond* had yet too much of the air of *Ruſſia* about him, tho' not with *Dalziel*'s fierceneſs: He had a great meaſure of knowledge and learning, and ſome true impreſſions of religion: But he thought, that upon ſuch powers granted there would be great dealing in bribes and confiſcations. A flight accident happened, which raiſed a jeſt that ſpoiled his errand. The King flung the cover of the letter from *Scotland* into the fire, which was carried up all in a flame, and ſet the chimney on fire: Upon which it was ſaid, that the *Scotiſh* letter had fired *Whitehal*: And it was anſwered, the cover had almoſt ſet *Whitehal* on fire, but the contents of it would certainly ſet *Scotland* all in a flame. It was ſaid, that the law for renouncing the Covenant inferring only a forfeiture of employments to thoſe who refuſed it, the ſtretching it ſo far as was now propoſed would be liable to great exception. Yet in compliance with a publick meſſage the inſtruction was ſent down, as it was deſired: But by a private letter Lord *Rothes* was ordered to make no uſe of it, except upon a ſpecial command; ſince the King had only given way to what was deſired, to ſtrike terrour in the ill affected. The ſecret of it broke out: So it had no effect, but to make the Lord *Rothes* and his party more odious. *Burnet*, upon *Sharp*'s diſgrace, grew to be more conſidered. So he was ſent up with a propoſition of a very extraordinary nature, that the weſtern Counties ſhould be cantoned under a ſpecial government, and peculiar taxes, together with the quartering of ſoldiers upon them. It was ſaid, that thoſe Counties put the nation to the charge of keeping up ſuch a force: And therefore it ſeemed reaſonable that the charge ſhould lye wholly on them. He alſo propoſed, that a ſpecial Council ſhould be appointed to ſit at *Glaſgow*: And, among other reaſons to enforce that motion, he ſaid to the King, and afterwards to Lord *Lauderdale*, that ſome at the Council board were ill affected to the Church and favoured her enemies, and that traitors had been pleaded for at that board. Lord *Lauderdale* writ down preſently to know what ground there was for this; ſince, if it was not true, he had *Burnet* at mercy for leaſing-making, which was more criminal when the whole Council was concerned in the lie that was made. The only ground for this was, that one of the rebels, excepted in the indemnity that was proclaimed ſome time before, being taken, and, it being evident that his brain was turned, it was debated in Council, whether he ſhould be proceeded againſt, or not: Some argued againſt that, and ſaid, it would be a reproach to the Government to hang a madman. This could in no ſort juſtify ſuch a charge: So Lord *Lauderdale* reſolved to make uſe of it in due time. The propoſition itſelf was rejected, as that which the King could not do by law. *Burnet* upon this went to the Lord *Clarendon*, and laid before him the ſaid ſtate of their affairs in *Scotland*. He ſpoke to the King of it: And he took care to ſet the *Engliſh* Biſhops on the King, with whom *Burnet* had more credit, as more entirely theirs, than ever *Sharp* had. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s credit was then declining: And it was a clear ſign of it, when the King told Lord *Lauderdale* all that he had ſaid to him on *Scotiſh* affairs, which provoked him extreamly. *Burnet* was ſent down with good words: But the King was reſolved to put the affairs of *Scotland* under another management. Lord *Kincardin* came down in *April*, and told me, that Lord *Rothes* was to be ſtript of all his places, and to be only Lord Chancellour. The Earl of *Tweedale* and Sir *Robert Murray* were to have the ſecret in their hands. He told me, the peace was as good as made: And when that was done, the Army would be diſbanded; and things would be managed with more temper, both in Church and State. This was then ſo great a ſecret, that neither the Lord *Rothes*, nor the two Archbiſhops, had the leaſt hint of it. Some time after this Lord *Rothes* went to the North: Upon which an accident happened that haſtened his fall.

The *Scots* had during the war let out many privateers; and theſe had brought in many rich prizes. The *Dutch*, being provoked with this, ſent *Van Ghends* with a good fleet into the *Frith*, to burn the coaſt, and to recover ſuch ſhips as were in that part. He came into the *Frith* on the firſt of *May*. If he had at firſt hung out *Engliſh* colours, and attacked *Leith* harbour immediately, which

The *Dutch* fleet came into the *Frith*.

was

1667. was then full of ſhips, he might have done what miſchief he pleaſed: For all were ſecure, and were looking for Sir *Jeremy Smith* with ſome frigats for the defence of the coaſt, ſince the King had ſet out no fleet this year. There had been ſuch a diſſipation of treaſure, that, for all the money that was given, there was not enough left to ſet out a fleet. But the Court covered this by ſaying, the peace was as good as concluded at *Breda*, where the Lord *Hollis* and Sir *William Coventry* were treating about it as Plenipotentiaries: And, tho' no ceſſation was agreed on, yet they reckoned on it as ſure. Upon this, a ſaying of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s was much repeated: When it was ſaid, that the King's miſtreſs was like to ruin the Nation, he ſaid, it was ſhe that ſaved the Nation. While we had a Houſe of Commons that gave all the money that was asked, it was better to have the money ſquandred away in luxury and prodigality, than to have it ſaved for worſe purpoſes. *Van Gheudt* did nothing in the *Frith* for ſome hours: He ſhot againſt *Brunt iſland* without doing any miſchief. The country people ran down to the coaſt, and made a great ſhew. But this was only a faint, to divert the King from that which was chiefly intended: For he ſailed out, and joined *De Ruyter*: And ſo the ſhameful attack was made upon the river of *Medway*: The chain at the mouth of it, which was then all its ſecurity, was broke: And the *Dutch* fleet ſailed up to *Chatham*: Of which I will ſay no more in this place, but go on with the affairs of *Scotland*.

And went to *Chatham*, and burnt our Fleet.

Lord *Rothes*'s being out of the way when the country was in ſuch danger, was ſeverely aggravated by the Lord *Lauderdale*, and did bring on the change ſomewhat the ſooner. In *June* Sir *Robert Murray* came down with a letter from the King, ſuperſeding Lord *Rothes*'s commiſſion, putting the Treaſury in commiſſion, and making Lord *Rothes* Lord Chancellour. He excuſed himſelf from being raiſed to that poſt all he could; and deſired to continue Lord Treaſurer: But he ſtruggled in vain, and was forced to ſubmit at laſt. Now all was turned to a more ſober, and more moderate management. Even *Sharp* grew meek and humble: And ſaid to my ſelf, it was a great happineſs to have to deal with ſober and ſerious men; for Lord *Rothes* and his crew were perpetually drunk. When the peace at *Breda* was concluded, the King wrote to the *Scottiſh* Council, and communicated that to them; and with that ſignified, that it was his pleaſure that the Army ſhould be disbanded. The Earl of *Rothes*, *Burnet*, and all the officers oppoſed this much. The rebellious diſpoſition of the weſtern Counties was much aggravated: It ſeemed neceſſary to govern them by a military power. Several expedients were propoſed on the other hand. Inſtead of renouncing the Covenant, in which they pretended there were many points of religion concerned, a bond was propoſed for keeping the peace, and againſt riſing in arms. This ſeemed the better teſt; ſince it ſecured the publick quiet, and the peace of the Country, which was at preſent the moſt neceſſary: The religious part was to be left to time, and good management. So an indemnity of a more comprehenſive nature was proclaimed: And the bond was all the ſecurity that was demanded. Many came into the bond: Tho' there were ſome among them that pretended ſcruples: For, it was ſaid, peace was a word of a large extent: It might be pretended, that obeying all the laws was implied in it. Yet the far greater number ſubmitted to this. Thoſe who were diſturbed with ſcruples were a few melancholy inconſiderable perſons.

In Order to the disbanding the Army with more ſecurity it was propoſed, that a County militia ſhould be raiſed, and trained for ſecuring the publick peace. The two Archbiſhops did not like this: They ſaid, the Commons, of whom the militia muſt be compoſed, being generally ill affected to the Church, this would be a prejudice rather than a ſecurity. But, to content them, it was concluded, that in Counties that were ill affected there ſhould be no foot raiſed, and only ſome troops of horſe. *Burnet* complained openly, that he ſaw Epiſcopacy was to be pulled down, and that in ſuch an extremity he could not look on, and be ſilent. He writ upon theſe matters a long and ſorrowful letter to *Sheldon*: And upon that *Sheldon* writ a very long one to Sir *R. Murray*; which I read, and found more temper and moderation in it, than I could have expected from him. *Murray* had got ſo far into his confidence, and he ſeemed to depend ſo entirely on his ſincerity, that no informations againſt him

him could work upon *Sheldon*. Upon *Burnet*'s carrying things ſo high, *Sharp* was better uſed, and was brought again to the Council board, where he began to talk of moderation: And in the debate concerning the diſbanding the Army, he ſaid, it was better to expoſe the Biſhops to whatſoever might happen, than to have the Kingdom governed for their ſakes by a military power. Yet in private he ſtudied to poſſeſs all people with prejudices againſt the perſons then employed, as the enemies of the church. At that time Lord *Lauderdale* got the King to write to the Privy Council, letting them know that he had been informed, traitors had been pleaded for at that board. This was levelled at *Burnet*. The Council in their anſwer, as they denied the imputation, ſo they deſired to know, who it was that had ſo aſperſed them. *Burnet*, when the letter was offered to him to be ſigned by him, ſaid, he could not ſay traitors had never been pleaded for at that board, ſince he himſelf had once pleaded for one, and put them in mind of the particular caſe. After this he ſaw how much he had expoſed himſelf, and grew tamer. The army was diſbanded: So Lord *Rothes*'s authority as General, as well as his commiſſion, was now at an end, after it had laſted three years. The pretence of his commiſſion was the preparing matters for a National Synod: Yet in all that time there was not one ſtep made towards one: For the Biſhops ſeemed concerned only for their authority, and their revenues, and took no care of regulating, either the worſhip, or the diſcipline. The Earls of *Rothes* and *Tweedale* went to Court. The former tried, what he could do by the Duke of *Monmouth*'s means, who had married his niece: But he was then young, and was engaged in a mad ramble after pleaſure, and minded no buſineſs. So Lord *Rothes* ſaw the neceſſity of applying himſelf to Lord *Lauderdale*: And he did diſſemble his diſcontent ſo dexterouſly, that he ſeemed well pleaſed to be freed from the load of buſineſs, that lay ſo heavy upon him. He moved to have his accounts of the Treaſury paſs'd, to which great exceptions might have been made; and to have an approbation paſs'd under the Great Seal of all he had done while he was the King's Commiſſioner. Lord *Tweedale* was againſt both; and moved, that he ſhould be for ſome time kept under the laſh: He knew, that, how humble ſoever he was at that time, he would be no ſooner ſecured from being called to an account for what was paſs'd, than he would ſet up a cabal in oppoſition to every thing; whereas they were ſure of his good behaviour, as long as he continued to be ſo obnoxious. The King loved Lord *Rothes*: So the Earl of *Lauderdale* conſented to all he asked. But they quickly ſaw good cauſe to repent of their forwardneſs. 1667.

A great change in *Lauderdale*'s temper.

At this time a great change happened in the courſe of the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s life, which made the latter part of it very different from what the former had been. Mr. *Murray* of the bed-chamber had been page and whipping boy to King *Charles* I. and had great credit with him, not only in procuring private favours, but in all his counſels. He was well turned for a Court, very inſinuating, but very falſe; and of ſo revengeful a temper, that rather than any of the counſels given by his enemies ſhould ſucceed, he would have revealed them, and betrayed both the King and them. It was generally believed, that he had diſcovered the moſt important of all his ſecrets to his enemies. He had one particular quality, that when he was drunk, which was very often, he was upon a moſt exact reſerve, tho' he was pretty open at all other times. He got a warrant to be an Earl, which was ſigned at *Newcaſtle*. Yet he got the King to antedate it, as if it had been ſigned at *Oxford*, to get the precedence of ſome whom he hated: But he did not paſs it under the Great Seal during the King's life; but did it after his death, tho' his warrant, not being paſs'd, died with the King. His eldeſt daughter, to whom his honour, ſuch as it was, deſcended, married Sir *Lionel Talmaſh* of *Suffolk*, a man of a noble family. After her father's death, ſhe took the title of Counteſs of *Dyſert*. She was a woman of great beauty, but of far greater parts. She had a wonderful quickneſs of apprehenſion, and an amazing vivacity in converſation. She had ſtudied not only divinity and hiſtory, but mathematicks and philoſophy. She was violent in every thing ſhe ſet about, a violent friend, but a much more violent enemy. She had a reſtleſs ambition, lived at a vaſt expence, and was ravenouſly covetous; and would have ſtuck at nothing by which ſhe might compaſs her ends. She had been early in a correſpondence with Lord *Lauderdale*, that had given occaſion to cenſure. When he was priſoner after *Worceſter* fight, ſhe made him believe he was in great danger of his life, and that ſhe ſaved it by her intrigues with *Cromwell*: Which was not a little taken notice of. *Cromwell* was certainly fond of her, and ſhe took care to entertain him in it; till he, finding

1667. what was ſaid upon it, broke it off. Upon the King's Reſtoration, ſhe thought that Lord *Lauderdale* made not thoſe returns that ſhe expected. They lived for ſome years at a diſtance. But upon her huſband's death ſhe made up all quarrels: So that Lord *Lauderdale* and ſhe lived ſo much together, that his Lady was offended at it, and went to *Paris*, where ſhe died about three years after. The Lady *Dyſert* came to have ſo much power over the Lord *Lauderdale*, that it leſſened him much in eſteem of all the world; for he delivered himſelf up to all her humours and paſſions. All applications were made to her: She took upon her to determine every thing: She ſold all places, and was wanting in no methods that could bring her money, which ſhe laviſhed out in a moſt profuſe vanity. As the conceit took her, ſhe made him fall out with all his friends, one after another: With the Earls of *Argile*, *Tweedale*, and *Kincardine*, with Duke *Hamilton*, the Marquis of *Athol*, and Sir *Robert Murray*, who all had their turns in her diſpleaſure, which very quickly drew Lord *Lauderdale*'s after it. If after ſuch names it is not a preſumption to name my ſelf, I had my ſhare likewiſe. From that time to the end of his days he became quite another ſort of man than he had been in all the former parts of his life. Sir *Robert Murray* had been deſigned by her father to be her husband, and was long her true friend. She knew his integrity was proof againſt all attempts. He had been hitherto the Lord *Lauderdale*'s chief friend, and main ſupport. He had great eſteem paid him, both by the King, and by the whole Court: And he employed it all for the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s ſervice. He uſed great freedom with him at proper times; and was a faithful adviſer, and reprover as much as the other could bear it. Lady *Dyſert* laid hold on his abſence in *Scotland* to make a breach between them. She made Lord *Lauderdale* believe, that *Murray* aſſumed to himſelf the praiſe of all that was done, and was not ill pleaſed to paſs as his Governour. Lord *Lauderdale*'s pride was ſoon fired with thoſe ill impreſſions.

Scotland was very well governed.

The government of *Scotland* had now another face. All payments were regularly made: There was an overplus of 10000 *l.* of the revenue ſaved every year: A magazine of Arms was bought with it: And there were ſeveral projects ſet on foot for the encouragement of trade and manufactures. Lord *Tweedale* and Sir *Robert Murray* were ſo entirely united, that, as they never diſagreed, ſo all plied before them. Lord *Tweedale* was made a Privy Counſellour in *England*: And, his ſon having married the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s only child, they ſeemed to be inſeparably united. When he came down from *London*, he brought a letter from the King to the Council, recommending the concerns of the Church to their care: In particular, he charged them to ſuppreſs Conventicles, which began to ſpread generally thro' the weſtern Counties: For upon the diſbanding the army, the country, being deliver'd from that terrour, did now forſake their Churches, and got their old Miniſters to come among them; and they were not wanting in holding conventicles from place to place. The King wrote alſo by him a letter to *Sharp* with his own pen, in which he aſſured him of his zeal for the Church, and of his favour to himſelf. Lord *Tweedale* hoped this would have gained him to his ſide: But he was deceived in it. *Sharp* quickly returned to his former inſolence. Upon the Earl of *Tweedale*'s return, there was a great application to publick buſineſs: No vice was in reputation: Juſtice was impartially adminiſtred: And a commiſſion was ſent to the weſtern Counties to examine into all the complaints of unjuſt and illegal oppreſſions by *Turner*, *Dalziel*, and others. *Turner*'s warrants had been ſeized with himſelf: And, tho' upon the defeat given the Whiggs he was left by them, ſo that, beyond all mens expectations, he eſcaped out of their hands, yet he had nothing to juſtify himſelf by. The truth is, this enquiry was chiefly levelled at Lord *Rothes* and *Burnet*, to caſt the odium of the late rebellion on their injuſtice and ill conduct. And it was intended that *Turner* ſhould accuſe them: But he had no vouchers to ſhew. Theſe were believed to be withdrawn by an artifice of the Lord *Rothes*. But, before the matter was quite ended, thoſe in whoſe hands his papers were left, ſent them ſealed up to his lodgings. But he was by that time broken: So, ſince the government had uſed him hardly, he, who was a man of ſpirit, would not ſhew his vouchers, nor expoſe his friends. So that matter was carried no farther. And the people of the country cried out againſt thoſe cenſures. It was ſaid, that when by ſuch violent proceedings men had been inflamed to a rebellion, upon which ſo much blood was ſhed, all the reparation given was, that an officer or two were broken; and a great man was taken down a little upon it, without making any publick example for the deterring others.

Sir

1667.

Great complaints made of the Clergy.

Sir *Robert Murray* went thro' the west of *Scotland*. When he came back, he told me, the Clergy were such a set of men, so ignorant, and so scandalous, that it was not possible to support them, unless the greatest part of them could be turned out, and better men found to be put in their places. But it was not easy to know how this could be done. *Burnet* had placed them all: And he thought himself in some sort bound to support them. The Clergy were so linked together, that none of them could be got to concur in getting proofs of crimes brought against their brethren. And the people of the country pretended scruples. They said, to accuse a Minister before a Bishop was an acknowledging his jurisdiction over his Clergy, or, to use a hard word much in use among them, it was homologating his power. So *Murray* proposed, that a Court should be constituted by a special commission from the King, made up of some of the Layity as well as the Clergy, to try the truth of these scandalous reports that went upon the Clergy: And he writ about it to *Sheldon*, who approved of it. *Sharp* also seemed well pleased with it, tho' he abhorred it in his heart: For he thought it struck at the root of their authority, and was Erastianism in the highest degree. *Burnet* said, it was a turning him out of his Bishoprick, and the declaring him either incapable of judging his Clergy, or unworthy of that trust. His Clergy cried out upon it; and said, it was a delivering them up to the rage of their enemies, who hated them only for the sake of their functions, and for their obedience to the laws; and that, if irregular methods were taken to encourage them, they would get any thing, true or false, to be sworn against them. The difficulties that arose upon this put a stop to it. And the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s aversion to Sir *Robert Murray* began a disjointing of all the counsels of *Scotland*. Lord *Tweedale* had the chief confidence: And next him Lord *Kintardin* was most trusted. The Presbyterians, seeing a softening in the execution of the law, and observing that the Archbishops were jealous of Lord *Tweedale*, fancied he was theirs in his heart. Upon that they grew very insolent. The Clergy was in many places ill used by them. They despaired of any farther protection from the Government. They saw designs were forming to turn them all out: And, hearing that they might be better provided in *Ireland*, they were in many places bought out, and prevailed on to desert their cures. The people of the country hoped, that, upon their leaving them, they might have their old Ministers again; and upon that were willing enough to enter into those bargains with them: And so in a very little time there were many vacancies made all over those Counties. The Lord *Tweedale* took great pains to engage *Leighton* into the same counsels with him. He had magnified him highly to the King, as much the greatest man of the *Scottish* Clergy. And the Lord *Tweedale*'s chief aim, with relation to Church matters, was to set him at the head of them: For he often said to me, that more than two parts in three of the whole business of the government related to the Church. So he studied to bring in a set of Episcopal men of another stamp, and to set *Leighton* at their head. He studied to draw in Mr. *Charteris*. But he had such sad thoughts of mankind, and such humble ones of himself, that he thought little good could be done, and that as to that little he was not a proper instrument. *Leighton* was prevailed on to go to *London*, where, as he told me, he had two audiences of the King. He laid before him the madness of the former administration of Church affairs, and the necessity of turning to more moderate counsels: In particular, he proposed a comprehension of the Presbyterian party, by altering the terms of the laws a little, and by such abatements as might preserve the whole for the future, by granting somewhat for the present. But he entered into no expedients: Only he studied to fix the King in the design that the course of his affairs led him to, tho' contrary to his own inclinations, both in *England* and *Scotland*. In order to the opening this I must change the scene.

Affairs in *England*.

The *Dutch* war had turned so fatally on the King, that it made it necessary for him to try how to recover the affections and esteem of his people. He found a slackening the execution of the law went a great way in the city of *London*, and with the trading part of the nation. The House of Commons continued still in their fierceness, and aversion to all moderate propositions: But in the intervals of Parliament the execution was softened. The Earl of *Clarendon* found his credit was declining, that all the secrets of State were trusted to *Bennet*, and that he had no other share in them than his post required. The Lady *Castlemain* set her self most violently against him. And the Duke of *Buckingham*, as often as he was admitted to any familiarities with the King, studied with all his wit and humour to make Lord *Clarendon* and all his counsels appear ridiculous. Lively jests were at all times apt to take with the King.

Clarendon's disgrace.

1667. King. The Earl of *Clarendon* fell under two other misfortunes before the war broke out. The King had granted him a large piece of ground near St. *James's* to build a house on: He intended a good ordinary house: But, not understanding those matters himself, he put the managing of that into the hands of others; who run him into a vast charge, of about 50000 *l.* three times as much as he had designed to lay out upon it. During the war, and in the plague year, he had about three hundred men at work, which he thought would have been an acceptable thing, when so many men were kept at work, and so much money, as was duly paid, circulated about. But it had a contrary effect. It raised a great outcry against him. Some called it *Dunkirk* house, intimating that it was built by his share of the price of *Dunkirk*. Others called it *Holland* house, because he was believed to be no friend to the war: So it was given out, that he had the money from the *Dutch*. It was visible, that in a time of publick calamity he was building a very noble palace. Another accident was, that before the war there were some designs on foot for the repairing of St. *Pauls*: And many stones were brought thither. That project was laid aside during the war. He upon that bought the stones, and made use of them in building his own house. This, how slight soever it may seem to be, yet had a great effect by the management of his enemies.

Southampton's death. Another misfortune was, that he lost his chief friend, to whom he trusted most, and who was his greatest support, the Earl of *Southampton*. The pain of the stone grew upon him to such a degree, that he had resolved to be cut: But a woman came to him, who pretended she had an infallible secret for dissolving the stone, and brought such vouchers to him, that he put himself into her hands. The medicine had a great operation, tho' it ended fatally: For he passed great quantities of gravel, that looked like the coats of a stone sliced of. This encouraged him to go on, till his pains encreased so, that no man was ever seen to die in such torments; which made him oft tremble all over, so that the bed shook with it: Yet he bore it with an astonishing patience. He not only kept himself from saying any indecent thing, but endured all that misery with the firmness of a great man, and the submission of a good christian. The cause of all appeared when he was opened after his death: For the medicine had stript the stone of its outward slimy coats, which made it lye soft and easy upon the muscles of the bladder; whereas when these were dissolved, the inner and harder parts of the stone, that were all ragged by the dissolution that was begun, lay upon the neck of the bladder, which raised those violent pains of which he died. The Court was now delivered of a great man, whom they did not much love, and who they knew did not love them. The treasury was put in commission: And the Earl of *Clarendon* had no interest there. He saw the war, tho' managed by other counsels, yet was like to end in his ruin: For all errours were cast on him. The business of *Chatham* was a terrible blow: And tho' the loss was great, the infamy was greater. The Parliament had given above five millions towards the war: But, thro' the luxury and waste of the Court, this money was so squandred away, that the King could neither set out a fleet, nor defend his coasts. Upon the news of the *Dutch* fleet's being in the river, the King did not ride down himself, nor appear at the head of his people, who were then in such imminent danger. He only sent the Duke of *Albemarle* down, and was intending to retire to *Windsor*. But that looked so like a flying from danger, that he was prevailed on to stay. And it was given out, that he was very chearful that night at supper with his Mistresses, which drew many libels upon him, that were writ with as much wit as malice, and brought him under a general contempt. He was compared to *Nero*, who sung while *Rome* was burning. A day or two after that he rode thro' *London*, accompanied with the most popular men of his Court, and assured the citizens he would live and die with his people, upon which there were some acclamations: But the matter went heavily. The City was yet in ashes: And the jealousy of burning it on design had got so among them, that the King himself was not free from suspicion. If the *Dutch* had pursued their advantage in the first consternation, they might have done more mischief, and have come a great way up the *Thames*, and burnt many merchant ships: But they thought they had done enough, and so they sailed away. The Court was at a stand what to do: For the *French* had assured them the treaty was as good as finished. Whether the *French* set this on, as that which would both weaken the fleet of *England*, and alienate the King so entirely from the *Dutch* that he would be easily engaged into new alliances to revenge this affront, as many believed, I cannot pretend to determine.

The

1667.

The Earl of *Essex* was at that time in *Paris*, on his way home from the waters of *Bourbon*. And he told me, the Queen-mother of *England* sent for him, as being one of her son's Privy Council, and told him, the *Irish* had sent over some to the Court of *France*, desiring money and arms with some officers, and undertook to put that island into the hands of the *French*. He told me, he found the Queen was in her inclinations and advices true to her son's interest: But he was amazed to see, that a woman, who in a drawing room was the liveliest woman of the age, and had a vivacity of imagination that surprized all who came near her, yet after all her practice in affairs had so little either of judgment or conduct: And he did not wonder at the miscarriage of the late King's counsels, since she had such a share in them. But the *French* had them greater things in view. The King of *Spain* was dead. And now after the *French* had managed the war so, that they had been at no part of the expence of it, nor brought a ship to the assistance of the *Dutch* in any engagement, and that both *England* and *Holland* had made a great loss both in ships and treasure; they resolved to manage the peace so, as to oblige the King by giving him a peace, when he was in no condition to carry on a war. I enter not into our negotiation with the Bishop of *Munster*, nor his treacherous departing from his engagement, since I know nothing of that matter, but what is in print.

The *Irish* sought the protection of *France*.

As soon as the peace was made, the King saw with what disadvantage he was like to meet his Parliament. So he thought, the disgracing a publick Minister, who by his being long in so high a post had drawn upon himself much envy, and many enemies, would cover himself and the rest of his Court. Other things concurred to set this forward. The King was grown very weary of the Queen: And it was believed, he had a great mind to be rid of her. The load of that marriage was cast on the Lord *Clarendon*, as made on design to raise his own grandchildren. Many members of the House of Commons, such as *Clifford*, *Osborn*, *Ker*, *Littletoun*, and *Seimour*, were brought to the King; who all assured him, that upon his Restoration they intended both to have raised his authority, and to have encreased his revenue; but that the Earl of *Clarendon* had discouraged it, and that all his creatures had possessed the House with such jealousies of the King, that they thought it was not fit to trust him too much, nor too far. This made a deep impression on the King, who was weary of Lord *Clarendon*'s imposing way, and had a mind to be freed from the authority, to which he had been so long accustomed that it was not easy to keep him within bounds.

Yet the King was so afraid to engage himself too deep in his own affairs, that it was a doubt whether he would dismiss him or not, if a concern of one of his amours had not sharpened his resentment; so that what other considerations could not do, was brought about by an ill grounded jealousy. Mistress *Steward* had gained so much on the King, and yet had kept her ground with so much firmness, that the King seemed to design if possible to legitimate his addresses to her, when he saw no hope of succeeding any other way. The Duke of *Richmond*, being a widower courted her. The King seemed to give way to it; and pretended to take such care of her, that he would have good settlements made for her. He hoped by that means to have broke the matter decently; for he knew the Duke of *Richmond*'s affairs, were in disorder. So the King ordered Lord *Clarendon* to examine the estate he pretended to settle. But he was told, whether true or false I cannot tell, that Lord *Clarendon* told her, that the Duke of *Richmond*'s affairs, it was true, were not very clear; but that a family so near related to the King could never be left in distress, and that such a match would not come in her way every day; so she had best consider well, before she rejected it. This was carried to the King, as a design he had that the Crown might descend to his own grandchildren; and that he was afraid, lest strange methods should be taken to get rid of the Queen, and to make way for her. When the King saw that she had a mind to marry the Duke of *Richmond*, he offered to make her a Duchess, and to settle an estate on her. Upon this she said, she saw she must either marry him, or suffer much in the opinion of the world. And she was prevailed on by the Duke of *Richmond*, who was passionately in love with her, to go privately from *Whitehall*, and marry him without giving the King notice. The Earl of *Clarendon*'s son, the Lord *Cornbury*, was going to her lodgings, upon some assignation that she had given him about her affairs, knowing nothing of her intentions. He met the King in the door coming out full of fury. And he suspecting that Lord *Cornbury* was in the design, spoke to him as one in a rage that forgot all decency, and for some time

The Duke of *Richmond*'s Marriage.

1667. would not hear Lord *Cornbury* ſpeak in his own defence. In the afternoon he heard him with more temper, as he himſelf told me. Yet this made ſo deep an impreſſion, that he reſolved to take the ſeals from his father. The King ſaid to the Lord *Lauderdale*, that he had talked of the matter with *Sheldon*; and that he convinced him, that it was neceſſary to remove Lord *Clarendon* from his poſt. And, as ſoon as it was done, the King ſent for *Sheldon*, and told him what he had done. But he anſwered nothing. When the King inſiſted to oblige him to declare himſelf, he ſaid, *Sir, I wiſh you would put away this woman that you keep.* The King upon that replied ſharply, why had he never talked to him of that ſooner, but took this occaſion now to ſpeak of it. *Lauderdale* told me, he had all this from the King: And that the King and *Sheldon* had gone into ſuch expoſtulations upon it, that from that day forward *Sheldon* could never recover the King's confidence.

Bridgman made Lord Keeper.

The ſeals were given to Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, then in great eſteem, which he did not maintain long after his advancement. His ſtudy and practice lay ſo intirely in the Common law, that he never ſeemed to apprehend what equity was: Nor had he a head made for buſineſs, or for ſuch a Court. He was a man of great integrity, and had very ſerious impreſſions of religion on his mind. He had been always on the ſide of the Church: Yet he had great tenderneſs for the Non-conformiſts: And, the Biſhops having all declared for Lord *Clarendon*, except one or two, he and the new ſcene of the Miniſtry were inclined to favour them. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been in high diſgrace before Lord *Clarendon*'s fall, came upon that into high favour, and ſet up for a patron of liberty of conſcience, and of all the ſects. The See of *Cheſter* happened to fall vacant ſoon after: And Doctor *Wilkins* was by his means promoted to that See. It was no ſmall prejudice to him, that he was recommended by ſo bad a man. *Wilkins* had a courage in him that could ſtand againſt a current, and againſt all the reproaches with which ill natured Clergy-men ſtudied to load him. He ſaid, he was called for by the King, without any motion of his own, to a publick ſtation, in which he would endeavour to do all the good he could, without conſidering the ill effects that it might have on himſelf. The King had ſuch a command of himſelf, that when his intereſt led him to ſerve any end, or to court any ſort of men, he did it ſo dextrouſly, and with ſuch an air of ſincerity, that till men were well practiſed in him, he was apt to impoſe on them. He ſeemed now to go into moderation and comprehenſion with ſo much heartineſs, that both *Bridgman* and *Wilkins* believed he was in earneſt in it: Tho' there was nothing that the Popiſh counſels were more fixed in, than to oppoſe all motions of that kind. But the King ſaw, it was neceſſary to recover the affections of his people. And, ſince the Church of *England* was now gone off from him, upon Lord *Clarendon*'s diſgrace, he reſolved to ſhew ſome favour to the ſects, both to ſoften them, and to force the others to come back to their dependence upon him.

The *French* King's pretenſions to *Flanders*.

He began alſo to expreſs his concerns in the affairs of *Europe*: And he brought about the peace between *Caſtile* and *Portugal*. The *French* King pretended, that by the law of *Brabant*, his Queen, as the heir of the late King of *Spain*'s firſt marriage, tho' a daughter, was to be preferred to the young King of *Spain*, the heir of the ſecond venter, without any regard to the renunciation of any ſucceſſion to his Queen ſtipulated by the peace of the *Pyrenees*; and was upon that pretention like to overrun the *Netherlands*. *Temple* was ſent over to enter into an alliance with the *Dutch*, by which ſome parts of *Flanders* were yielded up to *France*, but a barrier was preſerved for the ſecurity of *Holland*. Into this the King of *Sweden*, then a child, was engaged: So it was called the Triple Alliance. I will ſay no more of that ſince ſo particular an account is given of it by him who could do it beſt, *Temple* himſelf. It was certainly the maſter-piece of King *Charles*'s life: And, if he had ſtuck to it, it would have been both the ſtrength and the glory of his reign. This diſpoſed his people to forgive all that was paſs'd, and to renew their confidence in him, which was much ſhaken by the whole conduct of the *Dutch* war.

Clarendon's integrity.

The Parliament were upon their firſt opening ſet on to deſtroy Lord *Clarendon*. Some of his friends went to him a few days before the Parliament met; and told him, many were at work to find out matter of accuſation againſt him. He beſt knew, what could be brought againſt him with any truth; for falſehood was infinite, and could not be gueſſed at. They deſired, he would truſt ſome of them with what might break out, ſince probably nothing could lye concealed againſt ſo ſtrict a ſearch. And the method in which his friends muſt manage for him, if there was any mixture

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or allay in him, was to be very different from that they could uſe, if he was ſure that nothing could be brought out againſt him. The Lord *Burlington* and Biſhop *Morley* both told me, they talked to this purpoſe to him. Lord *Clarendon* upon that told them, that, if either in matters of juſtice, or in any negotiations abroad, he had ever received a farthing, he gave them leave to diſown all friendſhip to him. The *French* King, hearing he had ſent for all the books of the *Louvre* impreſſion, had ſent theſe to him, which he took, as thinking it a trifle, as indeed it was: And this was the only preſent he ever had from any foreign Prince: He had never taken any thing by virtue of his office, but that which his predeceſſours had claimed as a right. But now hue and cry were ſent out againſt him: And all perſons, who had heard him ſay any thing that could bear an ill conſtruction, were examined. Some thought, they had matters of great weight againſt him: And, when they were told theſe would not amount to high treaſon, they deſired to know what would amount to it. 1667.

When twenty three articles were brought into the Houſe againſt him, the next day he deſired his ſecond ſon, the now Earl of *Rocheſter*, to acquaint the Houſe, that he, hearing what articles were brought againſt him, did in order to the diſpatch of the buſineſs, deſire that thoſe, who knew beſt what their evidence was, would ſingle out any one of the articles, that they thought could be beſt proved; and, if they could prove that, he would ſubmit to the cenſure due upon them all. But thoſe, who had the ſecret of this in their hands, and knew they could make nothing of it, reſolved to put the matter upon a preliminary, in which they hoped to find cauſe to hang up the whole affair, and fix upon the Lords the denial of juſtice. So, according to ſome few and late precedents, they ſent up a general impeachment to the Lords bar of high treaſon, without any ſpecial matter; and demanded, that upon that he might be committed to priſon. They had reaſon to believe the Lords would not grant this: And therefore they reſolved to inſiſt on it; and reckoned, that, when ſo much money was to be given, the King would prevail with the Lords. Upon this occaſion it appeared, that the private animoſities of a Court could carry them to eſtabliſh the moſt deſtructive precedent that could have been thought on. For if this had paſs'd, then every Miniſter upon a general impeachment was to be ruined, tho' no ſpecial matter was laid againſt him. Yet the King himſelf preſſed this vehemently. It was ſaid, the very ſuſpicions of a Houſe of Commons, eſpecially ſuch a one as this was, was enough to blaſt a man, and to ſecure him: For there was reaſon to think, that every perſon ſo charged would run away, if at liberty. Lord *Clarendon*'s enemies had now gone far: They thought, they were not ſafe till *his* head was off: and they apprehended, that, if he were once in priſon, it would be eaſy either to find, or at leaſt to bring witneſſes againſt him. This matter is all in print: So I will go no farther in the particulars. The Duke was at this time taken with the ſmall-pox: So he was out of the whole debate. The Peers thought, that a general accuſation was only a clamour, and that their dignities ſignified little, if a clamour was enough to ſend them to priſon. All the Earl of *Clarendon*'s friends preſſed the King much on his behalf, that he might be ſuffered to go off gently, and without cenſure, ſince he had ſerved both his father and himſelf ſo long, ſo faithfully, and with ſuch ſucceſs. But the King was now ſo ſharpened againſt him, that, tho' he named no particulars, he expreſſed a violent and irreconcilable averſion to him; which did the King much hurt in the opinion of all that were not engaged in the party. The affair of the King's marriage was the moſt talked of, as that which indeed was the only thing that could in any ſort juſtify ſuch a ſeverity. Lord *Clarendon* did proteſt, as ſome that had it from himſelf told me, that he had no other hand in that matter, than as a Counſellour: And in that he appealed to the King himſelf. After many debates, and conferences, and proteſtations, in which the whole Court went in viſibly to that which was plainly deſtructive both to the King and to the Miniſtry, the majority of the Houſe ſtood firm, and adhered to their firſt reſolution againſt commitment. The Commons were upon that like to carry the matter far againſt the Peers, as denying juſtice. The King ſeeing this ſpoke to the Duke, to perſuade Lord *Clarendon* to go beyond ſea, as the only expedient that was left to make up the breach between the two Houſes: And he let fall ſome words of kindneſs, in caſe he ſhould comply with this. The Earl of *Clarendon* was all obedience and ſubmiſſion; and was charmed with thoſe tender words, that the King had ſaid of him. So, partly to ſerve the King, and ſave himſelf and his family, but chiefly that he might not be the occaſion of any difference between the King and the Duke, who

He was impeach'd in the Houſe of commons.

The King deſired he would go beyond Sea.

1667.

who had heartily espoused his interest, he went privately beyond sea; and writ a letter from *Calais* to the House of Lords, protesting his innocence in all the points objected to him, and that he had not gone out of the Kingdom for fear, or out of any consciousness of guilt, but only that he might not be the unhappy occasion of any difference between the two Houses, or of obstructing publick business. This put an end to the dispute. But his enemies called it a confession of guilt, and a flying from justice: Such colours will people give to the most innocent actions.

He was banished by Act of Parliament.

A Bill was brought in, banishing him the King's dominions under pain of treason if he should return: And it was made treason to correspond with him, without leave from the King. This Act did not pass without much opposition. It was said, there was a known course of law when any man fled from justice: And it seemed against the common course of justice, to make all corresponding with him treason, when he himself was not attainted of treason: Nor could it be just to banish him, unless a day were given him to come in: And then, if he did not come in, he might incur the punishment upon contempt. The Duke, whom the King had employed to prevail with him to withdraw himself, thought he was bound in honour to press the matter home on the King; which he did so warmly, that for some time a coldness between them was very visible. The part the King had acted on this matter came to be known; and was much censured, as there was just cause for it. The vehemence that he shewed in this whole matter was imputed by many to very different causes. Those who knew him best, but esteemed him least, said to me on this occasion, that all the indignation, that appeared in him on this head, was founded on no reason at all; but was an effect of that easiness, or rather laziness of nature, that made him comply with every person that had the greatest credit with him. The Mistress, and the whole Bedchamber, were perpetually railing at him. This by a sort of infection possessed the King, who, without giving himself the trouble of much thinking, did commonly go into any thing that was at the present time the easiest, without considering what might at any other time follow on it. Thus the Lord *Clarendon* fell under the common fate of great Ministers; whose employment exposes them to envy, and draws upon them the indignation of all who are disappointed in their pretensions. Their friends do generally shew, that they are only the friends of their fortunes: And upon the change of favour they not only forsake them in their extremity, but, that they may secure to themselves the protection of a new favourite, they will labour to redeem all that is past by turning as violently against them, as they formerly fawned abjectly upon them. And Princes are so little sensible of merit or great services, that they sacrifice their best servants, not only when their affairs seem to require it, but to gratify the humour of a mistress, or the passion of a rising favourite.

The character of his two sons.

I will end this relation of Lord *Clarendon*'s fall with an account of his two sons. The eldest, now the Earl of *Clarendon*, is a man naturally sincere: He is a friendly and good natured man. He keeps an exact journal of all that passes, and is punctual to tediousness in all that he relates. He was very early engaged in great secrets: For his father, apprehending of what fatal consequence it would have been to the King's affairs if his correspondence had been discovered by unfaithful Secretaries, engaged him when very young to write all his letters to *England* in cypher; so that he was generally half the day writing in cypher, or decyphering, and was so discreet, as well as faithful, that nothing was ever discovered by him. He continued to be still the person whom his father trusted most: And was the most beloved of all the family; for he was humble and obliging, tho' sometimes peevish. His judgment was not to be much depended on; for he was much carried by vulgar prejudices, and false notions. He was much in the Queen's favour, and was her Chamberlain long. His father being so violently prosecuted on the account of her marriage, made that she thought herself bound to protect him in a particular manner. He was so provoked at the ill usage his father met with, that he struck in violently with the party that opposed the Court: And the King spoke always of him with great sharpness, and much scorn. His brother, now Earl of *Rochester*, is a man of far greater parts. He has a very good pen, but speaks not gracefully. He was thought the smoothest man at the Court: And during all the dispute concerning his father he made his Court so dextrously, that no resentments ever appeared on that head. When he came into business, and rose to high posts, he grew violent: But was thought an incorrupt man. He has high notions of Government, and thinks it must be maintained with

great

great ſeverity. He delivers up his own notions to his party, that he may lead them. He paſſes for a ſincere man, and ſeems to have too much heat to be falſe. *Morley* was long Dean of the Chapel: But he ſtuck ſo to the Lord *Clarendon*, that he was ſent into his dioceſe: And *Crofts* Biſhop of *Hereford* was made Dean in his room. *Crofts* was a warm devout man, but of no diſcretion in his conduct: So he loſt ground quickly. He uſed much freedom with the King; but it was in the wrong place, not in private, but in the pulpit. 1667.

The King was much offended with Biſhops.

The King was highly offended at the behaviour of moſt of the Biſhops: And he took occaſion to vent it at the Council-board. Upon the complaints that were made of ſome diſorders, and of ſome Conventicles, he ſaid, the Clergy were chiefly to blame for theſe diſorders; for if they had lived well, and had gone about their pariſhes, and taken pains to convince the Non-conformiſts, the Nation might have been by that time well ſettled. But they thought of nothing, but to get good benefices, and to keep a good table. This I read in a letter that Sir *Robert Murray* writ down to *Scotland*: And it agrees with a converſation that the King was pleaſed to have with my ſelf once, when I was alone with him in his cloſet. While we were talking of the ill ſtate the Church was in, I was ſtruck to hear a Prince of his courſe of life ſo much diſguſted at the ambition, covetouſneſs, and the ſcandals of the Clergy. He ſaid, if the Clergy had done their part, it had been an eaſy thing to run down the Non-conformiſts: But he added, they will do nothing, and will have me do every thing: And moſt of them do worſe than if they did nothing. He told me, he had a Chaplain, that was a very honeſt man, but a very great blockhead, to whom he had given a living in *Suffolk*, that was full of that ſort of people: He had gone about among them from houſe to houſe; tho' he could not imagine what he could ſay to them; for he ſaid he was a very ſilly fellow: But that, he believed, his nonſenſe ſuited their nonſenſe, for he had brought them all to Church: And, in reward of his diligence, he had given him a Biſhoprick in *Ireland*.

1668.

A treaty for a comprehenſion of the Presbyterians.

Bridgman and *Wilkins* ſet on foot a treaty, for a comprehenſion of ſuch of the Diſſenters as could be brought into the communion of the Church, and a toleration of the reſt. *Hale*, the Chief Juſtice, concurred with them in the deſign. *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, and *Burton* joined alſo in it. *Bates*, *Manton*, and *Baxter* were called for on the ſide of the Presbyterians. And a project was prepared, conſiſting chiefly of thoſe things that the King had promiſed by his declaration in the year 1660. Only in the point of re-ordination this temper was propoſed, that thoſe who had Presbyterian ordination ſhould be received to ſerve in the Church by an impoſition of hands, accompanied with words which imported, that the perſon ſo ordained was received to ſerve as a Miniſter in the Church of *England*. This treaty became a common ſubject of diſcourſe. All Lord *Clarendon*'s friends cried out, that the Church was undermined and betrayed: It was ſaid, the cauſe of the Church was given up, if we yielded any of thoſe points, about which there had been ſo much diſputing: If the Sectaries were humble and modeſt, and would tell what would ſatisfy them, there might be ſome colour for granting ſome conceſſions: But it was unworthy of the Church to go and court, or treat with enemies; when there was no reaſon to think, that after we had departed from our grounds, which was to confeſs we had been in the wrong, that we ſhould gain much by it, unleſs it was to bring ſcorn and contempt on our ſelves. On the other hand it was ſaid, the Non-conformiſts could not legally meet together to offer any ſchemes in the name of their party: It was well enough known, what they had always excepted to, and what would probably bring over moſt of the Presbyterians: Such a yielding in ſome leſſer matters would be no reproach, but an honour to the Church; that, how much ſoever ſhe might be ſuperiour both in point of argument and of power, ſhe would yet of her own accord, and for peace ſake, yield a great deal in matters indifferent: The Apoſtles complying with many of the obſervances of the *Jews*, and the offers that the Church of *Africk* made to the *Donatiſts*, were much inſiſted on: The fears of Popery, and the progreſs that Atheiſm was making, did alarm good and wiſe men: And they thought, every thing that could be done without ſin ought to be done towards the healing our diviſions. Many books were upon that account writ, to expoſe the Presbyterians, as men of falſe notions in religion, which led to Antinomianiſm, and which would ſoon carry them into a diſſolution of morals, under a pretence of being juſtifyed by faith only, without works. The three volumes of the Friendly Debate, tho' writ by a very good man,

1668. and with a good intent, had an ill effect in sharpening peoples spirits too much against them. But the most virulent of all that writ against the Sects was *Parker*, afterwards made Bishop of *Oxford* by King *James*; who was full of satyrical virulency, and was considerably learned; but was a man of no judgment, and of as little virtue, and as to religion rather impious. After he had for some years entertained the Nation with several virulent books, writ with much life, he was attacked by the liveliest droll of the age, who writ in a burlesque strain, but with so peculiar and so entertaining a conduct, that, from the King down to the tradesman, his books were read with great pleasure. That not only humbled *Parker*, but the whole party: For the author of the Rehearsal Transprosed had all the men of wit (or, as the *French* phrase it, all the *Laughers*) on his side. But what advantages soever the men of comprehension might have in any other respect, the majority of the House of Commons was so possessed against them, that when it was known in a succeeding session, that a bill was ready to be offered to the House for that end, a very extraordinary vote pass'd, that no bill to that purpose should be received.

The City of *London* rebuilt

An Act pass'd in this session for rebuilding the City of *London*, which gave Lord Chief Justice *Hale* a great reputation: For it was drawn with so true a judgment, and so great foresight, that the whole City was raised out of its ashes without any suits of law; which, if that bill had not prevented them, would have brought a second charge on the City, not much less than the fire it self had been. And upon that, to the amazement of all *Europe*, *London* was in four years time rebuilt, with so much beauty and magnificence, that we who saw it in both states, before and after the fire, cannot reflect on it without wondring where the wealth could be found to bear so vast a loss as was made by the fire, and so prodigious an expence as was laid out in the rebuilding it. This did demonstrate, that the intrinsick wealth of the Nation was very high, when it could answer such a dead charge.

Designs for putting away the Queen.

I return to the intrigues of the Court. Lord *Clarendon's* enemies thought they were not safe, as long as the Duke had so much credit with the King, and the Dutchess had so much power over him: So they fell on propositions of a strange nature to ruine them. The Duke of *Buckingham* pressed the King to own a marriage with the Duke of *Monmouth's* mother: And he undertook to get witnesses to attest it. The Duke of *York* told me, in general, that there was much talk about it: But he did not descend to particulars. The Earl of *Carlisle* offered to begin the matter in the House of Lords. The King would not consent to this: Yet he put it by in such a manner, as made them all conclude, he wished it might be done, but did not know how to bring it about. These discourses were all carried to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and got fatally into his head. When the Duke talked of this matter to me in the year seventy three, I asked him, if he thought the King had still the same inclinations? He said he believed not: He thought, the Duke of *Monmouth* had not spirit enough to think of it: And he commended the Dutchess of *Monmouth* so highly as to say to me, that the hopes of a Crown could not work on her to do an unjust thing. I thought he gave that matter too much countenance, by calling the Duke of *Monmouth* nephew: But he said, it pleased the King. When the party saw they could make nothing of the business of the Duke of *Monmouth*, they tried next by what methods they could get rid of the Queen; that so the King might marry another wife: For the King had children by so many different creatures, that they hoped for issue, if he had a wife capable of any. Some thought, the Queen and he were not legally married: But the avowing a marriage, and the living many years in that state, did certainly supply any defect in point of form. Others pretended, she was barren from a natural cause, and that seemed equivalent to impotence in men. But the King often said, he was sure she had once miscarried. This tho' not overthrown by such an evidence, could never be proved; unless the having no children was to be concluded a barrenness: And the dissolving a marriage on such an account could neither be justifyed in law nor conscience. Other stories were given out of the Queen's person, which were false: For I saw in a letter under the King's own hand that the marriage was consummated. Others talked of polygamy: And officious persons were ready to thrust themselves into any thing that could contribute to their advancement. Lord *Lauderdale* and Sir *Robert Murray* asked my opinion of these things. I said, I knew speculative people could say a great deal in the way of argument for polygamy, and divorce: Yet these things were so decried, that they were rejected by all Christian societies: So that all such propositions would throw us in-

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to great convulſions; and entail war upon us, if any iſſue came from a marriage ſo grounded.

1668.

An accident happened at that time, that made the diſcourſing of thoſe matters the common ſubject of converſation. The Lord *Roos*, afterwards Earl of *Rutland*, brought proofs of adultery againſt his wife, and obtained a ſentence of divorce in the Spiritual Court: Which amounting only to a ſeparation from bed and board, he moved for a bill diſſolving the bond, and enabling him to marry another wife. The Duke and all his party apprehended the conſequences of a Parliamentary divorce: So they oppoſed this with great heat: And almoſt all the Biſhops were of that ſide: Only *Coſins* and *Wilkins*, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Cheſter*, were for it. And the King was as earneſt in the ſetting it on, as the Duke was in oppoſing it. The zeal which the two brothers expreſſed on that occaſion made all people conclude, that they had a particular concern in the matter. The bill paſs'd: And upon that precedent ſome moved the King, that he would order a bill to be brought in to divorce him from the Queen. This went ſo far, that a day was agreed on for making the motion in the Houſe of Commons, as Mr. *May* of the privy purſe told me; (who had the greateſt and longeſt ſhare in the King's ſecret confidence of any man in that time; for it was never broke off, tho' often ſhaken, he being in his notions againſt every thing that the King was for, both *France*, Popery, and arbitrary government; but a particular ſympathy of temper, and his ſerving the King in his vices, created a confidence much envied, and often attempted to be broke, but never with any ſucceſs beyond a ſhort coldneſs:) But he added, when he told me of this deſign, that three days before the motion was to be made, the King called for him, and told him, that matter muſt be let alone, for it would not do. This diſturbed him much; for he had engaged himſelf far in laying the thing, and in managing thoſe who were to undertake the debate.

A divorce enacted for adultery.

At this time the Court fell into much extravagance in maſquerading; both King and Queen, and all the Court, went about maſked, and came into houſes unknown, and danced there with a great deal of wild frolick. In all this people were ſo diſguiſed, that without being on the ſecret none could diſtinguiſh them. They were carried about in hackney chairs. Once the Queen's chairmen, not knowing who ſhe was, went from her: So ſhe was alone, and was much diſturbed, and came to *Whitehall* in a hackney coach: Some ſay it was in a cart. The Duke of *Buckingham* propoſed to the King, that he would give him leave to ſteal her away, and ſend her to a plantation, where ſhe ſhould be well and carefully looked to, but never heard of any more: So it ſhould be given out, that ſhe had deſerted: And upon that it would fall in with ſome principles to carry an act for a divorce, grounded upon the pretence of a wilful deſertion. Sir *Robert Murray* told me, that the King himſelf rejected this with horrour. He ſaid, it was a wicked thing to make a poor lady miſerable, only becauſe ſhe was his wife, and had no children by him, which was no fault of hers. The hints of this broke out: For the Duke of *Buckingham* could conceal nothing. And upon that the Earl of *Manchester*, then Lord *Chamberlain*, told the Queen, it was neither decent, nor ſafe for her to go about in ſuch a manner as ſhe had done of late: So ſhe gave it over. But at laſt all theſe ſchemes ſettled in a poſition, into which the King went; which was to deal with the Queen's confeſſor, that he might perſuade her to leave the world, and to turn religious: Upon which the Parliament would have been eaſily prevailed on to paſs a divorce. This came to be known: But what ſteps were made in it were never known. It was believed, that upon this the Ducheſs of *York* ſent an expreſs to *Rome* with the notice of her converſion; and that orders were ſent from *Rome* to all about the Queen to perſuade her againſt ſuch a propoſition, if any ſhould ſuggeſt it to her. She herſelf had no mind to be a Nun: And the Ducheſs was afraid of ſeeing another Queen: And the miſtreſs created at that time Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, knew that ſhe muſt be the firſt ſacrifice to a beloved Queen: And ſhe reconciled her ſelf upon this to the Ducheſs of *York*. The Duke of *Buckingham* upon that broke with her, and ſtudied to take the King from her by new amours: And becauſe he thought a gaity of humour would take much with the King, he engaged him to entertain two players one after another, *Davies* and *Guin*. The firſt did not keep her hold long: But *Guin*, the indiſcreeteſt and wildeſt creature that ever was in a Court, continued to the end of the King's life in great favour, and was maintained at a vaſt expence. The Duke of *Buckingham* told me, that when ſhe was firſt brought to the King, ſhe aſked

A great diſſolution of morals in Court.

only

1668. only five hundred pounds a year: And the King refuſed it. But when he told me this, about four years after, he ſaid, ſhe had got of the King above ſixty thouſand pounds. She acted all perſons in ſo lively a manner, and was ſuch a conſtant diverſion to the King, that even a new miſtreſs could not drive her away. But after all he never treated her with the decencies of a miſtreſs. The King had another miſtreſs, that was managed by Lord *Shaftsbury*, who was the daughter of a Clergyman, *Roberts*; in whom her firſt education had ſo deep a root, that tho' ſhe fell into many ſcandalous diſorders, with very diſmal adventures in them all, yet a principle of religion was ſo deep laid in her, that, though it did not reſtrain her, yet it kept alive in her ſuch a conſtant horrour at ſin, that ſhe was never eaſy in an ill courſe, and died with a great ſenſe of her former ill life. I was often with her the laſt three months of her life. The Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, finding that ſhe had loſt the King, abandoned her ſelf to great diſorders: One of which, by the artifice of the Duke of *Buckingham*, was diſcovered by the King in perſon, the party concerned leaping out of the window. She alſo ſpoke of the King to all people in ſuch a manner, as brought him under much contempt. But he ſeemed inſenſible: And tho' libels of all ſorts had then a very free courſe, yet he was never diſturbed at it.

Many libels writ by the beſt wits of that time.

The three moſt eminent wits of that time, on whom all the lively libels were faſtened, were the Earls of *Dorſet* and *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Charles Sidly*. Lord *Dorſet* was a generous good natured Man. He was ſo oppreſſed with phlegm, that till he was a little heated with wine he ſcarce ever ſpoke; But he was upon that exaltation a very lively man. Never was ſo much ill nature in a pen as in his, joined with ſo much good nature as was in himſelf, even to exceſs; for he was againſt all puniſhing, even of malefactors. He was bountiful, even to run himſelf into difficulties: And charitable to a fault; for he commonly gave all he had about him, when he met an object that moved him. But he was ſo lazy, that, tho' the King ſeemed to court him to be a favourite, he would not give himſelf the trouble that belonged to that poſt. He hated the Court, and deſpiſed the King, when he ſaw he was neither generous, nor tender hearted. *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*, was naturally modeſt, till the Court corrupted him. His wit had in it a peculiar brightneſs, to which none could ever arrive. He gave himſelf up to all ſorts of extravagance, and to the wildeſt frolicks that a wanton wit could deviſe. He would have gone about the ſtreets as a beggar, and made love as a porter. He ſet up a ſtage as an *Italian* mountebanck. He was for ſome years always drunk, and was ever doing ſome miſchief. The King loved his company for the diverſion it afforded, better than his perſon: And there was no love loſt between them. He took his revenges in many libels. He found out a footman that knew all the Court, and he furniſhed him with a red coat and a muſket as a centinel, and kept him all the winter long every night at the doors of ſuch ladies, as he believed might be in intrigues. In the Court a centinel is little minded, and is believed to be poſted by a captain of the Guards to hinder a combat: So this man ſaw who walked about, and viſited at forbidden hours. By this means Lord *Rocheſter* made many diſcoveries. And when he was well furniſhed with materials, he uſed to retire into the country for a month or two to write libels: Once being drunk he intended to give the King a libel that he had writ on ſome ladies: But by a miſtake he gave him one written on himſelf. He fell into an ill habit of body: And in ſeveral fits of ſickneſs he had deep remorſes; for he was guilty both of much impiety, and of great immoralities. But as he recovered he threw them off, and turned again to his former ill courſes. In the laſt year of his life I was much with him, and have writ a book of what paſs'd between him and me. I do verily believe, he was then ſo entirely changed, that, if he had recovered, he would have made good all his reſolutions. *Sidly* had a more ſudden and copious wit, which furniſhed a perpetual run of diſcourſe: But he was not ſo correct as Lord *Dorſet*, nor ſo ſparkling as Lord *Rocheſter*. The Duke of *Buckingham* loved to have theſe much about him: And he gave himſelf up to a monſtrous courſe of ſtudied immoralities of the worſt kinds: He was ſo full of mercury, that he could not fix long in any friendſhip, or to any deſign. *Bennet*, now made Lord *Arlington*, and he fell out: *Bennet* was all cunning and artifice, and ſo could not hold long with him, who was ſo open that he diſcloſed every thing. Lord *Arlington* was engaged in a great intimacy with *Clifford*, *Littletoun*, and *Duncomb*. I have already given ſome account of the two firſt. *Duncomb* was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raiſe enemies againſt himſelf: He was an able Parliament man: But could not go into all the deſigns of the

the Court; For he had a ſenſe of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country. The Duke of *Buckingham*'s chief friends were the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Lauderdale*, but above all Sir *Thomas Osborn*, raiſed afterwards to be Lord Treaſurer, and Earl of *Danby*, and ſince made Duke of *Leeds* by the late King. 1668.

The King took Sir *William Coventry* from the Duke, and put him in the Treaſury. He was in a fair way to be the chief Miniſter, and deſerved it more than all the reſt did. But he was too honeſt to engage in the deſigns into which the Court was reſolved to go, as ſoon as it had recovered a little reputation; which was ſunk very low by the ill management of the *Dutch* war, and the ſquandring away of the money given for it. He was a man of the fineſt and the beſt temper that belonged to the Court. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and he fell out, I know not for what reaſon: And a challenge paſs'd between them, upon which *Coventry* was forbid the Court. And he upon that ſeemed to retire very willingly: And he was become a very religious man when I knew him. He was offered after that the beſt poſts in the Court, oftner than once: But he would never engage again. He ſaw what was at bottom, and was reſolved not to go through with it; and ſo continued to his death in a retired courſe of life. Sir *William Coventry*'s character.

The Duke of *Ormond* continued ſtill in the Government of *Ireland*, tho' ſeveral intereſts joined together againſt him. The Earls of *Orrery* and *Ranelagh* on the one hand, and *Talbot* on the other. Lord *Orrery* loved to appear in buſineſs; but dealt ſo much underhand, that he had not much credit with any ſide. Lord *Ranelagh* was a young man of great parts, and as great vices: He had a pleaſantneſs in his converſation that took much with the King, and had a great dexterity in buſineſs. Many complaints were ſecretly brought againſt the Duke of *Ormond*. The King loved him: And he accommodated himſelf much to the King's humour. Yet the King was, with much difficulty, prevailed on to put an end to his government of *Ireland*, and to put Lord *Roberts*, afterwards made Earl of *Radnor*, in his place; who was a morоſe man, believed to be ſeverely juſt, and as wiſe as a cynical humour could allow him to be. The manner of removing the Duke of *Ormond* will give a particular character of the King's temper. He ſent Lord *Arlington* to him for his commiſſion. The Duke of *Ormond* ſaid, he had received it from the King's own hands, and he would go and deliver it to him. When he carried it to the King, the King denied he had ſent him any ſuch meſſage. Two days after that Lord *Arlington* was ſent again with the ſame meſſage: And he had the ſame anſwer: And the King diſowned it again to the Duke. So the King declared in the Privy Council the change of the Government of *Ireland*, and made *Roberts* Lord Lieutenant. And it flew abroad as a piece of news. The Duke of *Ormond* hearing that, came to the King in great wrath, to expoſtulate upon it. But the King denied the whole thing, and ſent him away: But he ſent for *Fitzpatrick*, who had married his ſiſter, and who told me the whole ſtory, and ſent him to the Duke of *Ormond*, to tell him, the King had denied the matter tho' it was true, for he obſerved he was in ſuch a heat, that he was afraid he might have ſaid indecent things: And he was reſolved not to fall out with him: For, tho' his affairs made it neceſſary to change the Government of *Ireland*, yet he would ſtill be kind to him, and continue him Lord Steward. Lord *Radnor* did not continue long in *Ireland*: He was cynical in his whole adminiſtration, and uneaſy to the King in every thing: And in one of his peeviſh humours he writ to the King, that he had but one thing to aſk of him, which if it might be granted, he would never aſk another, and that was to be diſcharged of his employment. The Lord *Berkley* ſucceeded him, who was brother to the Lord *Fitzharding*, and from ſmall beginnings had riſen up to the greateſt poſt a ſubject was capable of. In the war he was Governour of *Exeter* for the King, and one of his Generals. He was named by him Governour to the Duke of *York*. He was now made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and afterwards ſent Ambaſſadour to *France*, and Plenipotentiary to *Nimeguen*. He was a man in whom it appeared with how little true judgment Courts diſtribute favours and honours. He had a poſitive way of undertaking and determining in every thing, but was a very weak man, and not incorrupt. The Government of *Ireland* changed.

The Court delivered it ſelf up to vice. And the Houſe of Commons loſt all reſpect in the Nation; for they gave ſtill all the money that was asked. Yet thoſe who oppoſed the Court carried one great point, that a Committee ſhould be named to examine the accounts of the money that was given during the *Dutch* war. It was carried, that they ſhould be all men out of the Houſe. Lord *Brereton* was the chief The Committee of *Brookhouſe*.

1668. of them, and had the chair. He was a philoſophical man, and was all his life long in ſearch of the philoſophers ſtone, by which he neglected his own affairs; but was a man of great integrity, and was not to be gained by the flatteries, hopes, or threatnings of the Court. Sir *William Turner* was another of the Committee, who had been Lord Major of *London* the former year, under whoſe wiſe and juſt adminiſtration the rebuilding of the City advanced ſo faſt, that he would have been choſen Lord Major for the enſuing year, if he had not declined it. *Pierpoint* was likewiſe of this Committee: So was Sir *James Langham*, a very weak man, famed only for his readineſs of ſpeaking florid *Latin*, which he had attained to a degree beyond any man of the age; but his ſtyle was too poetical, and full of Epithets and Figures.

Halifax's Character. I name Sir *George Saville* laſt becauſe he deſerves a more copious character. He roſe afterwards to be Viſcount, Earl, and Marquis of *Halifax*. He was a man of a great and ready wit; full of life, and very pleaſant; much turned to ſatyr. He let his wit run much on matters of religion: So that he paſſed for a bold and determined Atheiſt; tho' he often proteſted to me, he was not one; and ſaid, he believed there was not one in the world: He confeſſed, he could not ſwallow down every thing that divines impoſed on the world: He was a Chriſtian in ſubmiſſion: He believed as much as he could, and he hoped that God would not lay it to his charge, if he could not diſgeſt iron, as an oſtrich did, nor take into his belief things that muſt burſt him: If he had any ſcruples, they were not ſought for, nor cheriſhed by him; for he never read an atheiſtical book. In a fit of ſickneſs, I knew him very much touched with a ſenſe of religion. I was then often with him. He ſeemed full of good purpoſes: But they went off with his ſickneſs. He was always talking of morality and friendſhip. He was punctual in all payments, and juſt in all his private dealings. But, with relation to the publick, he went backwards and forwards, and changed ſides ſo often, that in concluſion no ſide truſted him. He ſeemed full of Commonwealth notions: Yet he went into the worſt part of King *Charles*'s reign. The livelineſs of his imagination was always too hard for his judgment. A ſevere jeſt was preferred by him to all arguments whatſoever. And he was endleſs in conſultations: For when after much diſcourſe a point was ſettled, if he could find a new jeſt, to make even that which was ſuggeſted by himſelf ſeem ridiculous, he could not hold, but would ſtudy to raiſe the credit of his wit, tho' it made others call his judgment in queſtion. When he talked to me as a philoſopher of his contempt of the world, I asked him, what he meant by getting ſo many new titles, which I called the hanging himſelf about with bells and tinſel. He had no other excuſe for it, but this, that, ſince the world were ſuch fools as to value thoſe matters, a man muſt be a fool for company: He conſidered them but as rattles: Yet rattles pleaſe children: So theſe might be of uſe to his family. His heart was much ſet on raiſing his family. But, tho' he made a vaſt eſtate for them, he buried two of his ſons himſelf, and almoſt all his grandchildren. The ſon that ſurvived was an honeſt man, but far inferior to him. I do not remember who beſides theſe were of that Committee, which becauſe it ſate in *Brook-houſe*, was called by the name of that houſe.

1669. The Court was much troubled to ſee an enquiry of this kind ſet on foot. It was ſaid, the King was baſely treated, when all his expence was to be looked into. On the other hand it was anſwered, that the Parliament did not look into his revenue, but only to the diſtribution of that treaſure that was truſted to him for carrying on the war. I was told, that, after all the moſt ſhameful items that could be put into an account, there was none offered for about 800000 *l.* But I was not then in *England*: So I was very imperfectly informed as to this matter. The chief men that promoted this were taken off, (as the word then was for corrupting members,) in which the court made ſo great a progreſs, that it was thought the King could never have been prevailed on to part with a Parliament ſo much practiſed on, and where every mans price was known; for as a man roſe in his credit in the Houſe, he raiſed his price, and expected to be treated accordingly. In all this enquiry the careleſneſs and luxury of the Court came to be ſo much expoſed, that the King's ſpirit was much ſharpened upon it. All the flatterers about him magnified foreign governments, where the Princes were abſolute, that in *France* more particularly. Many to pleaſe him ſaid, it was a very eaſy thing to ſhake off the reſtraints of law, if the King would but ſet about it. The Crown of *Denmark* was elective, and ſubject to a Senate, and yet was in one day, without any viſible force, changed to be

Many Parliament men gained by the Court.

both

both hereditary and abſolute, no rebellion nor convulſion of ſtate following on it. The King loved the project in general; but would not give himſelf the trouble of laying or managing it. And therefore, till his affairs were made eaſier, and the project grew clearer, he reſolved to keep all things cloſe within himſelf; and went on in the common maxim, to balance party againſt party, and by doing popular things to get money of his Parliament, under the pretence of ſupporting the Triple Alliance. So money-bills paſſed eaſily in the Houſe of Commons: Which by a ſtrange reverſe came to be oppoſed in the Houſe of Lords; who began to complain, that the money-bills came up ſo thick, that it was ſaid, there was no end of their giving. *End* ſignifying purpoſe, as well as a meaſure, this paſs'd as a ſevere jeſt at that time. Sir *John Coventry* made a groſs reflection on the King's amours. He was one of thoſe who ſtruggled much againſt the giving money. The common method is: After thoſe who oppoſe ſuch bills fail in the main vote, the next thing they endeavour is, to lay the money on funds that will be unacceptable, and will prove deficient. So theſe men propoſed the laying a tax on the Play-houſes, which in ſo diſſolute a time were become neſts of proſtitution. And the ſtage was defiled beyond all example. *Dryden*, the great maſter of Dramatick Poeſy, being a monſter of immodeſty, and of impurity of all ſorts. This was oppoſed by the Court: It was ſaid, the Players were the King's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. *Coventry* asked, whether did the King's pleaſure lie among the men, or the women that acted? This was carried with great indignation to the Court. It was ſaid, this was the firſt time that the King was perſonally reflected on: If it was paſſed over, more of the ſame kind would follow; and it would grow a faſhion to talk ſo: It was therefore fit to take ſuch ſevere notice of this, that no body ſhould dare to talk at that rate for the future. The Duke of *York* told me, he ſaid all he could to the King to divert him from the reſolution he took; which was to ſend ſome of the Guards, and watch in the ſtreets where Sir *John* lodged, and leave a mark upon him. *Sands* and *Obrian*, and ſome others, went thither: And as *Coventry* was going home, they drew about him. He ſtood up to the wall, and ſnatched the flambeau out of his ſervant's hands: And with that in the one hand, and his ſword in the other, he defended himſelf ſo well, that he got more credit by it than by all the actions of his life. He wounded ſome of them; but was ſoon diſarmed: And then they cut his noſe to the bone, to teach him to remember what reſpect he owed to the King: And ſo they left him, and went back to the Duke of *Monmouth's*, where *Obrian's* arm was dreſſed. That matter was executed by orders from the Duke of *Monmouth*: For which he was ſeverely cenſured, becauſe he lived then in profeſſions of friendſhip with *Coventry*; ſo that his ſubjection to the King was not thought an excuſe for directing ſo vile an attempt on his friend, without ſending him ſecret notice of what was deſigned. *Coventry* had his noſe ſo well needled up, that the ſcar was ſcarce to be diſcerned. This put the Houſe of Commons in a furious uproar. They paſſed a bill of baniſhment againſt the actors of it; and put a clauſe in it, that it ſhould not be in the King's power to pardon them. This gave great advantages to all thoſe that oppoſed the Court: And was often remembred, and much improved, by all the angry men of this time. The names of the Court and Country party, which till now had ſeemed to be forgotten, were again revived.

1669.

Coventry's noſe was cut.

When the City was pretty well rebuilt, they began to take care of the Churches, which had lain in aſhes ſome years. And in that time Conventicles abounded in all parts of the City. It was thought hard to hinder men from worſhipping God any way as they could, when there were no Churches, nor Miniſters to look after them. But they began to raiſe Churches of boards, till the publick allowance ſhould be raiſed towards the building the Churches. Theſe they called Tabernacles: And they fitted them up with pews and galleries as Churches. So now an act was propoſed, reviving the former act againſt Conventicles, with ſome new clauſes in it. One was very extraordinary, that if any doubt ſhould ariſe concerning the meaning of any part of this act, it was to be determined in the ſenſe that was moſt contrary to Conventicles, it being the intention of the Houſe to repreſs them in the moſt effectual manner poſſible. The other was, the laying a heavy fine on ſuch juſtices of the Peace, as ſhould not execute the law, when informations were brought them. Upon this many, who would not be the inſtruments of ſuch ſeverities, left the bench, and would ſit there no longer. This act was executed in the City very ſeverely in *Starling's* Majoralty; and put things in ſuch diſorder, that many of the trading men of the City began

A new proſecution of Conventicles.

1669.

began to talk of removing with their flocks over to *Holland*. But the King ordered a stop to be put to further levantisms. Many of the Sectaries either dissembled their meetings, or held them very secretly with small numbers, and not in houses of publick worship. Yet informers were encouraged and were every where at work. The behaviour of the Quakers was more particular, and had something in it that looked bold. They met at the same place, and at the same hour as before. And when they were seized, none of them would go out of the way: They went all together to prison: They staid there till they were dismiss'd, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor would they pay their fines set on them, nor so much as the jayl fees, calling these the wages of unrighteousness. And as soon as they were set out, they went to their meeting-houses again: And, when they found these were shut up by order, they held their meetings on the streets, before the doors of those houses. They said, they would not disown, or be ashamed of their meeting together to worship God: But in imitation of *Daniel* they would do it the more publickly, because they were forbidden the doing it. Some called this obstinacy, while others called it firmness. But by it they carried their point: For the Government grew weary of dealing with so much perverseness, and so began with letting them alone.

The King went commonly to the House of Lords.

The King had by this time got all the money that he expected from the House of Commons, and that after great practices on both Lords and Commons. Many bones of contention were thrown in, to create differences between the two Houses, to try if by both Houses insisting on them the money bills might fall. But, to prevent all trouble from the Lords, the King was advised to go, and be present at all their debates. Lord *Lauderdale* valued himself to me on this advice, which he said he gave. At first the King sat decently on the throne, tho' even that was a great restraint on the freedom of debate, which had some effect for a while: Tho' afterwards many of the Lords seemed to speak with the more boldness, because, they said, the heard it to whom they had no other access but in that place; and they took the more liberty, because what they had said could not be reported wrong. The King, who was often weary of time, and did not know how to get round the day, liked the going to the House, as a pleasant diversion. So he went constantly. And he quickly left the throne, and stood by the fire, which drew a croud about him, that broke all the decency of that House: For before that time every Lord sat regularly in his place: But the King's coming broke the order of their sitting as became Senators. The King's going thither had a much worse effect: For he became a common solicitor, not only in publick affairs, but even in private matters of justice. He would in a very little time have gone round the House, and spoke to every man that he thought worth speaking to. And he was apt to do that upon the solicitation of any of the Ladies in favour, or of any that had credit with them. He knew well on whom he could prevail: So being once in a matter of justice desired to speak to the Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Hollis*, he said, they were stiff and sullen men: But when he was next desired to solicit two others, he undertook to do it; and said, they are men of no conscience, so I will take the government of their conscience into my own hands. Yet when any of the Lords told him plainly, that they could not vote as he desired, he seemed to take it well from them. When the act against Conventicles was debated in that House, *Wilkins* argued long against it. The King was much for having it pass, not that he intended to execute it, but he was glad to have that body of men at mercy, and to force them to concur in the design for a general toleration. He spoke to *Wilkins* not to oppose it. He answered, he thought it an ill thing both in conscience and policy: Therefore, both as he was an *English* man, and a Bishop, he was bound to oppose it. The King then desired him not to come to the House while it depended. He said, by the law and constitution of *England*, and by his majesty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote: And he was neither afraid nor ashamed to own his opinion in that matter, and to act pursuant to it. So he went on: And the King was not offended with his freedom. But tho' he bore with such a frank refusing to comply with his desire, yet if any had made him such general answers, as led him to believe they intended to be compliant, and had not in all things done as he expected, he called that a juggling with him; and he was apt to speak hardly of them on that account. No sooner was the King at ease, and had his fleet put in good case, and his stores and magazines well furnished, than he immediately fell to negotiating with *France*, both to ruin *Holland*, and to subvert the government of *England*. The *Brook-house* business, as well as the burning his fleet, stuck

as deep as any thing could do in his heart. He resolved to revenge the one, and to free himself from the apprehensions of the others returning upon him: Tho' the House of Commons were so far prepossessed on, that the report of *Brook-house* was let fall; and that matter was no more insisted on. Yet he abhorred the precedent, and the discoveries that had been made upon it. 1669.

The Prince of *Orange* came over to him in the winter 1669. He was then in the twentieth year of his age: So he came over, both to see how the King intended to pay the great debt that he owed him, which had been contracted by his father on his account, and likewise to try what offices the King would do in order to his advancement to the Stadtholdership. The King treated him civilly. He assured him he would pay the debt: But did not lay down any method of doing it: So these were only good words. He tryed the Prince, as the Prince himself told me in point of religion. He spoke of all the Protestants as a factious body, broken among themselves ever since they had broken off from the main body; and wished, that he would take more pains, and look into these things better, and not to be led by his *Dutch* blockheads. The Prince told all this to *Zuylestein* his natural uncle. They were both amazed at it; and wondered, how the King could trust so great a secret, as his being a Papist, to so young a person. The Prince told me, that he never spoke of this to any other person, till after his death: But he carried it always in his own mind, and could not hinder himself from judging of all the King's intentions after that from the discovery he had then made of his own sentiments. Nor did he, upon his not complying with that proposition, expect any real assistance of the King, but general intercessions, which signifyed nothing: And that was all he obtained. The Prince of *Orange* came to the King.

So far have I carried on the thread of the affairs of *England*, down from the peace of *Breda* to the year 1670, in which the negotiation with the Court of *France* was set on foot. I am not sure, that every thing is told in just order; because I was all the while very much retired from the world and from company. But I am confident, I have given a true representation of things; since I had most of these matters from persons who knew them well, and who were not like to deceive me. But now I return to my own country, where the same spirit appeared in the administration. The affairs of *Scotland*.

The King was now upon measures of moderation and comprehension: So these were also pursued in *Scotland*. *Leighton* was the only person among the Bishops who declared for these methods: And he made no step without talking it over to me. A great many Churches were already vacant. The people fell off entirely from all the Episcopal Clergy in the western Counties: And a set of hot, fiery, young teachers went about among them, inflaming them more and more: So it was necessary to find a remedy for this. *Leighton* proposed, that a treaty should be set on foot in order to the accommodating our differences, and for changing the laws that had carried the Episcopal authority much higher than any of the Bishops themselves put in practice. He saw both Church and State were rent: Religion was like to be lost: Popery, or rather barbarity, was like to come in upon us: And therefore he proposed such a scheme, as he thought might have taken in the sobereſt men of Presbyterian principles; reckoning that, if the schism could be once healed, and order be once restored, it might be easy to bring things into such management, that the concessions then to be offered should do no great hurt in present, and should die with that generation. He observed the extraordinary concessions made by the *African* Church to the *Donatists*, who were every whit as wild and extravagant as our people were: Therefore he went indeed very far in the extenuating the Episcopal authority: But he thought, it would be easy afterwards to recover what seemed necessary to be yielded at present. A treaty for an accommodation with the Presbyterians in *Scotland*.

He proposed, that the Church should be governed by the Bishops and their Clergy, mixing together in the Church Judicatories; in which the Bishop should act only as a president, and be determined by the majority of his Presbyters, both in matters of Jurisdiction and ordination: And that the Presbyterians should be allowed, when they sat down first in these Judicatories, to declare, that their sitting under a Bishop was submitted to by them only for peace sake, with a reservation of their opinion with relation to any such presidency: And that no negative vote should be claimed by the Bishop: That Bishops should go to the Churches, in which such as were to be ordained were to serve and hear and discuss any exceptions that were made to them, and ordain them with the concurrence of the Presbytery: That such as were to be ordained should have leave to declare their opinion, if they thought the Bishop was

1669. only the head of the Presbyters. And he also proposed, that there should be provincial Synods, to sit in course every third year, or oftner, if the King should summon them; in which complaints of the Bishops should be received, and they should be censured accordingly. The laws that settled Episcopacy, and the authority of a National Synod, were to be altered according to this scheme. To justify or rather to excuse those concessions, which left little more than the name of a Bishop, he said, as for their protestation, it would be little minded, and soon forgotten: The world would see the union that would be again settled among us, and the protestation would lie dead in the books, and die with those that made it. As for the negative vote, Bishops generally managed matters so, that they had no occasion for it: But, it should be found necessary, it might be lodged in the King's name with some secular person, who should interpose as often as the Bishop saw it was expedient to use it: And if the present race could be but laid in their graves in peace, all those heats would abate, if not quite fall off. He also thought, it was a much decenter thing, for Bishops to go upon the place where the Minister was to serve, and to ordain after solemn fasting and prayer, than to huddle it up at their Cathedrals, with no solemnity, and scarce with common decency. It seemed also reasonable, that Bishops should be liable to censure, as well as other people: And that in a fixed Court, which was to consist of Bishops, and Deans, and two chosen from every Presbytery. The liberty offered to such as were to be ordained, to declare their opinion, was the hardest part of the whole. It looked like the perpetuating a factious and irregular humour. But few would make use of it. All the Churches in the gift of the King, or of the Bishops, would go to men of other principles. But tho' some things of an ill digestion were at such a time admitted, yet, if by these means the schism could be once healed, and the Nation again settled in a peaceable state, the Advantage of that would balance all that was lost by those abatements that were to be made in the Episcopal Authority, which had been raised too high, and to correct that was now to be let fall too low, if it were not for the good that was to be hoped for from this accommodation: For this came to be the word as comprehension was in *England*. He proposed farther, that a treaty might be set on foot, for bringing the Presbyterians to accept of these concessions. The Earl of *Kincardin* was against all treating with them: They were a trifling sort of disputatious people: They would fall into much wrangling, and would subdivide among themselves: And the young and ignorant men among them, that were accustomed to popular declamations, would say, here was a bargain made to sell *Christ*'s Kingdom, and his prerogative. He therefore proposed, that since we knew both their principles and their tempers, we ought to carry the concessions as far as it was either reasonable or expedient, and pass these into laws: And then they would submit to a settlement that was made, and that could not be helped, more easily than give a consent before hand to any thing that seemed to entrench on that which they called the liberty of the Church. *Leightoun* did fully agree with him in this. But Lord *Lauderdale* would never consent to that. He said, a law that did so entirely change the constitution of the Church, when it came to be pass'd and printed, would be construed in *England* as a pulling down of Episcopacy; unless he could have this to say in excuse for it, that the Presbyterians were willing to come under that model. So he said, since the load of what was to be done in *Scotland* would fall heaviest on him, he would not expose himself so much, as the passing any such act must certainly do, till he knew what effects would follow on it. So we were forced to try how to deal with them in a treaty.

I was sent to propose this scheme to *Hutchinson*, who was esteem'd the learnedest man among them. But I was only to try him, and to talk of it as a notion of my own. He had married my cousin german; and I had been long acquainted with him. He look'd on it as a project that would never take effect: So he would not give his opinion about it. He said, when these concessions were pass'd into laws, he would know what he should think of them: But he was one of many, so he avoided to declare himself. The next thing under consideration was, how to dispose of the many vacancies, and how to put a stop to Conventicles. *Leightoun* proposed, that they should be kept still vacant, while the treaty was on foot; and that the Presbyterians should see how much the Government was in earnest in the design of bringing them to serve in the Church, when so many places were kept open for them.

The

1669.

The Earl of *Tweedale* thought the treaty would run into a great length, and to many meetings, and would perhaps come to nothing in concluſion. So he propoſed the granting ſome of the outed Miniſters leave to go and ſerve in thoſe pariſhes by an act of the King's indulgence, from whence it came to be called the Indulgence. *Leighton* was againſt this. He thought, nothing would bring on the Presbyterians to a treaty, ſo much as the hopes of being again ſuffered to return to their benefices: Whereas, if they were once admitted to them, they would reckon they had gained their point, and would grow more backward. I was deſired to go into the weſtern parts, and to give a true account of matters, as I found them there. So I went as in a viſit to the Duke of *Hamilton*; whoſe Ducheſs was a woman of great piety, and great parts. She had much credit among them; for ſhe paſs'd for a zealous Presbyterian, tho' ſhe proteſted to me, ſhe never entred into the points of controverſy, and had no ſettled opinion about forms of Government; only ſhe thought their Miniſters were good men, who kept the country in great quiet and order: They were, ſhe ſaid, blameleſs in their lives, devout in their way, and diligent in their labours. The people were all in a phrenzy, and were in no diſpoſition to any treaty. The furiouſeſt men among them were buſy in Conventicles, inflaming them againſt all agreements: So ſhe thought, that, if the more moderate Presbyterians were put in vacant Churches, the people would grow tamer, and be taken out of the hands of the mad preachers, that were then moſt in vogue: This would likewiſe create a confidence in them: For they were now ſo poſſeſſed with prejudices, as to believe that all that was propoſed was only an artifice to make them fall out among themſelves, and deceive them at laſt. This ſeemed reaſonable: And ſhe got many of the more moderate of them to come to me: And they all talked in the ſame ſtrain.

An indulgence propoſed.

A ſtrange accident happen'd to *Sharp* in *July* 1668, as he was going into his coach in full day light, the Biſhop of *Orkney* being with him. A man came up to the coach, and diſcharged a piſtol at him with a brace of bullets in it, as the Biſhop of *Orkney* was going up into the coach. He intended to ſhoot thro' his cloak at *Sharp*, as he was mounting up: But the bullet ſtuck in the Biſhop of *Orkney*'s arm, and ſhattered it ſo, that, tho' he lived ſome years after that, they were forced to open it every year for an exfoliation. *Sharp* was ſo univerſally hated, that, tho' this was done in full day light, and on the high ſtreet, yet no body offered to ſeize the aſſaſſin. So he walked off, and went home, and ſhifted himſelf of an odd wig, which he was not accuſtomed to wear, and came out, and walked on the ſtreets immediately. But *Sharp* had viewed him ſo narrowly, that he diſcovered him afterwards, as ſhall be mentioned in its proper place. I lived then much out of the world: Yet I thought it decent to go and congratulate on this occaſion. He was much touched with it, and put on a ſhew of devotion upon it. He ſaid with a very ſerious look, my times are wholly in thy hand, O thou God of my life. This was the ſingle expreſſion ſavouring of piety, that ever fell from him in all the converſation that paſſed between him and me. Proclamations were iſſued out with great rewards for diſcovering the actor: But nothing followed on them. On this occaſion it was thought proper, that he ſhould be called to Court, and have ſome marks of the King's favour put on him. He promiſed to make many good motions: And he talked for a while like a changed man: And went out of his way, as he was going to Court, to viſit me at my parſonage houſe, and ſeemed reſolved to turn to other methods. The King, as he had a particular talent that way, when he had a mind to it, treated him with ſpecial characters of favour and reſpect. But he made no propoſition to the King: Only in general terms he approved of the methods of gentleneſs and moderation then in vogue.

An attempt to murder *Sharp*.

When he came back to *Scotland*, he moved in Council that an indulgence might be granted to ſome of the publick reſolutioners, with ſome rules and reſtraints; ſuch as, that they ſhould not ſpeak, or preach, againſt Epiſcopacy, and that they ſhould not admit to either of the Sacraments any of the neighbouring pariſhes without a deſire from their own Miniſters; and that they ſhould engage themſelves to obſerve theſe rules. He knew that his propoſition, for all the ſhew of moderation that was in it, could have no effect: For the Reſolutioners and the Proteſtors had laid down their old diſputes, and were reſolved to come under no diſcrimination on that account; nor would they engage to obſerve any limitations that ſhould be laid on them. They ſaid, the Government might lay reſtraints on them, and puniſh them, if they broke thro' them: And they would obey them, or not, at their peril. But they laid down this

Sharp propoſed the indulging ſome miniſters that did not conform.

1669.

this for a maxim, that they had received a complete Miniſtry from *Chriſt*; and that the judicatories of the Church had only power to govern them in the exerciſe of their function. If the King ſhould lay any limitations on them, they might obey theſe, as prudence ſhould direct: But they would not bind themſelves up by any engagement of their own. *Burnet*, and his Clergy, (for the diocеſe of *Glaſgow* is above the fourth part of all *Scotland*,) came to *Edenburgh* full of high complaints, that the Churches were univerſally forſaken, and that Conventicles abounded in every corner of the country. A proclamation was upon that iſſued out, in imitation of the *Engliſh* Act, ſetting a fine of 50 *l.* upon every landlord, on whoſe grounds any Conventicle was held, which he might recover, as he could, of thoſe who were at any ſuch Conventicle. This was plainly againſt law; for the Council had no power by their authority to ſet arbitrary fines. It was pretended on the other hand, that the Act of Parliament that had reſtored Epiſcopacy had a clauſe in it, recommending the execution of that Act to the Privy Council by all the beſt ways they could think of. But the lawyers of the Council-board ſaid, that in matters of property their power was certainly tied up to the direction of the law: And the clauſe mentioned related only to particular methods, but could not be conſtrued ſo far, as this proclamation carried the matter. The proclamation went out, but was never executed. It was ſent up to *London*, and had a ſhew of zeal; and ſo was made uſe of by the Earl of *Lauderdale* to bear down the clamour, that was raiſed againſt him and his party in *Scotland*, as if they deſigned to pull down Epiſcopacy. The model of the county militia was now executed: And above two thouſand horſe, and ſixteen thouſand foot were armed, and trained, and caſt into independent regiments and troops, who were all to be under ſuch orders as the Council iſſued out. All this was againſt law: For the King had only a power upon an extraordinary occaſion to raiſe, and march ſuch a body of men, as he ſhould ſummon together; and that at his own charge: But the converting this into a ſtanding militia, which carried with it a ſtanding charge, was thought a great ſtretch of prerogative. Yet it was reſolved on, though great exceptions were made to it by the lawyers, chiefly by Sir *John Nicht*, the King's advocate, a man of great learning, both in law and in many other things, chiefly in the *Greek* learning: He was a perſon of great integrity, and always ſtood firm to the law. The true ſecret of this deſign was, that Lord *Lauderdale* was now preſſing to get into the management of the affairs of *England*. And he ſaw what the Court was aiming at. And he had a mind to make himſelf conſiderable by this, that he had in his hand a great army, with a magazine of arms, and a ſtock of money laid up in *Scotland* for any accident that might happen. So all his creatures, and Lady *Dysart* more than all the reſt, had this up in all companies, that none before him ever dreamt how to make *Scotland* conſiderable to the King: But now it began to make a great figure. An Army, a Magazine, and a Treaſure, were words of a high ſound; chiefly now that the Houſe of Commons was like to grow ſo intractable, that the Duke of *Buckingham* deſpaired of being able to manage them. He moved the diſſolving the Parliament, and calling a new one: And thought the Nation would chooſe men leſs zealous for the Church; for theſe were all againſt him. But the King would not venture on it. He knew the Houſe of Commons was either firm to him by their own principles: Or by his management they could be made ſo: And therefore he would not run the riſk of any new election. He had the Diſſenters much in his power, by the ſevere laws under which they lay at his mercy. But he did not know what influence they might have in elections, and in a new Parliament: Theſe he knew were in their hearts enemies to prerogative; which he believed they would ſhew, as ſoon as they got themſelves to be delivered from the laws, that then put them in the King's power.

Propoſitions for the union of the two Kingdoms.

Lord *Tweedale* was then at *London*: And he ſet on foot a propoſition, that came to nothing, but made ſo much noiſe, and was of ſuch importance, that it deſerves to be enlarged on. It was for the union of both Kingdoms. The King liked it; becauſe he reckoned, that, at leaſt for his time, he ſhould be ſure of all the members that ſhould be ſent up from *Scotland*. The Duke of *Buckingham* went in eaſily to a new thing: And Lord Keeper *Bridgman* was much for it. The Lord *Lauderdale* preſſed it vehemently: It made it neceſſary to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, where he intended to be the King's Commiſſioner. The Earl of *Tweedale* was for it on other accounts, both to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the militia, and to get ſome alterations made in the laws that related to the Church: And he really drove at the union,

union, as a thing which he thought might be brought about. *Scotland*, he ſaid, was even then under great uneaſineſs, tho' the King knew the ſtate of that Kingdom: But when another King ſhould reign that knew not *Joſeph*, (ſo he expreſſed it) the Nation would be delivered up to favourites, and be devoured by them: Rich provinces, like thoſe that belonged to *Spain*, could hold out long under oppreſſion: But a poor country would be ſoon diſpeopled, if much oppreſſed: And if a King of deep deſigns againſt publick liberty ſhould careſs the *Scots*, he might eaſily engage them; ſince a poor country may be ſuppoſed willing to change their ſeats, and to break in on a richer one: There was indeed no fear of that at preſent; for the dotage of the Nation on Presbytery, and the firmneſs with which the Government ſupported Epiſcopacy, ſet them ſo far from one another, that no engagement of that ſort could be attempted: But if a King ſhould take a dextrous method for putting that out of the way, he might carry *Scotland* to any deſign he thought fit to engage in. Lord *Tweedale* blamed Sir *Francis Bacon* much for laying it down as a maxim, that *Scotland* was to be reckoned as the third part of the Iſland, and to be treated accordingly: Whereas he aſſured me, *Scotland* for numbers of people was not above a tenth part, and for wealth not above a fortieth part of the Iſland.

1669.

The diſcourſe of the union was kept up, till it was reſolved to ſummon a new Parliament in *Scotland*. Then Lord *Lauderdale* made the King reflect on the old ſcheme he had laid before him at the Reſtoration: And he undertook to manage the Parliament ſo, as to make it anſwer that end more effectually than any before him had ever done. This was reſolved on in the ſummer 1669. I being then at *Hamilton*, and having got the beſt information of the ſtate of the country that I could, wrote a long account of all I had heard to the Lord *Tweedale*, and concluded it with an advice to put ſome of the more moderate of the Presbyterians into the vacant Churches. Sir *Robert Murray* told me, the letter was ſo well liked, that it was read to the King. Such a letter would have ſignifyed nothing, if Lord *Tweedale* had not been fixed in the ſame notion. He had now a plauſible thing to ſupport it. So my principles, and zeal for the Church, and I know not what beſides were raiſed to make my advice ſignify ſomewhat. And it was ſaid, I was the man that went moſt entirely into *Leighton*'s maxims. So this indiſcreet letter of mine, ſent without communicating it to *Leighton*, gave the deciding ſtroke. And, as may be eaſily believed, it drew much hatred on me from all that either knew it, or did ſuſpect it.

The King gave orders for the Indulgence.

The King wrote a letter to the Privy-Council, ordering them to indulge ſuch of the Presbyterians as were peaceable and loyal, ſo far as to ſuffer them to ſerve in vacant Churches, tho' they did not ſubmit to the preſent eſtabliſhment: And he required them to ſet them ſuch rules as might preſerve order and peace, and to look well to the execution of them: And as for ſuch as could not be provided to Churches at that time, he ordered a penſion of 20*l. ſter.* a year to be paid every one of them, as long as they lived orderly. Nothing followed on the ſecond article of this letter: The Presbyterians look'd on this, as the King's hire to be ſilent, and not to do their duty: And none of them would accept of it. But, as to the firſt part of the letter, on the firſt Council day after it was read, twelve of the Miniſters were indulged: They had pariſhes aſſigned them: And about thirty more were afterwards indulged in the ſame manner: And then a ſtop was put to it for ſome time. With the warrants that they had for their Churches, there was a paper of rules likewiſe put in their hands. *Hutcheſon* in all their names made a ſpeech to the Council: He began with decent expreſſions of thanks to the King, and their Lordſhips: He ſaid, they ſhould at all times give ſuch obedience to laws, and orders, as could ſtand with a good conſcience. And ſo they were diſmiſſed. As for thoſe of them that were allowed to go to the Churches where they had ſerved before, no difficulty could be made: But thoſe of them that were named to other Churches would not enter on the ſerving them, till the Church ſeſſions, and the inhabitants of the pariſh met, and made choice of them for their paſtors, and gave them a call (as they worded it) to ſerve among them. But upon this, ſcruples aroſe among ſome, who ſaid the peoples choice ought to be free; whereas now they were limited to the perſon named by the Council, which looked like an election upon a *Conge d'elire* with a letter naming the perſon, with which they had often diverted themſelves. But ſcruples are mighty things, when they concur with inclination or intereſt: And when they are not ſupported by theſe, men learn diſtinctions to get free from them. So it happened in this caſe: For though ſome few were ſtartled at theſe things, yet they lay in no mans way; for

1669. every man went, and was poſſeſſed of the Church marked out for him. And at firſt the people of the country ran to them with a ſort of tranſport of joy. Yet this was ſoon cooled. It was hoped, that they would have begun their miniſtry with a publick teſtimony againſt all that had been done in oppoſition to what they were accuſtomed to call the work of God. But they were ſilent at that time, and preached only the doctrines of Chriſtianity. This diſguſted all thoſe who loved to hear their Miniſters preach to the times, as they call'd it. The ſtop put to the Indulgence made many conclude, that thoſe, who had obtained the favour, had entred into ſecret engagements. So they came to call them the King's Curates, as they had called the Clergy in deriſion the Biſhops Curates. Their caution brought them under a worſe character of *dumb dogs*, that could not bark. Thoſe, who by their fierce behaviour had ſhut themſelves out from a ſhare in the Indulgence, began to call this Eraſtianiſm, and the Civil Magiſtrates aſſuming the power of ſacred matters. They ſaid, this was viſibly an artifice to lay things aſleep with the preſent generation; and was one of the depths of *Satan*, to give a preſent quiet, in order to the certain deſtruction of Presbytery. And it was alſo ſaid, that there was a viſible departing of the divine aſſiſtance from thoſe preachers: They preached no more with the power and authority that had accompanied them at Conventicles. So many began to fall off from them, and to go again to Conventicles. Many of the preachers confeſſed to me, that they found an ignorance and a deadneſs among thoſe who had been the hotteſt upon their meetings, beyond what could have been imagined. They that could have argued about the intrinſick power of the Church, and Epiſcopacy, and Presbytery, upon which all their ſermons had chiefly run for ſeveral years, knew very little of the eſſentials of religion. But the indulged preachers, inſtead of ſetting themſelves with the zeal and courage that became them againſt the follies of the people, of which they confeſſed to my ſelf they were very ſenſible, took a different method; and ſtudied by mean compliances to gain upon their affections, and to take them out of the hands of ſome fiery men, that were going up and down among them. The tempers of ſome brought them under this ſervile popularity, into which others went out of a deſire to live eaſy.

This complained of as againſt law.

The Indulgence was ſettled in a hurry. But when it came to be deſcanted on, it appeared to be plainly againſt law: For by the Act reſtoring Epiſcopacy none were capable of benefices, but ſuch as ſhould own the authority of Biſhops, and be inſtituted by them. So now the Epiſcopal party, that were wont to put all authority in the King, as long as he was for them, began to talk of law. They ſaid, the King's power was bounded by the law; and that theſe proceedings were the trampling of law under foot. For all parties, as they need the ſhelter of law, or the ſtretches of the prerogative, are apt by turns to magnify the one, or the other. *Burnet* and his Clergy were out of meaſure enraged at the indulgence. They were not only abandoned, but ill uſed by the people, who were beginning to threaten, or to buy them out of their Churches, that they alſo might have the benefit of the Indulgence. The Synod of the Clergy was held at *Glaſcow* in *October*: And they moved, that an addreſs might be drawn up, repreſenting to the King the miſeries they were under, occaſioned by the Indulgence: They complained of it as illegal, and as like to be fatal to the Church. This was, according to the words in ſome of their Acts of Parliament, a miſrepreſenting the King's proceedings, in order to the alienating the hearts of his ſubjects from him; which was made capital, as may appear by the account given in the former book of the proceedings againſt the Lord *Balmerinoc*. He that drew this addreſs was one *Roſs*, afterwards Archbiſhop, firſt of *Glaſcow*, and then of St. *Andrews*; who was an ignorant man, and violent out of meaſure. So it was drawn full of acrimony. Yet they reſolved to keep it ſecret, till advice ſhould be taken upon it; and accordingly to preſent it to the Privy Council, or not. A Copy of this was procured by indirect methods: And it was ſent up to Court, after the Earl of *Lauderdale* was come off, and was in his way to hold the Parliament in *Scotland*. Lord *Lauderdale* had left all his concerns at Court with Sir *Robert Murray*: For, tho', at his Miſtreſs's inſtigation, he had uſed him very unworthily, yet he had ſo great an opinion of his vertue and candor, that he left all his affairs to his care. As ſoon as the King ſaw the Clergy's addreſs, he ſaid, it 'was a new weſtern remonſtrance: And he ordered, that *Burnet* ſhould not be ſuffered to come to the Parliament, and that he ſhould be proceeded againſt as far as the law could carry the matter. It was not eaſy to ſtretch this ſo far, as to make it criminal. But *Burnet* being obnoxious

obnoxious on other accounts, they intended to frighten him to ſubmit, and to reſign his Biſhoprick. 1669.

The Parliament was opened in *November*. Lord *Lauderdale*'s ſpeech ran upon two heads. The one was, the recommending to their care the preſervation of the Church, as eſtabliſhed by law: Upon which he took occaſion to expreſs great zeal for Epiſcopacy. The other head related to the union of both Kingdoms. All that was done relating to that was, that an Act paſs'd for a treaty about it: And in the following ſummer, in a ſubſequent ſeſſion, Commiſſioners were named, who went up to treat about it. But they made no progreſs: And the thing fell ſo ſoon, that it was very viſible it was never intended in good earneſt. A Parliament in *Scotland*.

The two firſt Acts that paſs'd in Parliament were of more importance, and had a deeper deſign. The firſt explained, and aſſerted the King's Supremacy, but carried it in ſuch general words, that it might have been ſtretched to every thing. It was declared, that the ſettling all things relating to the external government of the Church was a right of the Crown: And that all things relating to Eccleſiaſtical meetings, matters, and perſons, were to be ordered according to ſuch directions as the King ſhould ſend to his Privy Council: And that theſe ſhould be publiſhed by them, and ſhould have the force of laws. Lord *Lauderdale* very probably knew the ſecret of the Duke's religion, and had got into his favour. So it was very likely, that he intended to eſtabliſh himſelf in it, by putting the Church of *Scotland* wholly in his power. But that was yet a ſecret to us all in *Scotland*. The method he took to get it paſs'd was this: He told all thoſe who loved Presbytery, or that did not much favour the Biſhops, that it was neceſſary to keep them under, by making them depend abſolutely on the King: This was indeed a transferring the whole legiſlature, as to the matters of the Church, from the Parliament, and veſting it ſingly in the King: Yet, he told them, if this were done, as the circumſtances might happen to be favourable, the King might be prevailed on, if a daſh of a pen would do it, to change all on the ſudden: Whereas that could never be hoped for, if it could not be brought about, but by the pomp and ceremony of a Parliament. He made the Nobility ſee, they needed fear no more the inſolence of Biſhops, if they were at mercy, as this would make them. *Sharp* did not like it, but durſt not oppoſe it. He made a long dark ſpeech, copied out of Doctor *Taylor*, diſtinguiſhing between the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical authority; and then voted for it: So did all the Biſhops that were preſent: Some abſented themſelves. *Leightoun* was againſt any ſuch Act, and got ſome words to be altered in it. He thought, it might be ſtretched to ill ends: And ſo he was very averſe to it. Yet he gave his vote for it, not having ſufficiently conſidered the extent of the words, and the conſequences that might follow on ſuch an Act; for which he was very ſorry, as long as he lived. But at that time there was no apprehenſions in *Scotland* of the danger of Popery. Many of the beſt of the Epiſcopal Clergy, *Nairn*, and *Charteris* in particular, were highly offended at the Act. They thought it plainly made the King our Pope. The Presbyterians ſaid, it put him in *Chriſt*'s ſtead. They ſaid, the King had already too much power in the matters of the Church: And nothing ruined the Clergy more, than their being brought into ſervile compliances, and a baſe dependence upon Courts. I had no ſhare in the counſels about this Act. I only thought it was deſigned by Lord *Tweedale* to juſtify the Indulgence, which he proteſted to me was his chief end in it. And no body could ever tell me how the words *Eccleſiaſtical matters* were put in the Act. *Leightoun* thought, he was ſure it was put in after the draught and form of the Act was agreed on. It was generally charged on Lord *Lauderdale*. And when the Duke's religion came to be known, then all people ſaw, how much the legal ſettlement of our religion was put in his power by this means. Yet the preamble of the Act being only concerning the external government of the Church, it was thought, that the words *Eccleſiaſtical matters* were to be confined to the ſenſe that was limited by the preamble. The Supremacy carried very high.

The next Act that paſs'd was concerning the Militia: All that had been done in raiſing it was approved: And it was enacted, that it ſhould ſtill be kept up, and be ready to march into any of the King's dominions, for any cauſe in which his Majeſty's authority, power, or greatneſs ſhould be concerned; and that the orders ſhould be tranſmitted to them from the Council board, without any mention of orders from the King. Upon this great reflections were made. Some ſaid, that by this the Army was taken out of the King's power and command, and put under the power of the Council; So that if the greater part of the Council ſhould again rebel, as they did in the year An Act for the County Militia.

1669. year 1638, the Army was by the words of this Act bound to follow their orders. But, when jealouſies broke out in *England* of the ill deſigns that lay hid under this matter, it was thought that the intent of this clauſe was, that, if the King ſhould call in the *Scottiſh* Army, it ſhould not be neceſſary that he himſelf ſhould ſend any orders for it; but that, upon a ſecret intimation, the Council might do it without order, and then, if the deſign ſhould miſcarry, it ſhould not lie on the King, but only on the Council, whom in that caſe the King might diſown; and ſo none about him ſhould be blameable for it. The Earl of *Lauderdale* valued himſelf upon theſe Acts, as if he had conquered Kingdoms by them. He wrote a letter to the King upon it, in which he ſaid, all *Scotland* was now in his power: The Church of *Scotland* was now more ſubject to him than the Church of *England* was: This Militia was now an Army ready upon call: And that every man in *Scotland* was ready to march, whenſoever he ſhould order it, with ſeveral very ill inſinuations in it. But ſo dangerous a thing it is to write ſuch letters to Princes: This letter fell into Duke *Hamilton*'s hands ſome years after: And I had it in my hands for ſome days. It was intended to found an impeachment on it. But that happened at the time when the buſineſs of the excluſion of the Duke from the ſucceſſion of the Crown was ſo hotly purſued, that, this, which at another time would have made great noiſe, was not ſo much conſidered as the importance of it might ſeem to deſerve. The way how it came into ſuch hands was this: The King, after he had read the letter, gave it to Sir *Robert Murray*: And when he died it was found among his papers. He had been much truſted in the King's laboratory, and had ſeveral of his chymical proceſſes in his hands. So the King after his death did order one to look over all his papers for chymical matters: But all the papers of State were let alone. So this, with many other papers, fell into the hands of his executors. And thus this letter came into Duke *Hamilton*'s hands; who would have made uſe of it, if greater matters had not been then in agitation. This is not the ſingle inſtance, that I have known, of papers of great conſequence falling into the hands of the executors of great Miniſters, that might have been turned to very bad uſes, if they had fallen into ill hands. It ſeems of great concern, that when a Miniſter, or an Ambaſſadour, dies, or is recalled, or is diſgraced, all papers relating to the ſecrets of his employment ſhould be of right in the power of the Government. But I of all men ſhould complain the leaſt of this, ſince by this remiſneſs many papers of a high nature have fallen in my way.

Burnet turned out, and *Leightoun* made Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*.

By the Act of Supremacy the King was now maſter, and could turn out Biſhops at pleaſure. This had its firſt effect on *Burnet*; who was offered a penſion, if he would ſubmit and reſign, and was threatened to be treated more ſeverely, if he ſtood out. He complied, and retired to a private ſtate of life, and bore his diſgrace better than he had done his honours. He lived four years in the ſhade, and was generally much pitied: He was of himſelf good natured, and ſincere; but was much in the power of others: He meddled too much in that which did not belong to him, and he did not underſtand; for he was not cut out for a Court, or for the Miniſtry: And he was too remiſs in that which was properly his buſineſs, and which he underſtood to a good degree; for he took no manner of care of the ſpiritual part of his function.

The ſtate I found things in at *Glaſcow*.

At this time the Univerſity of *Glaſcow*, to whom the choice of the Profeſſor of divinity does belong, choſe me, tho' unknown to them all, to be Profeſſor there. There was no ſort of artifice or management to bring this about: It came of themſelves: And they did it without any recommendation of any perſon whatſoever. So I was adviſed by all my friends to change my poſt, and go thither. This engaged me both into much ſtudy, and in a great deal of buſineſs. The Clergy came all to me, thinking I had ſome credit with thoſe that governed, and laid their grievances and complaints before me. They were very ill uſed, and were ſo entirely forſaken by their people, that in moſt places they ſhut up their Churches: They were alſo threatened and affronted on all occaſions. On the other hand the Gentlemen of the country came much to me, and told me ſuch ſtrange things of the vices of ſome, the follies of others, and the indiſcretions of them all, that, tho' it was not reaſonable to believe all that they ſaid, yet it was impoſſible not to believe a great deal of it. And ſo I ſoon ſaw, what a hard province I was like to have of it. Accounts of the ſtate of thoſe parts were expected from me, and were like to be believed. And it was not eaſy to know, what ought to be believed, nor how matters were to be repreſented: For I found calumny was ſo equally practiſed on both ſides, that I came to miſtruſt

every

every thing that I heard. One thing was visible, that Conventicles abounded, and strange doctrine was vented in them. The King's Supremacy was now the chief subject of declamation: It was said, Bishops were indeed enemies to the liberties of the Church, but the King's little finger would be heavier than their loins had been. After I had been for some months among them, and had heard so much, that I believed very little, I wrote to Lord *Tweedale*, that disorders did certainly increase; but, as for any particulars, I did not know what to believe, much less could I suggest what remedies seemed proper: I therefore proposed, that a Committee of Council might be sent round the country to examine matters, and to give such orders as were at present necessary for the publick quiet; and that they might prepare a report against the next session of Parliament, that then proper remedies might be found out. 1669.

A Committee of Council sent round the West.

Duke *Hamilton*, Lord *Kincardin*, *Primerose*, and *Drumond*, were sent to these parts. They met first at *Hamilton*, next at *Glascow*: Then they went to other parts; and came back, and ended their circuit at *Glascow*. They punished some disorders, and threatened both the indulged Ministers, and the countries, with greater severities, if they should still grow more and more insolent upon the favour that had been shewed them. I was blamed by the Presbyterians for all they did, and by the Episcopal party for all they did not; since these thought they did too little, as the others thought they did too much. They consulted much with me, and suffered me to intercede so effectually for those whom they had put in prison, that they were all set at liberty. The Episcopal party thought I intended to make my self popular at their cost: So they began that strain of fury and calumny that has pursued me ever since from that sort of people, as a secret enemy to their interest, and an underminer of it. But I was, and still am, an enemy to all force and violence in matters of conscience: And there is no principle that is more hated by bad, ill natured Clergymen, than that.

The Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Tweedale* pressed *Leightoun* much to accept of the See of *Glascow*. He declined it with so much aversion, that we were all uneasy at it. Nothing moved him to hearken to it, but the hopes of bringing about the accommodation that was proposed; in which he had all assistance promised him from the Government. The King ordered him to be sent for to Court. He sent for me on his way; where he stopt a day, to know from me what prospect there was of doing any good. I could not much encourage him. Yet I gave him all the hopes that I could raise my self to: And I was then inclined to think, that the accommodation was not impracticable. Upon his coming to *London*, he found Lord *Lauderdale*'s temper was much inflamed: He was become fierce and intractable. But Lord *Tweedale* made every thing as easy to him as was possible. They had turned out an Archbishop: So it concerned them to put an eminent man in his room, who should order matters with such moderation, that the Government should not be under perpetual disturbance by reason of complaints from those parts.

But now the Court was entring into new designs, into which Lord *Lauderdale* was thrusting himself, with an obsequious, or rather an officious zeal. I will dwell no longer at present on that, than just to name the Duchess of *Orleans*'s coming to *Dover*, of which a more particular account shall be given, after that I have laid together all that relates to *Scotland* in the year 1670, and the whole business of the Accommodation. *Leightoun* proposed to the King his scheme of the Accommodation, and the great advantages that his Majesty's affairs would have, if that country could be brought into temper. The King was at this time gone off from the design of a comprehension in *England*. Toleration was now thought the best way. Yet the Earl of *Lauderdale* possessed him with the necessity of doing somewhat to soften the *Scots*, in order to the great design he was then engaging in. Upon that the King, who seldom gave himself the trouble to think twice of any one thing, gave way to it. *Leightoun*'s paper was in some places corrected by Sir *Robert Murray*; and was turned into instructions, by which Lord *Lauderdale* was authorised to pass the concessions, that were to be offered, into laws. This he would never own to me, tho' *Leightoun* shewed me the copy of them. But it appeared probable by his conduct afterwards, that he had secret directions to spoil the matter, and that he intended to deceive us all. Lord *Tweedale* was more to be depended on. But he began to lose ground with Lady *Dysert*: And so his interest did not continue strong enough to carry on such a matter. 1670.

Instructions for an Accommodation

1670. *Leightoun* undertook the adminiſtration of the See of *Glaſcow*: And it was a year after this before he was prevailed on to be tranſlated thither. He came upon this to *Glaſcow*, and held a Synod of his Clergy; in which nothing was to be heard, but complaints of deſertion and ill uſage from them all. *Leightoun*, in a ſermon that he preached to them, and in ſeveral diſcourſes, both in publick and private, exhorted them to look up more to God, to conſider themſelves as the miniſters of the Croſs of *Chriſt*, to bear the contempt and ill uſage they met with as a Croſs laid on them for the exerciſe of their faith and patience, to lay aſide all the appetites of revenge, to humble themſelves before God, to have many days for ſecret faſting and prayers, and to meet often together that they might quicken and aſſiſt one another in thoſe holy exerciſes: And then they might expect bleſſings from Heaven upon their labours. This was a new ſtrain to the Clergy. They had nothing to ſay againſt it: But it was a comfortleſs doctrine to them: And they had not been accuſtomed to it. No ſpeedy ways were propoſed for forcing the people to come to Church, nor for ſending ſoldiers among them; or raiſing the fines to which they were liable. So they went home, as little edified with their new Biſhop, as he was with them. When this was over, he went round ſome parts of the country to the moſt eminent of the indulged Miniſters, and carried me with him. His buſineſs was, to perſuade them to hearken to propoſitions of peace. He told them, ſome of them would be quickly ſent for to *Edenburgh*, where terms would be offered them in order to the making up our differences: All was ſincerely meant: They would meet with no artifices, nor hardſhips: And if they received thoſe offers heartily, they would be turned into laws: And all the vacancies then in the Church would be filled by their brethren. They received this with ſo much indifference, or rather neglect, that it would have cooled any zeal, that was leſs warm, and leſs active, than that good mans was. They were ſcarce civil; and did not ſo much as thank him for his tenderneſs and care: The more artful among them, ſuch as *Hutcheſon*, ſaid, it was a thing of general concern, and they were but ſingle men. Others were more metaphyſical, and entertained us with ſome poor arguings and diſtinctions. *Leightoun* began to loſe heart. Yet he reſolved to ſet the negotiation on foot, and carry it as far as he could.

Leightoun's advices to his Clergy.

When Lord *Lauderdale* came down to hold a ſeſſion of Parliament, letters were writ to ſix of the Presbyterian preachers, ordering them to come to town. There was a long conference between *Leightoun* and them, before the Earls of *Lauderdale*, *Rothes*, *Tweedale*, and *Kincardin*. *Sharp* would not be preſent at it: But he ordered *Paterſon*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow* to hear all, and to bring him an account of what paſſed. *Leightoun* laid before them the miſchief of our diviſions, and of the ſchiſm that they had occaſioned: Many ſouls were loſt, and many more were in danger by theſe means: So that every one ought to do all he could to heal this wide breach, that had already let in ſo many evils among us, which were like to make way to many more: For his own part, he was perſuaded that Epiſcopacy, as an order diſtinct from Presbyters, had continued in the Church ever ſince the days of the Apoſtles; that the world had every where received the Chriſtian religion from Biſhops, and that a parity among Clergymen was never thought of in the Church before the middle of the laſt century, and was then ſet up rather by accident than on deſign: Yet, how much ſoever he was perſuaded of this, ſince they were of another mind, he was now to offer a temper to them, by which both ſides might ſtill preſerve their opinions, and yet unite in carrying on the ends of the Goſpel and their Miniſtry: They had Moderators amongſt them, which was no divine inſtitution, but only a matter of order: The King therefore might name theſe: And the making them conſtant could be no ſuch encroachment on their function, as that the peace of the Church muſt be broke on ſuch an account: Nor could they ſay, that the bleſſing of the men named to this function by an impoſition of hands did degrade them from their former office, to ſay no more of it: So they were ſtill at leaſt Miniſters: It is true, others thought, they had a new and ſpecial authority, more than a bare preſidency: That did not concern them, who were not required to concur with them in any thing, but in ſubmitting to this preſidency: And as to that, they ſhould be allowed to declare their own opinion againſt it, in as full, and as publick a manner as they pleaſed: He laid it to their conſciences, to conſider of the whole matter, as in the preſence of God, without any regard to party, or popularity. He ſpoke in all near half an hour, with a gravity and force that made a very great impreſſion on thoſe who heard it. *Hutcheſon* anſwered, and ſaid, their opinion for a parity

A conference between *Leightoun* and ſome Presbyterians.

among

among the Clergy was well known: The preſidency now ſpoke of had made way to a lordly dominion in the Church: And therefore how inconſiderable ſoever the thing might ſeem to be, yet the effects of it both had been, and would be very conſiderable: He therefore deſired, ſome time might be given them to conſider well of the propoſitions now made, and to conſult with their brethren about them: And, ſince this might ſeem an aſſembling together againſt law, he deſired, they might have the King's Commiſſioner's leave for it. This was immediately granted. We had a ſecond conference, in which matters were more fully opened, and preſſed home, on the grounds formerly mentioned. Lord *Lauderdale* made us all dine together, and came to us after dinner: But could ſcarce reſtrain himſelf from flying out; for their behaviour ſeemed both rude and crafty. But *Leightoun* had prepared him for it, and preſſed him not to give them a handle to excuſe their flying off, by any roughneſs in his deportment towards them. The propoſitions offered them were now generally known. *Sharp* cried out, that Epiſcopacy was to be undermined, ſince the negative vote was to be let go. The inferiour Clergy thought, that if it took effect, and the Presbyterians were to be generally brought into Churches, they would be neglected, and that their people would forſake them. So they hated the whole thing. The bigotted Presbyterians thought, it was a ſnare, and the doing that, which had a fair appearance at preſent, and was meant only to lay that generation in their graves in peace; by which means Epiſcopacy, that was then ſhaking over all the Nation, would come to have another root, and grow again out of that. But the far greater part of the Nation approved of this deſign: And they reckoned, either we ſhould gain our point, and then all would be at quiet, or, if ſuch offers were rejected by the Presbyterians, it would diſcover their temper, and alienate all indifferent men from them; and the Nation would be convinced, how unreaſonable and ſtubborn they were, and how unworthy they were of any farther favour. All that was done in this ſeſſion of Parliament was, the raiſing a tax, and the naming Commiſſioners for the union with *England*; beſides two ſevere Acts paſs'd againſt Conventicles.

1670.

New ſeverities againſt Conventicles.

There had been a great one held in *Fife*, near *Dunfermlin*, where none had ever been held before. Some Gentlemen of eſtates were among them: And the novelty of the thing drew a great croud together; for intimation had been given of it ſome days before. Many of theſe came in their ordinary arms. That gave a handle to call them the *Rendezvous* of rebellion. Some of them were taken, and brought to *Edenburgh*, and preſſed to name as many as they knew of their fellow Conventiclers: But they refuſed to do it. This was ſent up to Court, and repreſented as the fore-runner of rebellion. Upon which Lord *Lauderdale*, hearing what uſe his enemies made of it, was tranſported almoſt to fits of rage. Severe Acts paſſed upon it, by which their fines were raiſed higher, and they were made liable to arbitrary ſeverities. The Earl of *Lauderdale* with his own hand put in a word in the Act, that covered the Papiſts, the fines being laid on ſuch of the reformed religion as went not to Church. He pretended by this to merit with the Popiſh party, the Duke in particular; whoſe religion was yet a ſecret to us in *Scotland*, tho' it was none at Court. He ſaid to my ſelf, he had put in theſe words on deſign to let the party know, they were to be worſe uſed than the Papiſts themſelves. All Field Conventicles were declared treaſonable: And in the preacher they were made capital. The Landlords, on whoſe grounds they were held, were to be ſeverely fined: And all who were at them were to be puniſhed arbitrarily, if they did not diſcover all that were preſent, whom they knew. Houſe Conventicles, crouded without the doors, or at the windows, were to be reckoned, and puniſhed, as Field Conventicles. Sir *Robert Murray* told me, that the King was not well pleaſed with this Act, as being extravagantly ſevere; chiefly in that of the preachers being to be puniſhed by death. He ſaid, bloody laws did no good; and that he would never have paſſed it, if he had known it before hand. The half of the Parliament abhorred this Act. Yet ſo abject were they in their ſubmiſſions to Lord *Lauderdale*, that the young Earl of *Caſſilis* was the ſingle perſon that voted in the negative. This paſs'd in Parliament ſo ſuddenly, that *Leightoun* knew nothing of it, till it was too late. He expoſtulated with Lord *Tweedale* ſeverely about it: He ſaid, the whole complex of it was ſo contrary to the common rules of humanity, not to ſay Chriſtianity, that he was aſhamed to mix in counſels with thoſe who could frame and paſs ſuch Acts: And he thought it ſomewhat ſtrange, that neither he, nor I, had been adviſed with in it. The Earl of *Tweedale* ſaid, the late Field Conventicle being a new thing, it had forced them to ſeverities, that at another

The reformed religion.

time

1670. time could not be well excuſed: And he aſſured us, there was no deſign to put it in execution.

Leightoun ſent to the weſtern Counties ſix Epiſcopal Divines, all except my ſelf brought from other parts: *Nairn* and *Charteris* were two of them: The three others *Aird*, *Cook*, and *Paterſon*, were the beſt we could perſuade to go round the country to preach in vacant Churches, and to argue upon the grounds of the accommodation with ſuch as ſhould come to them. The Epiſcopal Clergy, who were yet in the country, could not argue much for any thing; and would not at all argue in favour of a propoſition that they hated. The people of the country came generally to hear us, tho' not in great crouds. We were indeed amazed to ſee a poor commonalty ſo capable to argue upon points of government, and on the bounds to be ſet to the power of Princes in matters of religion: Upon all theſe topicks they had texts of ſcripture at hand; and were ready with their anſwers to any thing that was ſaid to them. This meaſure of knowledge was ſpread even among the meaneſt of them, their cottagers, and their ſervants. They were indeed vain of their knowledge, much conceited of themſelves, and were full of a moſt entangled ſcrupuloſity; ſo that they found, or made, difficulties in every thing that could be laid before them. We ſtaid about three months in the country: And in that time there was a ſtand in the frequency of Conventicles. But, as ſoon as we were gone, a ſet of thoſe hot preachers went round all the places in which we had been, to defeat all the good we could hope to do. They told them, the Devil was never ſo formidable, as when he was transformed into an Angel of light.

The Presbyterians reſolved to reject the offers made them.

The outed Miniſters had many meetings in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom. They found themſelves under great difficulties. The people had got it among them, that all that was now driven at, was only to extinguiſh Presbytery, by ſome ſeeming conceſſions, with the preſent generation; and that if the Miniſters went into it, they gave up their cauſe, that ſo they themſelves might be provided for during their lives, and die at more eaſe. So they, who were ſtrangely ſubdued by their deſire of popularity, reſolved to reject the propoſitions, tho' they could not well tell on what grounds they ſhould juſtify it. A report was alſo ſpread among them, which they believed, and had its full effect upon them: It was ſaid, that the King was alienated from the Church of *England*, and weary of ſupporting Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*; and ſo was reſolved not to clog his government any longer with it; and that the conceſſions now made did not ariſe from any tenderneſs we had for them, but from an artifice to preſerve Epiſcopacy: So they were made believe, that their agreeing to them was really a ſtrengthning of that Government, which was otherwiſe ready to fall with its own weight. And becauſe a paſſage of Scripture, according to its general ſound was apt to work much on them, that of *touch not*, *taſte not*, *handle not*, it was often repeated among them. It was generally agreed on to reject the offers made them. The next debate among them was, about the reaſons they were to give for rejecting them; or whether they would comply with another propoſition, which *Leightoun* had made them, that, if they did not like the propoſitions he had made, they would ſee if they could be more happy than he was, and offer at other propoſitions. In their meetings they named two to maintain the debate, *pro* and *con*. They diſputed about the proteſtation that they were allowed to make: And *Proteſtatio contraria facto* was a maxim that was in great vogue among them. They argued upon the obligation by the Covenant to maintain their Church, as then eſtabliſhed, in doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline and government: And ſo every thing that was contrary to that, was repreſented as a breach of covenant: And none durſt object to that. But that they might make a propoſition, which they were ſure would not be hearkened to, they propoſed, that among the conceſſions to be inſiſted on, one might be a liberty to ordain without the Biſhops. When we heard what their reaſonings were, papers were writ, and ſent among them, in anſwer to them. But it is a vain thing to argue, when a reſolution is taken up, not founded on argument; and arguments are only ſought for, to juſtify that which is already reſolved on. We preſſed them with this, that, notwithſtanding their Covenant, they themſelves had afterwards made many alterations, much more important than this of ſubmitting to a conſtant Moderator, named by the King: *Cromwell* took from them the power of meeting in General Aſſemblies: Yet they went on doing the other duties of their function; tho' this, which they eſteemed the greateſt of all their rights was denied them: When an order came out to ſequeſter the half of the benefices of ſuch as ſhould ſtill pray for the King, they upon that ſubmitted, tho'

tho' before they had aſſerted it as a duty, to which they were bound by their Covenant: They had diſcontinued their miniſtry, in obedience to laws and proclamations now for nine years: And thoſe, who had accepted the Indulgence, had come in by the King's authority, and had only a parochial government, but did not meet in Presbyteries: From all which we inferred, that, when they had a mind to lay down any thing that they thought a duty, or to ſubmit to any thing that they thought an invaſion of their rights, they could find a diſtinction for it: And it was not eaſy to ſhew, why they were not as compliant in this particular. But all was loſt labour: Hot men among them were poſitive: And all of them were full of contention. 1670.

Dutcheſs *Hamilton* ſent for ſome of them, *Hutcheſon* in particular. She ſaid, ſhe did not pretend to underſtand nice diſtinctions, and the terms of diſpute: Here was plain ſenſe: The country might be again at quiet, and the reſt of thoſe that were outed admitted to Churches, on terms, that ſeemed to all reaſonable men very eaſy: Their rejecting this would give a very ill character of them, and would have very bad effects, of which they might ſee cauſe to repent, when it would be too late. She told me, all that ſhe could draw from him, that ſhe underſtood, was, that he ſaw the generality of their party was reſolved againſt all treaties, or any agreement; and that, if a ſmall number ſhould break off from them, it would not heal the old breaches, but would create new ones. In concluſion, nothing was like to follow on this whole negotiation. We, who were engaged in it, had loſt all our own ſide by offering at it: And the Presbyterians would not make one ſtep towards us.

Some conferences upon that ſubject.

Leightoun deſired another meeting with them at *Paſley*, to which he carried me and one or two more. They were about thirty. We had two long conferences with them. *Leightoun* laid out before them the obligations that lay on them to ſeek for peace at all times, but more eſpecially when we already ſaw the diſmal effects of our contentions: There could be no agreement, unleſs on both ſides there was a diſpoſition to make ſome abatements, and ſome ſteps towards one another: It appeared, that we were willing to make even unreaſonable ones on our ſide: And would they abate nothing in theirs? Was their opinion ſo mathematically certain, that they could not diſpenſe with any part of it, for the peace of the Church, and for the ſaving of ſouls? Many poor things were ſaid on their ſide, which would have made a leſs mild man, than he was, loſe all patience. But he bore with all: And urged this queſtion on them, Would they have held communion with the Church of God at the time of the Council of *Nice*, or not? If they ſhould ſay, not, he would be leſs deſirous of entring into communion with them; ſince he muſt ſay of the Church at that time, *let my ſoul be with theirs*: If they ſaid, they would; then he was ſure, they would not reject the offers now made them, which brought Epiſcopacy much lower than it was at that time. One of the moſt learned among them had prepared a ſpeech full of quotations, to prove the difference between the primitive Epiſcopacy and ours at preſent. I was then full of thoſe matters: So I anſwered all his ſpeech, and every one of his quotations, and turned the whole upon him, with advantages that were too evident to be ſo much as denied by their own party: And, it ſeemed, the perſon himſelf thought ſo; for he did not offer at one word of reply. In concluſion, the Presbyterians deſired, that the propoſitions might be given them in writing; For hitherto all had paſs'd only verbally; and words, they ſaid, might be miſunderſtood, miſrepeated, and denied. *Leightoun* had no mind to do it: Yet, ſince it was plauſible, to ſay they had nothing but words to ſhew to their brethren, he wrote them down, and gave me the original, which I ſtill have in my hands; but ſuffered them to take as many copies of it as they pleaſed. At parting he deſired them to come to a final reſolution, as ſoon as they could; for he believed, they would be called for by the next *January* to give their anſwers. And by the end of that month they were ordered to come to *Edenburgh*. I went thither at the ſame time upon *Leightoun*'s deſire.

At laſt they refuſed to accept of the conceſſions.

We met at the Earl of *Rothes*'s houſe, where all this treaty came to a ſhort concluſion. *Hutcheſon* in all their names ſaid, they had conſidered the propoſitions made to them, but were not ſatisfied in their conſciences to accept of them. *Leightoun* deſired to know upon what grounds they ſtood out. *Hutcheſon* ſaid it was not ſafe to argue againſt law. *Leightoun* ſaid, that ſince the Government had ſet on a treaty with them in order to the altering the laws, they were certainly left to a full freedom of arguing againſt them: Theſe offers were no laws: So the arguing about them could not be called an arguing againſt law: He offered them a publick conference upon them, in the hearing of all that had a mind to be rightly informed: He ſaid, the people

1670. were drawn into thoſe matters ſo far, as to make a ſchiſm upon them: He thought, it was therefore very reaſonable, that they ſhould likewiſe hear the grounds examined, upon which both ſides went. *Hutcheſon* refuſed this: He ſaid, he was but one man; and that what he ſaid was in the name of his brethren, who had given him no farther authority. *Leightoun* then asked, if they had nothing on their ſide to propoſe towards the healing of our breaches. *Hutcheſon* anſwered, their principles were well enough known, but he had nothing to propoſe. Upon this *Leightoun*, in a long diſcourſe, told what was the deſign he had been driving at in all this negotiation: It was to procure peace, and to promote religion: He had offered ſeveral things, which he was perſuaded were great diminutions of the juſt rights of Epiſcopacy: Yet ſince all Church-power was for edification, and not for deſtruction, he had thought, that in our preſent circumſtances it might have conduced as much to the intereſt of religion, that Epiſcopacy ſhould diveſt it ſelf of a great part of the authority that belonged to it, as the Biſhops uſing it in former ages had been an advantage to religion: His offers did not flow from any miſtruſt of the cauſe: He was perſuaded, Epiſcopacy was handed down thro' all the ages of the Church from the Apoſtles days: Perhaps he had wronged the order by the conceſſions he had made: Yet he was confident God would forgive it, as he hoped his brethren would excuſe it: Now they thought fit to reject theſe conceſſions, without either offering any reaſon for doing it, or any expedient on their ſide: Therefore the continuance of our diviſions muſt lie at their door, both before God and man: If ill effects followed upon this, he was free of all blame, and had done his part. Thus was this treaty broke off, to the amazement of all ſober and diſpaſſionate people, and to the great joy of *Sharp*, and the reſt of the Biſhops; who now for a while ſeemed even pleaſed with us, becauſe we had all along aſſerted Epiſcopacy, and had pleaded for it in a high and poſitive ſtrain.

Cenſures paſſed upon this whole matter.

I hope this will be thought an uſeful part of the hiſtory of that time: None knew the ſteps made in it better than my ſelf. The fierce Epiſcopal men will ſee, how much they were to blame for accuſing that Apoſtolical man *Leightoun*, as they did, on this occaſion; as if he had deſigned in this whole matter to betray his own order, and to ſet up Presbytery. The Presbyterians may alſo ſee, how much their behaviour diſguſted all wiſe, moderate and good men, when they rejected propoſitions, that came ſo home even to the maxims they had ſet up, that nothing but the fear of offending, that is of loſing the credit they had with their party, could be ſo much as pretended for their refuſing to agree to them. Our part in the whole negotiation was ſincere and open. We were acted with no other principle, and had no other deſign but to allay a violent agitation of mens ſpirits, that was throwing us into great diſtractions; and to heal a breach, that was like to let in an inundation of miſeries upon us, as has appeared but too evidently ever ſince. The high party keeping ſtill their old biaſs to perſecution, and recovering afterwards their credit with the Government, carried violent proceedings ſo far, that, after they had thrown the Nation into great convulſions, they drew upon themſelves ſuch a degree of fury from enraged multitudes, whom they had oppreſſed long and heavily, that, in concluſion, the Epiſcopal order was put down, as ſhall be told in its proper place. The roughneſs of our own ſide, and the perverſeneſs of the Presbyterians, did ſo much alienate me from both, that I reſolved to withdraw my ſelf from any farther meddling, and to give my ſelf wholly to ſtudy. I was then, and for three years after that, offered to be made a Biſhop: But I refuſed it. I ſaw the counſels were altering above: So I reſolved to look on, and ſee whither things would turn.

1671. The Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton* was writ by me at that time.

My acquaintance at *Hamilton*, and the favour and friendſhip I met with from both the Duke and Ducheſs, made me offer my ſervice to them, in order to the ſearch of many papers, that were very carefully preſerved by them: For the Ducheſs's uncle had charged her to keep them with the ſame care, as ſhe kept the writings of her eſtate; ſince in theſe a full juſtification of her father's publick actings, and of his own, would be found, when ſhe ſhould put them in the hands of one that could ſet them in order, and in a due light. She put them all in my hands, which I acknowledge was a very great truſt: And I made no ill uſe of it. I found there materials for a very large hiſtory. I writ it with great ſincerity; and concealed none of their errours. I did indeed conceal ſeveral things that related to the King: I left out ſome paſſages that were in his letters; in ſome of which was too much weakneſs, and in others

others too much craft and anger. I got thro' that work in a few months. When the Earl of *Lauderdale* heard that I had finiſhed it, he deſired me to come up to him; for he was ſure, he could both rectify many things, and enlarge on a great many more. His true deſign was, to engage me to put in a great deal relating to himſelf in that work. I found another degree of kindneſs and confidence from him upon my coming up, than ever before. I had nothing to ask for my ſelf, but to be excuſed from the offer of two Biſhopricks. But whatſoever I asked for any other perſon was granted: And I was conſidered as his favourite. He truſted me with all ſecrets, and ſeemed to have no reſerves with me. He indeed preſſed me to give up with Sir *Robert Murray:* And I ſaw, that upon my doing that I ſhould have as much credit with him as I could deſire. Sir *Robert* himſelf apprehended this would be put to me; and preſſed me to comply with him in it. But I hated ſervitude, as much as I loved him: So I refuſed it flatly. I told Lord *Lauderdale*, that Sir *Robert* had been as a ſecond father, or governour to me, and therefore I could not break friendſhip with him. But I promiſed to ſpeak to him of nothing that he truſted to me. And this was all that ever he could bring me to, tho' he put it often to me. I was treated by him with an entire confidence. Applications were made to me: And every thing that I propoſed was done. I laid before him the ill ſtate the affairs of *Scotland* were falling into, by his throwing off ſo many of his friends. Duke *Hamilton* and he had been for ſome years in ill terms. I laid down a method for bringing them to a better underſtanding. I got kind letters to paſs on both ſides, and put their reconciliation in ſo fair a way, that upon my return to *Scotland* it was for that time fully made up. I had authority from him to try, how both the Earls of *Argile*, and *Tweedale*, might return to their old friendſhip with him. The Earl of *Argile* was ready to do every thing. But the Earl of *Athol* had propoſed a match between his ſon and Lady *Dyſert*'s daughter, and he had an hereditary hatred to the Lord *Argile* and his family: So that could not be eaſily brought about. Lord *Tweedale* was reſolved to withdraw from buſineſs. The Earl of *Lauderdale* had for many years treated his brother the Lord *Halton* with as much contempt as he deſerved; for he was both weak and violent, inſolent and corrupt. He had promiſed to ſettle his eſtate on his daughter, when the Lord *Tweedale*'s ſon married her. But his brother offered now every thing that Lady *Dyſert* deſired, provided ſhe would get his brother to ſettle his eſtate on him. So Lord *Halton* was now taken into affairs; and had ſo much credit with his brother, that all the dependence was upon him. And thus the breach between the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Tweedale* was irreconcileable; tho' I did all I could to make it up. 1671.

As to Church affairs, Lord *Lauderdale* asked my opinion concerning them. I gave it frankly to this purpoſe: There were many vacancies in the diſaffected Counties, to which no conformable men of any worth could be prevailed on to go: So I propoſed, that the Indulgence ſhould be extended to them all; and that the Miniſters ſhould be put into thoſe pariſhes by couples, and have the benefice divided between them; and, in the Churches where the Indulgence had already taken place, that a ſecond Miniſter ſhould be added, and have the half of the benefice: By this means I reckoned, that all the outed Miniſters would be again employed, and kept from going round the uninfected parts of the Kingdom: I alſo propoſed that they ſhould be confined to their pariſhes, not to ſtir out of them without leave from the Biſhop of the dioceſe, or a Privy Counſellour; and that, upon tranſgreſſing the rules that ſhould be ſet them, a proportion of their benefice ſhould be forfeited, and applied to ſome pious uſe. Lord *Lauderdale* heard me to an end: And then, without arguing one word upon any one branch of this ſcheme, he deſired me to put it in writing; which I did. And the next year, when he came down again to *Scotland*, he made one write out my paper, and turned it into the ſtyle of inſtructions. So eaſily did he let himſelf be governed by thoſe whom he truſted, even in maeters of great conſequence. Four Biſhops happened to die that year, of which *Edenburgh* was one. I was deſired to make my own choice: But I refuſed them all. Yet I obtained a letter to be writ, by the King's order, to Lord *Rothes*, that he ſhould call the two Archbiſhops, and four of the Officers of State, and ſend up their opinion to the King of the perſons fit to be promoted: And a private letter was writ to the Lords, to join with *Leightoun* in recommending the perſons that he ſhould name. *Leightoun* was uneaſy, when he found that *Charteris* and *Nairn*, as well as my ſelf, could not be prevailed on to accept Biſhopricks. They had an ill opinion of the Court, and could not be brought to leave their retirement. *Leightoun* was troubled

A farther Indulgence propoſed.

1671. troubled at this. He ſaid, if his friends left the whole load on him, he muſt leave all to providence. Yet he named the beſt men he could think on. And, that *Sharp* might not have too publick an affront put on him, *Leighton* agreed to one of his nomination. But now I go to open a ſcene of another nature.

Foreign affairs.

An alliance with *France* ſet on foot.

The Court was now going into other meaſures. The Parliament had given the King all the money he had asked for repairing his fleet, and for ſupplying his ſtores and magazines. Additional revenues were alſo given for ſome years. But at their laſt ſitting, in the beginning of the year 1670, it appeared that the Houſe of Commons were out of countenance for having given ſo much money, and ſeemed reſolved to give no more. All was obtained under the pretence of maintaining the Triple Alliance. When the Court ſaw how little reaſon they had to expect farther ſupplies, the Duke of *Buckingham* told the King, that now the time was come in which he might both revenge the attempt on *Chatham*, and ſhake off the uneaſy reſtraint of a Houſe of Commons. And he got leave from the King to ſend over Sir *Ellis Leightoun* to the Court of *France*, to offer the project of a new alliance, and a new war. Sir *Ellis* told me this himſelf: And was proud to think, that he was the firſt man employed in thoſe black and fatal deſigns. But, in the firſt propoſition made by us, the ſubduing of *England*, and the toleration of Popery, here was offered, as that with which the deſign muſt be begun. *France*, ſeeing *England* ſo inclined, reſolved to puſh the matter farther.

The Ducheſs of *Orleans* came to *Dover*.

The King's ſiſter, the Ducheſs of *Orleans*, was thought the wittieſt woman in *France*. The King of *France* had made love to her, with which ſhe was highly incenſed, when ſhe ſaw it was only a pretence to cover his addreſſes to *Mademoiſelle La Valiere*, one of her maids of honour, whom he afterwards declared openly to be his Miſtreſs: Yet ſhe had reconciled her ſelf to the King; and was now ſo entirely truſted by him, that he ordered her to propoſe an interview with her brother at *Dover*. The King went thither, and was ſo much charmed with his ſiſter, that every thing ſhe propoſed, and every favour ſhe asked, was granted. The King could deny her nothing. She propoſed an alliance in order to the conqueſt of *Holland*. The King had a mind to have begun at home. But ſhe diverted him from that. It could not be foreſeen, what difficulties the King might meet with upon the firſt opening the deſign: As it would alarm all his people, ſo it would ſend a great deal of wealth, and trade, and perhaps much people over to *Holland*: And by ſuch an acceſſion they would grow ſtronger, as he would grow weaker. So ſhe propoſed, that they ſhould begin with *Holland*, and attack it vigorouſly, both by ſea and land: And upon their ſucceſs in that, all the reſt would be an eaſy work. This account of that negotiation was printed twelve years after, at *Paris*, by one Abbot *Primi*. I had that part of the book in my hands, in which this was contained. Lord *Preſton* was then the King's Envoy at *Paris*: So he, knowing how great a prejudice the publiſhing this would be to his maſter's affairs, complained of it. The book was upon that ſuppreſſed; and the writer was put in the *Baſtille*. But he had drawn it out of the papers of Mr. *Le Tellier*'s office: So there is little reaſon to doubt of the truth of the thing. *Madame*, as this book ſays, prevailed to have her ſcheme ſettled, and ſo went back to *France*. The journey proved fatal to her: For the Duke of *Orleans* had heard ſuch things of her behaviour, that it was ſaid he ordered a great doſe of ſublimate to be given her in a glaſs of ſuccory-water, of which ſhe died a few hours after in great torments: And when ſhe was opened, her ſtomach was all ulcerated.

Soon after was poyſoned.

Some of her intrigues.

Since I mention her death, I will ſet down one ſtory of her, that was told me by a perſon of diſtinction, who had it from ſome who were well informed of the matter. The King of *France* had courted Madame *Soiſſons*, and made a ſhew of courting *Madame*. But his affections fixing on *Mademoiſelle La Valiere*, ſhe whom he had forſaken, as well as ſhe whom he had deceived, reſolved to be revenged. And they entred into a friendſhip in order to that. They had each of them a Gallant: *Madame* had the Count *de Guiche*, and the other had the Marquiſs *Des Vardes*, then in great favour with the King, and a very graceful perſon. When the treaty of the King of *France*'s marriage was ſet on foot, there was an opinion generally received, that the Infanta of *Spain* was a woman of great genius, and would have a conſiderable ſtroke in all affairs. So, many young men of Quality ſet themſelves to learn the *Spaniſh* language, to give them the more credit with the young Queen. All that fell to the ground, when it appeared how weak a woman ſhe was. Theſe two were of that number. Count *De Guiche* watched an occaſion, when a letter from the

King

King of *Spain* was given to his daughter by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, and ſhe tore the envelope, and let it fall. He gathered up all the parcels of it, together with the ſeal. From theſe they learnt to imitate the King of *Spain*'s writing. And they ſent to *Holland* to get a ſeal engraven from the impreſſion of the wax. When all was prepared, a letter was writ, as in the name of the King of *Spain*, reproaching his daughter for her tameneſs in ſuffering ſuch an affront as the King put on her by his amours, with reflexions full both of contempt and anger upon the King. There was one *Spaniſh* Lady left about the Queen: So they forged another letter, as from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour to her, with that to the Queen incloſed in it, deſiring her to deliver it ſecretly into the Queen's own hand. And they made a livery, ſuch as the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour's pages wore: And a boy was ſent in it with the letter. The Lady ſuſpected no forgery; but fancied, the letter might be about ſome matter of State. She thought it ſafeſt to carry it to the King, who reading it ordered an enquiry to be made about it. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour ſaw he was abuſed in it. The King ſpoke to the Marquis *Des Vardes*, not ſuſpecting that he was in it, and charged him to ſearch after the author of this abuſe that was intended to be put on him. The two Ladies now rejoyced, that the looking after the diſcovery was put in the hands of a man ſo much concerned in it. He amuſed the King with the enquiries that he was making, tho' he was ever in a wrong ſcent. But in all this time *Madame* was ſo pleaſed with his conduct, that ſhe came to like his perſon; and had ſo little command of her ſelf, that ſhe told Madame *Soiſſons*, ſhe was her rival. The other readily complied with her. And, by an odd piece of extravagance, he was ſent for: And Madame *Soiſſons* told him, ſince he was in *Madame*'s favour, ſhe releaſed him from all obligations, and delivered him over to her. The Marquis *Des Vardes* thought, this was only an artifice of gallantry, to try how faithful he was to his amours: So he declared himſelf incapable of changing, in terms full of reſpect for *Madame*, and of paſſion for the other. This raiſed in *Madame* ſo deep a reſentment, that ſhe reſolved to ſacrifice *Des Vardes*, but to ſave the Count *De Guiche*. So ſhe gave him notice, that the King had diſcovered the whole intrigue; and charged him to haſten out of *France*. And, as ſoon as ſhe believed that he was in *Flanders*, ſhe told all to the King of *France*. Upon which *Des Vardes* was not only diſgraced, but kept long a priſoner in *Aigues Mortes*. And afterwards he was ſuffered to come to *Monpelier*. And it was almoſt twenty years after, before he was ſuffered to come to Court. I was at Court when he came firſt to it. He was much broke in his health, but was become a philoſopher, and was in great reputation among all *Des Chartes*'s followers. *Madame* had an Intrigue with another perſon, whom I knew well, the Count of *Treville*. When ſhe was in her agony, ſhe ſaid, *adieu Treville*. He was ſo ſtruck with this accident, that it had a good effect on him; for he went and lived many years among the Fathers of the Oratory, and became both a very learned, and devout man. He came afterwards out into the world. I ſaw him often. He was a man of a very ſweet temper, only a little too formal for a *French* man. But he was very ſincere. He was a Janſeniſt. He hated the Jeſuits. And had a very mean opinion of the King, which appeared in all the inſtances, in which it was ſafe for him to ſhew it.

1671.

Some of the intrigues.

Upon *Madame*'s death, as the Marſhal *Bellefonds* came from *France* with the complement to the Court of *England*, ſo the Duke of *Buckingham* was ſent thither on pretence to return the complement, but really to finiſh the treaty. The King of *France* uſed him in ſo particular a manner, knowing his vanity, and careſſed him to ſuch a degree, that he went in without reſerve into the intereſts of *France*. Yet he proteſted to me, that he never conſented to the *French* fleet's coming into our ſeas and harbours. He ſaid, he was offered 40000 *l.* if he could perſuade the King to yield to it: And he appealed to the Earl of *Dorſet* for this, who was on the ſecret. He therefore concluded, ſince, after all the uneaſineſs ſhewed at firſt, the King had yielded to it, that Lord *Arlington* had the money. Lord *Shaftsbury* laid the blame of this chiefly on the Duke of *Buckingham*: For he told me, that he himſelf had writ a peremptory inſtruction to him from the King, to give up all treaty, if the *French* did inſiſt on the ſending a fleet to our aſſiſtance. And therefore he blamed him, as having yielded it up, ſince he ought to have broke off all farther treaty, upon their inſiſting on this. But the Duke of *York* told me, there was no money given to corrupt the King's Miniſters; that the King and he had long inſiſted on having all their ſupplies from *France* in money, without a fleet; and that the *French* ſhewed them it was not poſſible for them to find out funds for ſo great an expence, unleſs we took a ſqua-

The treaty with *France* negotiated.

1671. dron of their ships; since they could not both maintain their own fleet, and furnish us with the money that would be necessary, if we took not their squadron. It was agreed, that the King should have 3,000,000 *l.* a year during the war, together with a fleet from *France*. *England* was to attack the *Dutch* by sea, while the King of *France* should invade them by land with a mighty Army. It was not doubted, but that the States would find it impossible to resist so great a force, and would therefore submit to the two Kings: So the division they agreed on was, that *England* should have *Zealand*, and that the King of *France* should have all the rest, except *Holland*, which was to be given to the Prince of *Orange*, if he would come into the alliance: And it should be still a trading country, but without any capital ships. Lord *Lauderdale* said upon that occasion to me, that whatsoever they intended to do, they were resolved to do it effectually all at once: But he would not go into further particulars. That the year 1672 might be fatal to other Common-wealths, as well as to the States, the Duke of *Savoy* was encouraged to make a conquest of *Genoa*; tho' he afterwards failed in the attempt: And the King of *Denmark* was invited into the alliance, with the offer of the town of *Hamburgh*, on which he had long set his heart. The Duke of *Richmond* was sent to give a lustre to that negotiation, which was chiefly managed by Mr. *Henshaw*; who told me, that we offered that King some ships to assist him in seizing that rich town. But he was then in those engagements with the States of *Holland*, that even this offer did not prevail on him.

Lockhart sent to *France*.

Lockhart was at this time brought to Court by Lord *Lauderdale*, hoping that he would continue in an entire dependence on him, and be his creature. He was under so great a jealousy from the Government for his former actings, that he was too easy to enter into any employment, that might bring him into favour, not so much out of any ambition to rise, as from a desire to be safe, and to be no longer looked on as an enemy to the Court: For when a foreign Minister asked the King's leave to treat with him in his master's name, the King consented; but with this severe reflexion, that he believed he would be true to any body but himself. He was sent to the Courts of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh*, either to draw them into the alliance, or, if that could not be done, at least to secure them from all apprehensions. But in this he had no success. And indeed when he saw into what a negotiation he was engaged, he became very uneasy: For, tho' the blackest part of the secret was not trusted to him, as appeared to me by his instructions, which I read after his death, yet he saw whither things were going. And that affected him so deeply, that it was believed to have contributed not a little to the languishing he soon fell under, which ended in his death two years after.

Pretended reasons for the *Dutch* war.

The war being thus resolved on, some pretences were in the next place to be sought out to excuse it: For, tho' the King of *France* went more roundly to work, and published that he was so ill satisfied with the conduct of the States, that it did not consist with his glory to bear it any longer, yet we thought it decent for us to name some particulars. It was said, we had some pretensions on *Surinam*, not yet compleatly satisfied; and that the States harboured traitors, that fled from justice, and lived in *Holland*: Some medals were complained of, that seemed dishonourable to the King; as also some pictures: And, tho' these were not made by publick order, yet a great noise was raised about them. But an accident happened, that the Court laid great hold of. The *Dutch* fleet lay off the coast of *England* the former year: And one of the King's Yatchs sailed by, and expected they should strike sail. They said, they never refused it to any man of war: But they thought that honour did not belong to such an inconsiderable vessel. I was then at Court: And I saw joy in the looks of those that were in the secret. *Selden* had in his *Mare clausum* raised this matter so high, that he made it one of the chief rights and honours of the Crown of *England*, as the acknowledgment of the King's Empire in the four seas. The *Dutch* offered all satisfaction for the future in this matter: But they would not send their Admiral over as a criminal. While *France* was treating with *England*, they continued to amuse the *Dutch*: And they so possessed *De Groot*, then the *Dutch* Ambassadour at *Paris*, or they corrupted him into a belief that they had no design on them, that they were too secure, and depended too much on his advertisements. Yet the States entred into a negotiation, both with *Spain* and the Emperour, and with the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the Duke of *Lunenburgh*. The King of *Sweden* was yet under age: And the Ministry there desired a neutrality. *France* and *England* sent two Ambassadours to them, both men of great probity,

Pompone

Paulyne and *Coventry*, who were both recalled at the ſame time to be Secretaries of State. *Coventry* was a man of wit and heat, of ſpirit and candor. He never gave bad advices. But when the King followed the ill advices that others gave, he thought himſelf bound to excuſe, if not to juſtify them. For this the Duke of *York* commended him much to me. He ſaid, in that he was a pattern to all good ſubjects, ſince he defended all the King's counſels in publick, even when he had blamed them moſt in private with the King himſelf. 1671.

Our Court having reſolved on a war, did now look out for money to carry it on. The King had been running into a great debt ever ſince his Reſtoration. One branch of it was for the pay of that fleet that brought him over. The main of it had been contracted during the former *Dutch* war. The King in order to the keeping his credit had dealt with ſome Bankers, and had aſſigned over the revenue to them. They drove a great trade, and had made great advantage by it. The King paid them at the rate of 8 *per cent*. And they paid thoſe who put money in their hands only 6 *per cent*. And had great credit; for payments were made very punctually. The King had in ſome proclamations given his faith, that he would continue to make good all his aſſignments, till the whole debt ſhould be paid, which was now growing up to almoſt a million and a half. So one of the ways propoſed for ſupplying the King with money was, that he ſhould ſtop theſe payments for a year, it being thought certain that by the end of the year the King would be out of all his neceſſities, by the hopes they had of ſucceſs in the war. The Earl of *Shafts bury* was the chief man in this advice. He excuſed it to me, telling me what advantage the Bankers had made, and how juſt it was for the King to bring them to an account for their uſury and extortions: And added, that he never meant the ſtop ſhould run beyond the year. He certainly knew of it before hand; and took all his own money out of the Bankers hands, and warned ſome of his friends to do the like. Lord *Lauderdale* did about this time marry Lady *Dyſert* upon his own Lady's death: And ſhe writ me a long account of the ſhutting up the Exchequer, as both juſt and neceſſary. The Bankers were broke; and great multitudes, who had truſted their money in their hands, were ruined by this diſhonourable and perfidious action. But this gave the King only his own revenue again. So other ways were to be found for an encreaſe of treaſure. 1672. The ſhutting up of the Exchequer.

By the peace of *Breda* it was provided, that, in order to the ſecurity of trade, no merchant's ſhips ſhould be for the future fallen on, till ſix months after a declaration of war. The *Dutch* had a rich fleet coming from *Smyrna*, and other parts in the *Mediterranean*, under the convoy of a few men of war. Our Court had advice of this. And *Holmes* was ordered to lye for them, and to take them near the Iſle of *Wight* with eight men of war. As he was ſailing thither he met *Sprague*, who was returning from the *Straits* with a ſquadron of our ſhips; and told him, that he had failed along with the *Dutch* moſt of the way, and that they would paſs within a day or two. *Holmes* thought, he was much too ſtrong for them; ſo did not acquaint *Sprague* with his deſign: For, if he had ſtopp'd him to aſſiſt in the execution, probably the whole fleet had been taken, which was reckoned worth a million and a half. When they came up, *Holmes* fell upon them: But their convoy did their part ſo well, that not only the whole fleet ſailed away, while they kept him in play, but they themſelves got off at laſt favoured by a miſt: And there were only a few ſhips taken, of ſo ſmall a value, that they were not worth the powder that was ſpent in the action. This was a breach of faith, ſuch as even Mahometans and Pyrates would have been aſhamed of. The unſucceſsfulneſs of it made it appear as ridiculous, as it was baſe. *Holmes* was preſſed to put it on the *Dutch* refuſing to ſtrike ſail. Yet that was ſo falſe, and there were ſo many witneſſes to it, that he had not the impudence to affirm it. The attempt on the *Dutch Smyrna* fleet.

To crown all, a Declaration was ordered to be ſet out, ſuſpending the execution of all penal laws, both againſt Papiſts and Nonconformiſts. Papiſts were no more to be proſecuted for their way of worſhip in their own houſes, and the Nonconformiſts were allowed to have open Meeting Houſes; for which they were to take out licences, and none were to diſturb thoſe who ſhould meet for worſhip by virtue of thoſe licences. Lord Keeper *Bridgman* had loſt all credit at Court: So they were ſeeking occaſion to be rid of him, who had indeed loſt all the reputation he had formerly acquired, by his being advanc'd to a poſt of which he was not capable. He refuſed to put the ſeal to the Declaration, as judging it contrary to law. So he was diſmiſs'd, A Declaration for Toleration.

and

1672.

and the Earl of *Shaftsbury* was made Lord Chancellour. Lord *Clifford* was made Lord Treasurer: Lord *Arlington* and Lord *Lauderdale* had both of them the Garter: And, as *Arlington* was made an Earl, *Lauderdale* was made a Duke: And this *Junto*, together with the Duke of *Buckingham*, being called the Cabal, it was observed, that Cabal proved a technical word, every letter in it being the first letter of those five, *Clifford*, *Ashly*, *Buckingham*, *Arlington*, and *Lauderdale*. They had all of them great presents from *France*, besides what was openly given them: For the *French* Ambassadour gave them all a picture of the King of *France* set in diamonds, to the value of 3000 *l.* Thus was the Nation, and our religion, as well as the King's faith and honour, set to sale, and sold. Lord *Shaftsbury* resolved to recommend himself to the confidence of the Court by a new strain never before thought of. He said, the writs for choosing the members of the House of Commons might be issued out in the intervals of a session; and the elections made upon them were to be returned into Chancery, and settled there. So the writs were issued out, but whether any elections were made upon them, and returned, I cannot tell. I know, the House of Commons intended to have impeached him for this among other things: But he had the foresight and skill to prevent it. When the Declaration for Toleration was published, great endeavours were used by the Court to persuade the Nonconformists to make addresses and complements upon it. But few were so blind, as not to see what was aimed at by it.

The Presbyterians gave the King thanks for the Toleration.

The Duke was now known to be a Papist: And the Duchess was much suspected. Yet the Presbyterians came in a body: And Dr. *Manton* in their name thanked the King for it, which offended many of their best friends. There was also an order, to pay a yearly pension of fifty pounds to most of them, and of an hundred pounds a year to the chief of the party. *Baxter* sent back his pension, and would not touch it. But most of them took it. All this I say upon Dr. *Stillingfleet*'s word, who assured me, he knew the truth of it. And in particular, he told me, that *Pool*, who wrote the Synopsis of the criticks, confessed to him, that he had had fifty pounds for two years. Thus the Court hired them to be silent: And the greatest part of them were so, and very compliant. But now the pulpits were full of a new strain: Popery was every where preached against, and the authority of the laws was much magnified. The Bishops, the Bishop of *London* in particular, charged the Clergy to preach against Popery, and to inform the people of the controversy between us and the Church of *Rome*. This alarmed the Court, as well as the City, and the whole Nation. *Clifford* began to shew the heat of his temper; and seemed a sort of Enthusiast for Popery. The King complained to *Sheldon* of this preaching on controversy, as done on purpose to inflame the people, and to alienate them from him, and his government. Upon this *Sheldon* called some of the Clergy together to consider what answer he should make the King, if he pressed him any farther on that head. *Tillotson* was one of these: And he suggested this answer, that, since the King himself professed the Protestant religion, it would be a thing without a precedent, that he should forbid his Clergy to preach in defence of a religion which they believed, while he himself said he was of it. But the King never renewed the motion.

The Duchess of *York* died.

While things were in this fermentation, the Duchess of *York* died. It was observed, that for fifteen months before that time she had not received the Sacrament; and that upon all occasions she was excusing the errours that the Church of *Rome* was charged with, and was giving them the best colours they were capable of. An unmarried Clergy was also a common topick with her. *Morley* had been her father confessour: For, he told me, she practised secret confession to him from the time that she was twelve years old: And, when he was sent away from the Court, he put her in the hands of *Blandford*, who died Bishop of *Worcester*. *Morley* also told me, that upon the reports that were brought him of her slackness in receiving the Sacrament, she having been for many years punctual to once a month, he had spoken plainly to her about it, and told her what inferences were made upon it. She pretended ill health, and business; but protested to him, she had no scruples with relation to her religion, and was still of the Church of *England*; and assured him, that no Popish Priest had ever taken the confidence to speak to her of those matters. He took a solemn engagement of her, that, if scruples should arise in her mind, she would let him know them, and hear what he should offer to her upon all of them. And he protested to me, that to her death she never owned to him that she had any scruples, tho' she was for some days entertained by him at *Farnham*, after the date of the pre-

per which was afterwards publiſhed in her name. All this paſs'd between the Biſhop and me, upon the Duke's ſhewing me that paper all writ in her own hand, which was afterwards publiſhed by *Maimburg*. He would not let me take a copy of it; but he gave me leave to read it twice. And I went immediately to *Morley*, and gave him an account of it; from whom I had all the particulars already mentioned. And upon that he concluded, that that unhappy Princeſs had been prevailed on to give falſe-woods under her hand, and to pretend that theſe were the grounds of her converſion. A long decay of health came at laſt to a quicker criſis than had been apprehended. All of the ſudden ſhe fell into the agony of death. *Blanford* was ſent for, to prepare her for it, and to offer her the ſacrament. Before he could come, the Queen came in, and ſat by her. He was modeſt and humble, even to a fault. So he had not preſence of mind enough to begin prayers, which probably would have driven the Queen out of the room. But, that not being done, ſhe pretending kindneſs would not leave her. The Biſhop ſpoke but little and fearfully. He happened to ſay, he hoped ſhe continued ſtill in the truth: Upon which ſhe asked, what is truth: And then, her agony encreaſing, ſhe repeated the word Truth Truth often: And in a few minutes after ſhe died, very little beloved, or lamented. Her haughtineſs had raiſed her many enemies. She was indeed a firm, and a kind friend: But the change of her religion made her friends reckon her death rather a bleſſing than a loſs at that time to them all. Her father, when he heard of her ſhaking in her religion, was more troubled at it, than at all his own misfortunes. He writ her a very grave and long letter upon it, encloſed in one to the Duke. But ſhe was dead before it came into *England*. I have ſet down all that I know concerning the fatal alliance with *France*, and our preparations for the ſecond Dutch War. 1672.

But that I may open the ſcene more diſtinctly, I will give as particular an account as I was able to gather of the affairs of the States of *Holland* at this time. And, becauſe this was the fifth great criſis, under which the whole Proteſtant religion was brought, I will lead my reader thro' a full account of them all; ſince I may probably lay things before him, that he may otherwiſe paſs over, without making due reflexions on them.

The firſt criſis was, when *Charles* V. by the defeating the Duke of *Saxony*, and he getting him and the Landgrave of *Heſſe* into his hands, had ſubdued the *Smaldick* league; in which the ſtrength of the Proteſtant religion did then conſiſt, having been weakened by the ſucceeding deaths of *Henry* VIII. and *Francis* I. Upon that defeat all ſubmitted to the Emperor: Only the Town of *Magdeburgh* ſtood out. The Emperor ſhould either not have truſted *Maurice*, or have uſed him better: And it ſeems, that he reckoned *Maurice* had neither religion nor honour, ſince his ambition had made him betray his religion, and abandon his party. When *Maurice* had got the Electorate, he made himſelf ſure of the Army; and entred into an alliance with *France*, and other Princes of the Empire; and made ſo quick a turn on the Emperor, that he had almoſt ſurpriſed him at *Inchſpruck*, and of a ſudden overturned all that deſign, upon which the Emperor had been labouring for many years. This ended in the Edict of *Paſſau*, which ſettled the peace of *Germany* for that time. The firſt criſis of the Proteſtant religion.

This ſecond criſis was, towards the end of Queen *Mary*'s reign, when the Proteſtant religion ſeemed extinguiſhed in *England*; and the two Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Granvell*, then the chief Miniſters of the two Crowns, deſigned a peace for that very end, that their maſters might be at leiſure to extirpate hereſy, which was then ſpreading in both their dominions. But, after they had formed their ſcheme, Queen *Mary* died, and was ſucceeded by Queen *Elizabeth* in *England*. Soon after that the King of *France* was accidentally killed: So that Kingdom fell under a long continuance of a minority, and a civil war. And the *Netherlands* felt from thence, and from *England*, ſuch encouragement, that they made the longeſt and braveſt reſiſtance that is to be found in all hiſtory; which was in a great meaſure owing to the obſtinate and implacable cruelty of *Philip* II. and his great diſtance from the ſcene of the war; and was paſt all poſſibility of being made up, by reaſon of his perfidious breach of all agreements, and his uſing thoſe that ſerved him well in ſo baſe a manner, as he did both the Duke of *Alva*, and the Prince of *Parma*. The ſecond criſis.

The third criſis laſted from 1585 to the year 1589. Then began the League of *France*. The Prince of *Parma* was victorious in the *Netherlands*. The Prince of *Orange* was murdered. The States fell under great diſtractions. And *Spain* entred into a deſign of dethroning the Queen of *England*, and putting the Queen of *Scots* in her The third criſis.

1672. ſtead. In order to that they were for ſome years preparing the greateſt fleet that the world had ever ſeen, which came to be called the Invincible Armada. All *Europe* was amazed at theſe great preparations: And many conjectures were made concerning the deſign of ſuch a vaſt fleet. Some thought of *Conſtantinople*. Others talked of *Ægypt*, in conjunction with the Emperor of the *Abiſſens*. But that which was moſt probable was, that King *Philip* intended to make a great effort, and put an end to the war of the *Netherlands* in one campaign. At laſt the true intent of it was found out. *Walſingham*'s chief ſpies were Prieſts: As he uſed always to ſay, an active, but vicious, Prieſt was the beſt ſpy in the world. By one of theſe he had advice, that the King of *Spain* had fixed on a reſolution with relation to his fleet, but that it was not yet communicated to any of his Miniſters in foreign Courts. The King himſelf had indeed writ a letter about it to the Pope: But it was not entred in any office: So this was all that the intelligence from *Madrid* could diſcover. Upon this one was ſent to *Venice*, from whence the correſpondence with *Rome* was held. And at *Rome* it was found out, that one of the Pope's chief confidents had a Miſtreſs, to whom twenty thouſand crowns were given for a ſight and copy of that letter. The copy of it was ſent over ſoon after *Chriſtmaſs*, in the winter 1586. By it the King of *Spain* had acquainted the Pope, that the deſign of his fleet was to land in *England*, to deſtroy Queen *Elizabeth*, and hereſy, and to ſet the Queen of *Scots* on the throne: In this he had the concurrence of the Houſe of *Guiſe*: And he alſo depended on the King of *Scotland*. This proved fatal to the Queen of *Scots*. It is true, King *James* ſent one *Steward*, the anceſtor of the Lord *Blantyre*, who was then of his bedchamber, with an earneſt and threatening meſſage to Queen *Elizabeth* for ſaving his mother. But in one of the intercepted letters of the *French* Ambaſſadours then in *Scotland*, found among *Walſingham*'s papers, it appears, that the King, young as he was then, was either very double, or very inconſtant in his reſolutions. The *French* Ambaſſadour aſſured him, that *Steward* had adviſed the Queen to put a ſpeedy end to that buſineſs, which way ſhe pleaſed; and that as for his maſter's anger he would ſoon be pacified, if ſhe would but ſend him dogs and deer. The King was ſo offended at this, that he ſaid, he would hang him up in his boots, as ſoon as he came back. Yet when he came back, it was ſo far from that, that he lay all that night in the bedchamber. As for the pompous Embaſſy that was ſent from *France* to proteſt againſt it, *Maurier* has told a very probable ſtory, of *Henry* III. writing a letter with them to the Queen, adviſing her to proceed with all haſte to do that which the Embaſſy was ſent to prevent. He ſaw, the Houſe of *Guiſe* built a great part of their hopes on the proſpect of their couſin's coming to the Crown of *England*, which would cut off all the hopes the Houſe of *Bourbon* had of aſſiſtance from thence. I have ſeen an original letter of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s to the Earl of *Bedford*, who had married his ſiſter, and was then Governour of *Berwick*, telling him, that, how high ſoever the *French* Ambaſſadours had talked in their harangues upon that occaſion, calling any proceeding againſt the Queen of *Scots* an open indignity, as well as an act of hoſtility againſt *France*, ſince ſhe was Queen *Dowager* of *France*, yet all this was only matter of form and decency, that was extorted from the King of *France*, and, how high ſoever they might talk, they were well aſſured he would do nothing upon it. So that unfortunate Queen fell at that time, by reaſon of the *Spaniſh* preparations to conquer *England*, under the pretence of ſetting her on the throne. She died, much more decently than ſhe had lived, in *Febr.* 1587.

The *Spaniſh* fleet came not as at firſt intended.

But the Court of *England* ſaw, that if King *Philip*'s fleet was in a condition to conquer *England*, he would not abandon the deſign for her being put out of the way; and that he certainly intended to conquer it for himſelf, and not for another. So orders were given to make all poſſible haſte with a fleet. Yet they were ſo little provided for ſuch an invaſion, that, tho' they had then twenty good ſhips upon the ſtocks, it was not poſſible to get them in a condition to ſerve that ſummer: And the deſign of *Spain* was to ſail over in 1587. So, unleſs by corruption, or any other method, the attempt could be put off for that year, there was no ſtrength ready to reſiſt ſo powerful a fleet. But when it ſeemed not poſſible to divert the preſent execution of ſo great a deſign, a merchant of *London* to their ſurpriſe undertook it. He was well acquainted with the ſtate of the revenue of *Spain*, with all their charge, and all that they could raiſe. He knew all their funds were ſo ſwallowed up, that it was impoſſible for them to victual, and ſet out their fleet, but by their credit in the bank of *Genoa*. So he undertook to write to all the places of trade, and to get ſuch remittances

mittances made on that bank, that he ſhould by that means have it ſo entirely in his hands, that there ſhould be no money current there, equal to the great occaſion of victualling the fleet of *Spain*. He reckoned, the keeping ſuch a treaſure dead in his hands till the ſeaſon of victualling was over, would be a loſs of 400000*l*. And at that rate he would ſave *England*. He managed the matter with ſuch ſecrecy, and ſucceſs, that the fleet could not be ſet out that year. At ſo ſmall a price, and with ſo skilful a management, was the Nation ſaved at that time. This it ſeems was thought too great a myſtery of State to be communicated to *Camden*, or to be publiſhed by him, when the inſtructions were put in his hands for writing the hiſtory of that glorious reign. But the famous *Boyle*, Earl of *Cork*, who had then a great ſhare in the affairs of *Ireland*, came to know it; and told it to two of his children, from whom I had it. The ſtory is ſo coherent, and agrees ſo well with the ſtate of affairs at that time, that it ſeems highly credible. And, if it is true, it is certainly one of the curioueſt paſſages in our whole *Engliſh* hiſtory. I return from this digreſſion, which I hope will be no unacceptable entertainment to the reader: It is well known, how the deſign of the Armada miſcarried: And ſoon after that the Duke of *Guiſe* was ſtabbed: Not long after *Henry* III. was alſo ſtabbed: And *Henry* IV. ſucceeded, who broke the League, with which the great deſigns of *Spain* fell to the ground. So happily did this third criſis paſs over. 1672.

The fourth criſis was from the battel of *Prague* to the year 1630, in which, as was told in the firſt book, not only the Elector *Palatine* fell, but almoſt all the Empire came under the *Auſtrian* yoke. All attempts to ſhake it off proved unſucceſsful, and fatal to thoſe who undertook it, till the young and great King of *Sweden*, *Guſtavus Adolphus*, engaged in it. The wars of *Rochelle*, together with the loſs of that important place, ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of *France*. *England* fell under thoſe unhappy jealouſies, which began a diſjointing between the King and his People. And the States were much preſſed by the *Spaniards* under *Spinola*. *Breda* was taken. But the worſt of all was, a quarrel that was raiſed between Prince *Maurice* and *Barnevelt*, that will require a fuller diſcuſſion, than was offered in the former book. All agree, that *William*, Prince of *Orange*, was one of the greateſt men in ſtory, who, after many attempts for the recovery of the liberty of the Provinces, was in concluſion ſucceſsful, and formed that Republick. In the doing of it he was guilty of one great error, unleſs he was forced to it by the neceſſity of his affairs; which was the ſettling a negative in every one of the Towns of *Holland*, in the matters of religion, of taxes, and of peace and war. It had been much ſafer, if it had been determined, that the two thirds muſt concur; by which the Government would have been much ſtronger. Some thought, that he brought in ſo many little Towns to balance the greater, of whom he could not be ſure; whereas he could more eaſily manage theſe ſmaller ones. Others have ſaid, that he was forced to it, to draw them to a more hearty concurrence in the war, ſince they were to have ſuch a ſhare in the Government for the future. But, as he ſettled it, the corruption of any one ſmall Town may put all the affairs of *Holland* in great diſorder. He was alſo blamed, becauſe he laboured to raiſe the power of the Stadtholder ſo high, that in many regards it was greater than the power of the Counts of *Holland* had been. But this was balanced by its being made elective, and by the ſmall appointments he took to himſelf. It ſeems, he deſigned to have ſettled that honour in his family: For after his death there were reverſal letters found among his papers from the Duke of *Anjou*, when the Provinces invited him to be their Prince, by which the Duke engaged himſelf to leave *Holland* and *Zealand* in the Prince's hands. Before he died, he had in a great meaſure loſt the affections of the Clergy; becauſe he was very earneſt for the toleration of Papiſts, judging that neceſſary for the engaging men of all perſuaſions in the common concerns of liberty, and for encouraging the other Provinces to come into the union. This was much oppoſed by the preachers in *Holland*, who were for more violent methods. Thoſe, who but a few years before had complained of the cruelty of the Church of *Rome*, were no ſooner delivered from that, than they began to call for the ſame ways of proſecuting thoſe who were of the other ſide. This made that great Prince loſe ground with the zealots of his own ſide before he died. With him all their affairs ſunk ſo faſt, that they ſaw the neceſſity of ſeeking protection elſewhere. Their Miniſters did of themſelves, without the concurrence of the States, ſend to Queen *Elizabeth*, to deſire her to take them under her protection, on ſuch terms as ſhe ſhould preſcribe. And, tho' the States were highly

The fourth criſis.

1672. highly offended at this, yet they durſt not at that time complain of it, much leſs puniſh it; but were forced by the clamour of their people to follow an example that was ſo irregularly ſet them. This I had from *Halewyn* of *Dort*, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to write afterwards. When the Queen ſent over the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with a new title, and an authority greater than was either in the Counts of *Holland*, or in the Stadtholder, by the name of Supreme Governour: He as ſoon as he landed at *Fluſhing* went firſt to Church, where he ordered prayers to be offered up for a bleſſing on his counſels, and deſired that he might receive the Sacrament next day: And there he made ſolemn proteſtations of his integrity and zeal. This pleaſed the people ſo much, that *Barnevelt*, and the States at the *Hague*, thought it neceſſary to ſecure themſelves from the effects of ſuch a threatning popularity: So they ſent for the Count, afterwards Prince, *Maurice*, who was then at *Leyden*, not yet eighteen, and choſe him Stadtholder of *Holland* and *Zealand*. There had been no proviſion made againſt that in their treaty with the Earl of *Leiceſter*. Yet he was highly offended at it. I will go no farther into the errors of his government, and the end that the Queen put to it; which ſhe did, as ſoon as it appeared that he was incapable of it, and was beginning to betray, and to ſell their beſt places.

Differences between Prince *Maurice* of *Orange* and *Barnevelt*.

Prince *Maurice* and *Barnevelt* continued long in a perfect conjunction of counſels: Till upon the negotiation for a peace, or at leaſt for a truce, they differed ſo much, that their friendſhip ended in a moſt violent hatred, and a jealouſy that could never be made up. Prince *Maurice* was for carrying on the war, which ſet him at the head of a great army. And he had ſo great an intereſt in the conqueſts they made, that for that very reaſon *Barnevelt* infuſed it into the States, that they were now ſafe, and needed not fear the *Spaniards* any more; ſo there was no reaſon for continuing the war. Prince *Maurice* on the other hand ſaid, their perſecuted brethren in the Popiſh Provinces wanted their help to ſet them at liberty. The work ſeemed very eaſy, and the proſpect of ſucceſs was great. In oppoſition to this it was ſaid; ſince the ſeven Provinces were now ſafe, why ſhould they extend their territories? Thoſe who loved their religion and liberty in the other Provinces might come and live among them: This would encreaſe both their numbers, and their wealth: Whereas the conqueſt of *Antwerp* might prove fatal to them: Beſides, that both *France* and *England* interpoſed: They would not allow them to conquer more, nor become more formidable. All the zealous preachers were for continuing the war: And thoſe that were for peace were branded as men of no religion, who had only carnal and political views. While this was in debate every where, the diſputes began between *Arminius* and *Gomarus*, two famous Profeſſors at *Leyden*, concerning the decrees of God, and the efficacy of grace; in which thoſe two great men, *Maurice* and *Barnevelt*, went upon intereſt, to lead the two parties, from which they both differed in opinion. Prince *Maurice* in private always talked on the ſide of the *Arminians*: And *Barnevelt* believed predeſtination firmly. But, as he left reprobation out in his ſcheme, ſo he was againſt the unreaſonable ſeverity with which the Miniſters drove thoſe points. He found the *Arminians* were the better patriots: And he thought the other ſide out of their zeal were engaged for carrying on the war, ſo as that they called all the others indifferent as to all religions, and charged them as favourers of *Spain* and Popery. I will go no farther into the differences that followed, concerning the authority of the States General over the ſeveral Provinces. It is certain, that every Province is a ſeparated State, and has an entire ſovereignty within it ſelf; and that the States General are an aſſembly of the deputies of the ſeveral Provinces, but without any authority over them. Yet it was pretended, that extraordinary diſeaſes required extraordinary remedies: And Prince *Maurice*, by the aſſiſtance of a party that the Miniſters made for him among the people, engaged the States to aſſume an authority over the Province of *Holland*, and to put the Government in new hands. A Court was erected by the ſame authority, to judge thoſe who had been formerly in the magiſtracy. *Barnevelt* was accuſed, together with *Grotius*, and ſome others, as fomenters of ſedition, and for raiſing diſtractions in the country. He was condemned, and beheaded. Others were condemned to perpetual impriſonment. And every one of the Judges had a great gold medal given them, in the reverſe of which the Synod of *Dort* was repreſented, which was called by the ſame authority. I ſaw one of thoſe medals in the poſſeſſion of the poſterity of one of thoſe Judges. King *James* aſſiſted Prince *Maurice* in all this: So powerfully do the intereſts of Princes carry them to concur in things that are moſt contrary to their own inclinations. The prevailing paſſion

passion of that King was his hatred of the *Puritans*: That made him hate those opinions into which they went with great heat: And, tho' he encouraged all that were of the *Arminian* party in his own dominions, yet he helped to crush them in *Holland*: He hated *Barnevelt* upon another score; for his getting the cautionary Towns out of his hands: And, according to the nature of impotent passions, this carried him to procure his ruine. After this victory that Prince *Maurice* had got over the party that opposed him, he did not study to carry it much farther. He found quickly how much he had lost the hearts of the people, who had before that time made him their idol, and now look'd at him with horrour. He studied to make up matters the best he could, that he might engage the States in the *Bohemian* war. But all that was soon at an end. It was plain, that he had no design upon their liberty: Tho' he could not bear the opposition that he began to meet with from a free State.

1672.

His death put an end to all jealousies: And his brother Prince *Henry Frederick* quickly settled the disputes of *Arminianism*, by the toleration that was granted them. He was known to be a secret favourer of their tenets: He conducted the Armies of the States with so much success, and left them so much at liberty as to all their state affairs, that all the jealousies which his brother's conduct had raised, were quite extinguished by him. The States made him great presents. He became very rich. And his son had the survivance of the Stadtholdership. But his son had more of his uncle's fire in him, than of his father's temper. He opposed the peace of *Munster* all he could. The States came then to see, that they had continued too long in their alliance with *France* against *Spain*, since *France* had got the ascendent by too visible a superiority. So that their interest led them now to support *Spain* against *France*. Prince *William* fell to be in ill terms with his mother. And she, who had great credit with the States, set up such an open opposition to her son, that the peace of *Munster* was in a great measure the effect of their private quarrel. Prince *William*, being married into the Royal family of *England*, did all he could to embroil the States with the new Common-wealth. But he met with such opposition, that, he, finding the States were resolved to dismis a great part of their Army, suffered himself to be carried to violent counsels. I need not enlarge on things that are so well known, as his sending some of the States prisoners to *Loveftein*, and his design to change the government of *Amsterdam*; which was discovered by the post-boy, who gave the alarm a few hours before the Prince could get thither.

Prince *Henry Frederick's* wise government.

His son's heat.

These things, and the effects that followed on them, are well known: As is also his death which followed a few weeks after, in the most unhappy time possible for the Princess Royal's big-belly. For as she bore her son a week after his death, in the eighth month of her time, so he came into the world under great disadvantages. The States were possessed with great jealousies of the family; as if the aspiring to subdue the liberties of their country was inherent in it, and inseparable from it. His private affairs were also in a very bad condition: Two great jointures went out of his estate, to his mother, and grand-mother, besides a vast debt that his father had contracted to assist the King. Who could have thought that an infant, brought into the world with so much ill health, and under so many ill circumstances, was born for the preservation of *Europe*, and of the Protestant religion? So unlike do the events of things prove to their first appearances. And, since I am writing of his birth, I will set down a story much to the honour of astrology, how little regard soever I my self have to it. I had it from the late Queen's own mouth: And she directed me to some who were of the Prince's Court in that time, who confirmed it to me. An unknown person put a paper in the old Princess's hands, which she took from him, thinking it was a petition. When she looked into it, she found it was her son's nativity, together with the fortunes of his life, and a full deduction of many accidents, which followed very punctually, as they were predicted. But that which was most particular was, that he was to have a son by a widow, and was to die of the small pox in the twenty fifth year of his age. So those who were apt to give credit to predictions of that sort fancied, that the Princess Royal was to die; and that he was upon that to marry the widow of some other person. It was a common piece of raillery in the Court, upon the death of any Prince, to ask what a person his widow was. But when he was taken ill of the small pox, then the decyphering the matter was obvious, and it struck his fancy so much, that probably it had an ill effect upon him. Thus was the young Prince born; who was some years after barred by the Perpetual Edict, from all hopes of arriving at the Stadtholdership.

1672.

The errours of *De Wit*'s government.

The chief errour in *De Wit*'s administration was, that he did not again raise the authority of the Council of State; since it was very inconvenient to have both the legislature and the execution in the same hands. It seemed necessary to put the conduct of affairs in a body of men, that should indeed be accountable to the States, but should be bred to business. By this means their counsels might be both quick and secret; whereas, when all is to be determined by the States, they can have no secrets; And they must adjourn often to consult their principals: So their proceedings must be slow. During *De Wit*'s Ministry, the Council of State was so sunk, that it was considered only as one of the forms of the government. But the whole execution was brought to the States themselves. Certainly a great assembly is a very improper subject of the executive part of power. It is indeed very proper, that such a body should be a check on those, who have the executive power trusted to them. It is true, *De Wit* found it so; which was occasioned by reason of the *English* Ambassadour's being once admitted to sit in that Council. They pretended, indeed, that it was only on the account of the cautionary towns; which moved the States to give *England* a right to some share in their counsels. After these were restored, they did not think it decent to dispute the right of the Ambassadour's sitting any more there. But the easier way was, the making that Council to signify nothing, and to bring all matters immediately to the States. It had been happy for *De Wit* himself, and his country, if he had made use of the credit he had in the great turn upon Prince *William*'s death, to have brought things back to the State in which they had been anciently; since the established errours of a constitution and government can only be changed in a great revolution. He set up on a popular bottom: And so he was not only contented to suffer matters to go on in the channel in which he found them; but in many things he gave way to the raising the separated jurisdiction of the towns, and to the lessening the authority of the Courts at the *Hague*. This raised his credit, but weakened the union of the Provinces. The secret of all affairs, chiefly the foreign negotiations, lay in few hands. Others, who were not taken into the confidence, threw all miscarriages on him; which was fatal to him. The reputation he had got in the war with *England*, and the happy conclusion of it, broke a party that was then formed against him. After that he dictated to the States: And all submitted to him. The concluding the Triple Alliance in so short a time, and against the forms of their government, shewed, how sure he was of a general concurrence with every thing that he proposed. In the negotiations between the States, and *France*, and *England*, he fell into great errours. He still fancied that the King of *England* must see his own interest so visibly in the exaltation of the Prince of *Orange*, that he reckoned that the worst that could happen was, to raise him to the trust of Stadtholder; since *England* could not gain so much by a conjunction with *France*, as by the King's having such an interest in their government, as he must certainly come to have, when his nephew should be their Stadtholder. So he thought, he had a sure reserve to gain *England* at any time over to them. But he had no apprehension of the King's being a Papist, and his design to make himself absolute at home. And he was amazed to find, that, tho' the Court of *England* had talked much of that matter of the Prince of *Orange* when the States were in no disposition to hearken to it, and so used it as a reproach or a ground of a quarrel, yet when it came more in view, they took no sort of notice of it, and seemed not only cold, but even displeased with it. The Prince, as his natural reservedness saved him from committing many errours, so his gravity, and other vertues recommended him much to the Ministers, and to the body of the people. The family of *De Wit*, and the town of *Amsterdam*, carried still the remembrance of what was pass'd fresh in their thoughts. They set it also up for a maxim, that the making of a Stadtholder was the giving up their liberty, and that the consequence of it would be the putting the sovereignty of their country in him, or at least in his family. The long continuance of a Ministry in one person, and that to so high a degree, must naturally raise envy, and beget discontent, especially in a popular government. This made many become *De Wit*'s enemies, and by consequence the Prince's friends. And the Preachers employed all their zeal to raise the respect of the people for a family, under which they had been so long easy and happy.

The Prince of *Orange* made General.

When the Prince was of full age, it was proposed in so many places that he should have the supream command of their armies and fleets, that *De Wit* saw the tide was too strong to be resisted. So, after he had opposed it long, he proposed

ſome limitations, that ſhould be ſettled previous to his advancement. The hardeſt of all was, that he ſhould bind himſelf by oath never to pretend to be Stadtholder, nor ſo much as to accept of it, tho' it ſhould be offered him. Theſe conditions were not of an eaſy digeſtion. Yet, it was thought neceſſary, that the Prince ſhould be once at the head of their armies: That would create a great dependence on him: And if God bleſs'd him with ſucceſs, it would not be poſſible to keep him ſo low, as theſe limitations laid him: And the obligation never to accept of the Stadtholderſhip could only be meant of his not accepting the offer from any tumultuary bodies of the populace, or the army; but could not be a reſtraint on him, if the States ſhould make the offer, ſince his oath was made to them, and by conſequence it was in their power to releaſe the obligation that did ariſe from it to themſelves. The Court of *England* blamed him for ſubmitting to ſuch conditions. But he had no reaſon to rely much on the advices of thoſe, who had taken ſo little care of him during all the credit they had with the States, while the triple Alliance gave them a great intereſt in their affairs. As ſoon as he was brought into the command of the armies, he told me, he ſpoke to *De Wit*, and deſired to live in an entire confidence with him. His anſwer was cold: So he ſaw that he could not depend upon him. When he told me this, he added, that he was certainly one of the greateſt men of the age, and he believed he ſerved his country faithfully. *De Wit* reckoned, that the *French* could not come to *Holland* but by the *Maeſe*. And he had taken great care of the garriſon of *Maſtricht*; but very little of thoſe that lay on the *Rhine* and the *Iſel*, where the States had many places, but none of them good. They were ill fortified, and ill ſupplied. But moſt of them were worſe commanded, by men of no courage, nor practice in military affairs, who conſidered their governments as places, of which they were to make all the advantage that they could. 1672.

Now I come to give an account of the fifth criſis brought on the whole Reformation, which has been of the longeſt continuance, ſince we are yet in the agitations of it. The deſign was firſt laid againſt the States. But the method of invading them was ſurprizing, and not look'd for. The Elector of *Colen* was all his life long a very weak man: Yet it was not thought that he could have been prevailed on to put the *French* in poſſeſſion of his country, and to deliver himſelf with all his dominions over into their hands. When he did that, all upon the *Rhine* were ſtruck with ſuch conſternation, that there was no ſpirit nor courage left. It is true, they could not have made a great reſiſtance. Yet if they had but gained a little time, that had given the States ſome leiſure to look round them, to ſee what was to be done. The fifth criſis.

The King of *France* came down to *Utrecht*, like a land flood. This ſtruck the *Dutch* with ſo juſt a terrour, that nothing but great errours in his management could have kept them from delivering themſelves entirely up to him. Never was more applauſe given with leſs reaſon than the King of *France* had upon this campaign. His ſucceſs was owing rather to *De Wit*'s errours, than to his own conduct. There was ſo little heart or judgment ſhewn in the management of that run of ſucceſs, that, when that year is ſet out, as it may well be, it will appear to be one of the leaſt glorious of his life; tho', when ſeen in a falſe light, it appears one of the moſt glorious in hiſtory. The conqueſt of the *Netherlands* at that time might have been ſo eaſily compaſſed, that, if his underſtanding and his courage had not been equally defective, he could not have miſcarried in it. When his army paſs'd the *Rhine*, upon which ſo much eloquence and poetry have been beſtowed, as if all had been animated by his preſence and direction, he was viewing it at a very ſafe diſtance. When he came to *Utrecht*, he had neither the Prince of *Conde*, nor Mr. *Turenne* to adviſe with: And he was wholly left to his Miniſters. The Prince of *Conde* was ſlightly wounded, as he paſſed the *Rhine*: And *Turenne* was ſent againſt the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who was coming down with his army, partly to ſave his own country of *Cleve*, but chiefly to aſſiſt his allies the *Dutch*. So the King had none about him to adviſe with, but *Pompone* and *Louvoy*, when the *Dutch* ſent to him to know what he demanded. *Pompone*'s advice was wiſe and moderate, and would in concluſion have brought about all that he intended. He propoſed, that the King ſhould reſtore all that belonged to the ſeven Provinces, and require only the places that they had without them; chiefly *Maſtricht*, *Bois Le Duc*, *Breda*, and *Bergen-op-zoom*: Thus the King would maintain an appearance of preſerving the ſeven Provinces entire, which the Crown of *France* had always protected. To this certainly the *Dutch* would have yielded, without any difficulty. By this he had the *Spaniſh Netherlands* entirely in his power, The *French* ſucceſs.

ſeparated

1672. separated from *Holland* and the Empire; and might have taken them whensoever he pleased. This would have an appearance of moderation, and would stop the motion that all *Germany* was now in; which could have no effect, if the States did not pay and subsist the troops. *Louvoy* on the other hand proposed, that the King should make use of the consternation the *Dutch* were then in, and put them out of a condition of opposing him for the future. He therefore advised, that the King should demand of them, besides all that *Pompone* moved, the paying a vast sum for the charge of that campaign; the giving the chief church in every town for the exercise of the Popish religion; and that they should put themselves under the protection of *France*; and should send an Ambassadour every year with a medal acknowledging it; and should enter into no treaties, or alliances, but by the directions of *France*. The *Dutch* Ambassadors were amazed, when they saw that the demands rose to so extravagant a pitch. One of them swooned away, when he heard them read: He could neither think of yielding to them, nor see how they could resist them. There was an article put in for form, that they should give the King of *England* full satisfaction. But all the other demands were made without any concert with *England*, tho' *Lochart* was then following the Court.

But followed by an ill management.

I say nothing of the sea fight in *Solbay*, in which *De Ruyter* had the glory of surprizing the *English* fleet, when they were thinking less of engaging the enemy, than of an extravagant preparation for the usual disorders of the twenty ninth of *May*. Which he prevented, engaging them on the twenty eighth, in one of the most obstinate sea fights that has happened in our age; in which the *French* took more care of themselves than became gallant men, unless they had orders to look on, and leave the *English* and *Dutch* to fight it out, while they preserved the force of *France* entire. *De Ruyter* disabled the ship in which the Duke was, whom some blamed for leaving his ship too soon. Then his personal courage began first to be called in question. The Admiral of the blue squadron was burnt by a fire-ship, after a long engagement with a *Dutch* ship much inferiour to him in strength. In it the Earl of *Sandwich* perished with a great many about him, who would not leave him, as he would not leave his ship, by a piece of obstinate courage, to which he was provoked by an indecent reflexion the Duke made on an advice he had offered, of drawing nearer the shore, and avoiding an engagement, as if in that he took more care of himself than of the King's honour. The Duke of *Buckingham* came aboard the fleet; tho' it was observed, that he made great haste away, when he heard the *Dutch* fleet was in view. The Duke told me, that he said to him, since they might engage the enemy quickly, he intended to make sure of another world: So he desired to know who was the Duke's Priest, that he might reconcile himself to the Church. The Duke told him, *Talbot* would help him to a Priest. And he brought one to him. They were for some time shut up together. And the Priest said, he had reconciled him according to their form. The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had no religion at heart, did this only to recommend himself to the Duke's confidence.

The *Dutch* in great extremities.

It may be easily imagined, that all things were at this time in great disorder at the *Hague*. The *French* possessed themselves of *Naerden*: And a party had entred into *Muyden*, who had the keys of the gates brought to them. But they, seeing it was a inconsiderable place, not knowing the importance of it, by the command of the water that could drown all to *Amsterdam*, flung the keys into the ditch, and went back to *Naerden*. But when the consequence of the place was understood, another party was sent to secure it. But before their return two battalions were sent from the Prince of *Orange*, who secured the place; and by that means preserved *Amsterdam*, where all were trembling, and thought of nothing but of treating and submission. The States were very near the extremities of despair. They had not only lost many places, but all their garrisons in them. *Guelder*, *Overyssel*, and *Utrecht*, were quite lost: And the Bishop of *Munster* was making a formidable impression on *Groningen*, and at last besieged it. All these misfortunes came so thick one after another, that no spirit was left. And, to compleat their ruine, a jealousy was spread thro' all *Holland*, that they were betrayed by those who were in the government; and that *De Wit* intended, that should perish, rather than the family of *Orange* should be set up. *Montbas*, one of their Generals, who married *De Groot*'s sister, had basely abandoned his post, which was to defend the *Rhine* where the *French* passed it: And when he was put in arrest for that, he made his escape, and went to the *French* for sanctuary. Upon this the people complained loudly: And the States were so puzzled, that their hearts quite failed them

them. When they were assembled, they looked on one another like men amazed; sometimes all in tears. Once the *Spanish* Ambassadour came, and demanded audience. And when he was brought in, he told them, that out of the affection that he bore them, and the union of his Master's interest with theirs, he came to blame their conduct: They looked sad: They never appeared in the *Vorhaut* in their coaches: And upon all occasions they looked like men despairing of their country: This quite disheartened their people: Therefore he advised them to put on another countenance, to publish that they had good news, that their allies were in march; and to feed their people with probable stories, and so to keep up their spirits. They thought the advice was seasonable, and followed it. 1672.

They sent two Ambassadours, *Dickvelt* and *Halewyn*, to join with *Borel*, who was still in *England* to try if it was possible to divide *England* from *France*. And the morning in which they were dispatch'd away, they had secret powers given them to treat concerning the Prince of *Orange*'s being their Stadtholder: For Lord *Arlington* had so oft reproached *Borel* for their not doing it, that he in all his letters continued still to press that on them. When they came over, they were for form's sake put under a guard. Yet *Borel* was suffered to come to them; and was transported with joy, when they told him what powers they had in that affair of the Prince. And immediately he went to Lord *Arlington*: But came soon back, like one amazed, when he found that no regard was had to that, which he had hoped would have entirely gained the Court. But he was a plain man, and had no great depth. The others were sent to *Hampton* Court; and were told, that the King would not treat separately, but would send over Ambassadours to treat at *Utrecht*. They met secretly with many in *England*, and informed themselves by them of the state of the Nation. They gave money liberally, and gained some in the chief offices to give them intelligence. The Court understanding that they were not idle, and that the Nation was much inflamed, since all the offers that they made were rejected, commanded them to go back. The Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Arlington* were ordered to go to *Utrecht*. And, to give the Nation some satisfaction, Lord *Hallifax* was sent over afterwards. But he was not put on the secret. The *Dutch*, hearing that their Ambassadours were coming over without making peace with *England*, ran together in great numbers to *Maesland* sluice, and resolved to cut them in pieces at their landing; for they heard they were at the *Brill*. But, as they were crossing the *Maese*, a little boat met them, and told them of their danger, and advised them to land at another place, where coaches were staying to carry them to the *Hague*. So they missed the storm, that broke out fatally at the *Hague* the next day, where mens minds were in great agitation.

Ambassadours sent to *England*.

De Wit was once at night going home from the States, when four persons set on him to murder him. He shewed on that occasion both an intrepid courage, and a great presence of mind. He was wounded in several places. Yet he got out of their hands. One of them was taken, and condemned for it. All *De Wit*'s friends pressed him to save his life. But he thought, that such an attempt on a man in his post was a crime not to be pardoned; tho', as to his own part in the matter, he very freely forgave it. The young man confessed his crime, and repented of it: And protested he was led to it by no other consideration, but that of zeal for his country and religion, which he thought were betrayed. And he died as in a rapture of devotion which made great impression on the spectators. At the same time a Barber accused *De Wit*'s elder brother of a practice on him, in order to his murdering the Prince. There were so many improbabilities in his story, which was supported by no circumstances, that it seemed by no way credible. Yet *Cornelius de Wit* was put to the torture on it, but stood firm to his innocence. The sentence was accommodated rather to the state of affairs, than to the strict rules of justice. In the mean time, while his brother had resigned his charge of Pensionary, and was made one of the Judges of the High Court, *Cornelius de Wit* was banished; which was intended rather as a sending him out of the way, than as a sentence against him. I love not to describe scenes of horrour, as was that black and infamous one committed on the two brothers. I can add little to what has been so often printed. *De Wit*'s going in his own coach to carry his brother out of town was a great errour: And looked like a triumph over a sentence, which was unbecoming the character of a Judge. Some furious agitators, who pretended zeal for the Prince, gathered the rabble together. And by that vile action that followed they did him more hurt, than they were ever

The tragical end of *De Wit*.

1672. able to repair. His enemies have taken advantages from thence to caſt the infamy of this on him, and on his party, to make them all odious; tho' the Prince ſpoke of it always to me, with the greateſt horrour poſſible. The Miniſters in *Holland* did upon this occaſion ſhew a very particular violence. In their ſermons, and in ſome printed treatiſes, they charged the Judges with corruption, who had carried the ſentence no farther than to baniſhment: And compared the fate of the *De Wit*'s to *Haman*'s.

The Prince of *Orange* made Stadtholder.

I need not relate the great change of the Magiſtracy in all the Provinces; the repealing the Perpetual Edict; and the advancing the Prince of *Orange* to be Stadtholder, after they had voided the obligation of the oath he had taken, about which he took ſome time to deliberate. Both Lawyers and Divines agreed, that thoſe to whom he had made that oath releaſing the obligation of it, he was no longer bound by it. The States gave him, for that time, the full power of peace and war. All this was carried farther by the town of *Amſterdam*; for they ſent a deputation to him, offering him the ſovereignty of their town. When he was pleaſed to tell me this paſſage, he ſaid, he knew the reaſon for which they made it was, becauſe they thought all was loſt: And they choſe to have the infamy of their loſs fall on him, rather than on themſelves. He added, that he was ſure the country could not bear a ſovereign; and that they would contribute more to the war, when it was in order to the preſerving their own liberty, than for any Prince whatſoever. So he told them, that, without taking any time to conſult on the anſwer to be made to ſo great an offer, he did immediately refuſe it. He was fully ſatisfied with the power already lodged with him, and would never endeavour to carry it any farther.

The Prince's advancement gave a new life to the whole country. He, tho' then very young, and little acquainted with the affairs of State or War, did apply himſelf ſo to both, that, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſtate in which he found matters, he neither loſt heart, nor committed errours. The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Arlington* tried to bring the King of *France* to offer them better terms; but in vain. That Prince was ſo lifted up, that he ſeemed to conſider the King very little. While he was ſo high on the one hand, and the Prince of *Orange* ſo ſteddy on the other, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours ſoon ſaw, that all the offices they could do were ineffectual. One day the Prince (who told me this himſelf) was arguing with them upon the King's conduct, as the moſt unaccountable thing poſſible, who was contributing ſo much to the exaltation of *France*, which muſt prove in concluſion fatal to himſelf; and was urging this in ſeveral particulars. The Duke of *Buckingham* broke out in an oath, which was his uſual ſtyle, and ſaid, he was in the right; and ſo offered to ſign a peace immediately with the Prince. Lord *Arlington* ſeemed amazed at his raſhneſs. Yet he perſiſted in it, and ſaid poſitively he would do it. The Prince upon that, not knowing what ſecret powers he might have, ordered the articles to be engroſſed. And he believed, if he could poſſibly have got them ready while he was with him, that he would have ſigned them. They were ready by next morning: But by that time he had changed his mind. That Duke at parting preſſed him much to put himſelf wholly in the King's hands; and aſſured him he would take care of his affairs, as of his own. The Prince cut him ſhort: He ſaid, his country had truſted him, and he would never deceive, nor betray them for any baſe ends of his own. The Duke anſwered, he was not to think any more of his country, for it was loſt: If it ſhould weather out the ſummer, by reaſon of the waters that had drowned a great part of it, the winter's froſt would lay them open: And he repeated the words often, Do not you ſee it is loſt? The Prince's anſwer deſerves to be remembred: He ſaid, he ſaw it was indeed in great danger: But there was a ſure way never to ſee it loſt, and that was to die in the laſt ditch.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours were wholly in the intereſt of *France*.

The character of *Fagel*.

The perſon that the Prince relied on chiefly, as to the affairs of *Holland*, was *Fagel*: A man very learned in the law, who had a quick apprehenſion, and a clear and ready judgment. He had a copious eloquence, more popular than correct: And was fit to carry matters with a torrent in a numerous aſſembly. *De Wit* had made great uſe of him; for he joined with him very zealouſly in the carrying the Perpetual Edict, which he negotiated with the States of *Frizeland*, who oppoſed it moſt: And he was made Greffier, or Secretary to the States General, which is the moſt beneficial place in *Holland*. He was a pious, and vertuous man: Only he was too eager, and violent. He was too apt to flatter himſelf. He had much heart, when matters went well; but had not the courage that became a great Miniſter on uneaſy and difficult occaſions.

1672.

Prince *Waldeck* was their Chief General: A man of a great compaſs, and a true judgment; equally able in the cabinet, and in the camp. But he was always unſucceſsful, becauſe he was never furniſhed according to the ſchemes that he had laid down. The opinion that Armies had of him, as an unfortunate General, made him really ſo: For ſoldiers cannot have much heart, when they have not an entire confidence in him that has the chief command. Prince *Waldeck.*

Dickvelt on his return from *England*, ſeeing the ruine of the *De Wits*, with whom he was formerly united, and the progreſs the *French* had made in *Utrecht*, where his eſtate and intereſt lay, deſpaired too ſoon; and went and lived under them. Yet he did great ſervice to his Province. Upon every violation of articles, he went and demanded juſtice, and made proteſtations with a boldneſs, to which the *French* were ſo little accuſtomed, that they were amazed at it. Upon the *French* leaving *Utrecht*, and on the re-eſtabliſhing that Province he was left out of the Government. Yet his great abilities, and the inſinuating ſmoothneſs of his temper, procured him ſo many friends, that the Prince was prevailed on to receive him into his confidence: And he had a great ſhare of it to the laſt, as he well deſerved it. He had a very perfect knowledge of all the affairs of *Europe*, and great practice in many Embaſſies. He ſpoke too long, and with too much vehemence. He was in his private deportment a vertuous and religious man, and a zealous Proteſtant. In the adminiſtration of his Province, which was chiefly truſted to him, there were great complaints of partiality, and of a defective juſtice. *Dickvelt.*

Halewyn, a man of great intereſt in the town of *Dort*, and one of the Judges in the Court of *Holland*, was the perſon of them all whom I knew beſt, and valued moſt: And was the next to *Fagel* in the Prince's confidence. He had a great compaſs of learning, beſides his own profeſſion, in which he was very eminent. He had ſtudied divinity with great exactneſs; and was well read in all hiſtory, but moſt particularly in the *Greek* and *Roman* authors. He was a man of great vivacity: He apprehended things ſoon, and judged very correctly. He ſpoke ſhort, but with life. He had a courage and vigour in his counſels, that became one who had formed himſelf upon the beſt models in the ancient authors. He was a man of ſevere morals. And as he had great credit in the Court where he ſat, ſo he took care that the partialities of friendſhip ſhould not mix in the adminiſtration of juſtice. He had in him all the beſt notions of a great patriot, and a true Chriſtian philoſopher. He was brought in very early to the ſecret of affairs, and went into the buſineſs of the Perpetual Edict very zealouſly. Yet he quickly ſaw the errour of bringing matters of ſtate immediately into numerous aſſemblies. He conſidered the States maintaining in themſelves the ſovereign power, as the baſis upon which the liberty of their country was built. But he thought, the adminiſtration of the government muſt be lodged in a Council. He thought it a great misfortune, that the Prince was ſo young at his firſt exaltation; and ſo poſſeſſed with military matters, to which the extremity of their affairs required that he ſhould be entirely applied, that he did not then correct that errour, which could only be done upon ſo extraordinary a conjuncture. He ſaw the great errour of *De Wit*'s miniſtry, of keeping the ſecret of affairs ſo much in his own hands. Such a precedent was very dangerous to publick liberty, when it was in the power of one man to give up his country. Their people could not bear the lodging ſo great a truſt with one, who had no diſtinction of birth or rank. But he ſaw it was neceſſary to have ſuch an authority, as *De Wit*'s merits and ſucceſs had procured him, lodged ſomewhere. The factions and animoſities, that were in moſt all their towns, made it as neceſſary for their good government at home, as it was for the command of their armies abroad, to have this power truſted to a perſon of that eminence of birth and rank, that he might be above the envy that is always among equals, when any one of them is raiſed to a diſproportioned degree of greatneſs above the reſt. He obſerved ſome errours that were in the Prince's conduct. But after all, he ſaid, it was viſible that he was always in the true intereſt of his country: So that the keeping up a faction againſt him was like to prove fatal to all *Europe*, as well as to themſelves. And *Halewyn.*

The greateſt misfortune in the Prince's affairs was, that the wiſeſt, and the moſt conſiderable men in their towns, that had been acquainted with the conduct of affairs formerly, were now under a cloud, and were either turned out of the Magiſtracy, or thought it convenient to retire from buſineſs. And many hot, but poor men, who had ſignalized their zeal in the turn newly made, came to be called the Prince's

The Prince ſtudied to correct the errours he fell in at firſt.

1672. Prince's friends, and to be put every where in the Magistracy. They quickly lost all credit, having little discretion, and no authority. They were very partial in the government, and oppressive, chiefly of those of the other side. The Prince saw this sooner than he could find a remedy for it. But by degrees the men of the other side came into his interest, and promised to serve him faithfully, in order to the driving out the *French*, and the saving their country. The chief of those were *Halewyn* of *Dort*, *Pats* of *Rotterdam*, and *Van Beuning* of *Amsterdam*.

Van Beuning's character.

The last of these was so well known, both in *France* and *England*, and had so great credit in his own town, that he deserves to be more particularly set out. He was a man of great notions. He had a wonderful vivacity, but too much levity in his thoughts. His temper was inconstant; firm, and positive for a while; but apt to change, from a giddiness of mind, rather than from any falsehood in his nature. He broke twice with the Prince, after he came into a confidence with him. He employed me to reconcile him to him for the third time: But the Prince said, he could not trust him any more. He had great knowledge in all sciences, and had such a copiousness of invention, with such a pleasantness, as well as a variety, of conversation, that I have often compared him to the Duke of *Buckingham*: Only he was vertuous, and devout; much in the enthusiastical way. In the end of his days he set himself wholly to mind the *East India* trade. But that was an employment not so well suited to his natural genius. And it ended fatally: For, the actions sinking on the sudden on the breaking out of a new war, that sunk him into a melancholy, which quite distracted him. The town of *Amsterdam* was for many years conducted by him as by a dictator. And that had exposed them to as many errours, as the irregularity of his notions suggested. The breaking the *West India* company, and the loss of *Munster* in the year 1658, was owing to that. It was then demonstrated, that the loss of that town laid the States open on that side; and that *Munster*, being in their hands, would not only cover them, but be a fit place for making levies in *Westphalia*. Yet *Amsterdam* would not consent to that new charge; and fancied there was no danger on that side. But they found afterwards, to their cost, that their unreasonable managery in that particular drew upon them an expence of many millions, by reason of the unquiet temper of that martial Bishop, who had almost ruined them this year on the side of *Frizeland*. But his miscarriage in the siege of *Groninghen*, and the taking *Coevorden* by surprize in the end of the year, as it was among the first things that raised the spirits of the *Dutch*, so both the Bishop's strength and reputation sunk so entirely upon it, that he never gave them any great trouble after that.

Errours committed by the town of *Amsterdam*.

Another errour, into which the managery of *Amsterdam* drew the States, was occasioned by the offer that *D'Estrades*, the *French* Ambassadour, made them in the year 1663, of a division of the *Spanish Netherlands*, by which *Ostend* and a line from thence to *Mastricht*, within which *Bruges*, *Ghent*, and *Antwerp*, were to be comprehended, was offered to them; the *French* desiring only St. *Omer*, *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and *Luxemburgh*: And the dominions that lay between those lines were to be a free Common-wealth; as *Halewyn* assured me, who said, he was in the secret at that time. This was much debated all *Holland* over. It was visible, that this new Common-wealth, taken out of the hands of the *Spaniards*, must naturally have fallen into a dependence on the States; and have become more considerable, when put under a better conduct. Yet this would have put the States at that time to some considerable charge. And, to avoid that, the proposition was rejected, chiefly by the opposition that *Amsterdam* made to it; where the prevailing maxim was, to reduce their expence, to abate taxes, and to pay their publick debts. By such an unreasonable parsimony matters were now brought to that state, that they were engaged into a war of so vast an expence, that the yearly produce of their whole estates, did not answer all the taxes that they were forced to lay on their people.

The Prince animates the States to continue the war.

After the Prince saw, that the *French* demands were at this time so high, and that it was not possible to draw *England* into a separate treaty, he got the States to call an extraordinary assembly, the most numerous that has been in this age. To them the Prince spoke near three hours, to the amazement of all that heard him, which was owned to me by one of the deputies of *Amsterdam*. He had got great materials put in his hands, of which he had made very good use. He first went thro' the *French* propositions, and shewed the consequence and the effects that would follow on them, that the accepting them would be certain ruine, and the very treating about them would

1672.

would diſtract and diſpirit their people: He therefore concluded, that the entertaining a thought of theſe was the giving up their country: If any could hearken to ſuch a motion, the lovers of religion and liberty muſt go to the *Indies*, or to any other country where they might be free and ſafe. After he had gone thro' this, near an hour, he in the next place ſhewed the poſſibility of making a ſtand, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſtate to which their affairs ſeemed reduced: He ſhewed the force of all their allies; that *England* could not hold out long without a Parliament; and they were well aſſured, that a Parliament would draw the King to other meaſures: He ſhewed the impoſſibility of the *French* holding out long, and that the *Germans* coming down to the lower *Rhine* muſt make them go out of their country, as faſt as they came into it. In all this he ſhewed, that he had a great inſight into the *French* affairs. He came laſt to ſhew, how it was poſſible to raiſe the taxes that muſt be laid on the country to anſwer ſuch a vaſt and unavoidable expence; and ſet before them a great variety of projects for raiſing money. He concluded, that, if they laid down this for a foundation, that religion and liberty could not be purchaſed at too dear a rate, and that therefore every man among them, and every Miniſter in the country, ought to infuſe into all the people, that they muſt ſubmit to the preſent extremity, and to very extraordinary taxes; by this means, as their people would again take heart, ſo their enemies would loſe theirs, who built their chief hopes on that univerſal dejection among them, that was but too viſible to all the world. Every one that was preſent ſeemed amazed to hear ſo young a man ſpeak to ſo many things, with ſo much knowledge, and ſo true a judgment. It raiſed his character wonderfully, and contributed not a little to put new life in a country, almoſt dead with fear, and diſpirited with ſo many loſſes. They all reſolved to maintain their liberty to the laſt; and, if things ſhould run to extremities, to carry what wealth they could with them to the *Eaſt Indies*. The ſtate of the ſhipping capable of ſo long a voyage was examined: And it was reckoned, that they could tranſport above two hundred thouſand people thither.

Yet all their courage would probably have ſerved them in little ſtead, if the King of *France* could have been prevailed on to ſtay longer at *Utrecht*. But he made haſte to go back to *Paris*. Some ſaid, it was the effect of his amours, and that it was haſtened by ſome quarrels among his Miſtreſſes. Others thought, he was haſtening to receive the flatteries that were preparing for him there. And indeed in the outward appearances of things there was great occaſion for them; ſince he had a run of ſucceſs beyond all expectation, tho' he himſelf had no ſhare in it, unleſs it was to ſpoil it. He left a garriſon in every place he took, againſt *Turenne*'s advice, who was for diſmantling them all, and keeping his army ſtill about him. But his Miniſters ſaw ſo far into his temper, that they reſolved to play a ſure game, and to put nothing to hazard. Upon the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s coming down, *Monſieur Turenne* was ſent againſt him: By which means the army about the King was ſo diminiſhed, that he could undertake no great deſign, beſides the ſiege of *Nimeguen*, that held out ſome weeks, with ſo ſmall a force. And tho' the Prince of *Orange* had not above eight thouſand men about him, employed in keeping a paſs near *Woerden*, yet no attempt was made to force him from it. Another probable reaſon of his returning back ſo ſoon was, a ſuggeſtion of the deſperate temper of the *Dutch*, and that they were capable of undertaking any deſign, how black ſoever, rather than periſh. Some told him of vaults under the ſtreets of *Utrecht*, where gun-powder might be laid to blow him up, as he went over them: And all theſe were obſerved to be avoided by him. He would never lodge within the town, and came but ſeldom to it. He upon one or other of theſe motives went back. Upon which the Prince of *Conde* ſaid, he ſaw he had not the ſoul of a conqueror in him; and that his Miniſters were the beſt *Commis*, but the pooreſt Miniſters in the world, who had not ſouls made for great things, or capable of them.

The *French* King goes back to *Paris*.

If the King had a mind to be flattered by his people, he found at his return enough even to ſurfeit him. Speeches, verſes, inſcriptions, triumphal arches, and medals were prepared with a profuſion, and exceſs of flattery, beyond what had been offered to the worſt of the *Roman* Emperours, bating the ceremony of adoration. But blaſphemous impieties were not wanting to raiſe, and feed his vanity. A ſolemn debate was held all about *Paris*, what title ſhould be given him. *Le Grand* was thought too common. Some were for *Invincible*. Others were for *Le Conquerant*.

1672. Some, in imitation of *Charlemagne*, set *Louis Le* upon it. Others were for *Mahomet*. But *Tres Grand* sounded not so well: No more did *Monsieur*. So they settled on *Le Grand*. And all the bodies of *Paris* seemed to vie in flattery. It appeared, that the King took pleasure in it: So there has followed upon it the greatest run of the most fulsom flattery that is in history. Had the King of *France* left such a man as *Turenne* at *Utrecht*, it might have had ill effects on the resolutions taken by the *Dutch*. But he left *Luxemburgh* there, who had no regard to articles, but made all people see what was to be expected, when they should come under such a yoke, that was then so intolerable a burden, even while it ought to have been recommended to those who were yet free by a gentle administration. This contributed not a little to fix the *Dutch* in those obstinate resolutions they had taken up.

The *Dutch* saved by some extraordinary Providence.

There was one very extraordinary thing that happened near the *Hague* this summer: I had it from many eye witnesses: And no doubt was made of the truth of it by any at the *Hague*. Soon after the *English* fleet had refitted themselves, (for they had generally been much damaged by the engagement in *Solbay*,) they appeared in sight of *Scheveling*, making up to the shore. The tide turned: But they reckoned that with the next flood they would certainly land the forces that were aboard, where they were like to meet with no resistance. So they sent to the Prince for some regiments to hinder the descent. He could not spare many men, having the *French* very near him. So between the two the country was given for lost, unless *De Ruyter* should quickly come up. The flood returned, which they thought was to end in their ruine. But to all their amazement, after it had flowed two or three hours, an ebb of many hours succeeded, which carried the fleet again to the sea. And, before that was spent, *De Ruyter* came in view. This they reckoned a miracle wrought for their preservation. Soon after that they escaped another design that otherwise would very probably have been fatal to them.

Ossory intended to surprise *Helvoetsluys*.

The Earl of *Ossory*, eldest son to the Duke of *Ormond*, a man of great honour, generosity, and courage, had been oft in *Holland*: And, coming by *Helvoetsluys*, he observed, it was a place of great consequence, but very ill looked to. The Duke trusting to the danger of entring into it, more than to any strength that defended it, he thought it might be easy to seize, and fortify that place. The King approved this. So some ships were sheathed, and victualled, as for a voyage to a great distance. He was to have five men of war, and transport ships for twelve or fifteen hundred men. And a second squadron, with a farther supply, if he succeeded in the attempt, was to follow. He had got two or three of their pilots brought out on a pretended errand: And these he kept very safe to carry him in. This was communicated to none, but to the Duke, and to Lord *Arlington*: And all was ready for the execution. Lord *Ossory* went to this fleet, and saw every thing ready as was ordered, and came up to receive the King's sailing orders. But the King, who had ordered him to come next morning for his dispatch, discovered the design to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who hated both the Duke of *Ormond*, and Lord *Ossory*, and would have seen the King and all his affairs perish, rather than that a person whom he hated should have the honour of such a piece of merit. He upon that did turn all his wit to make the thing appear ridiculous, and impracticable. He represented it as unsafe on many accounts; and as a desperate stroke, that put things, if it should succeed, out of a possibility of treaty or reconciliation. The King could not withstand this. Lord *Ossory* found next morning that the King had changed his mind. And it broke out by the Duke of *Buckingham*'s loose way of talking, that it was done by his means. So the design was laid aside. But when the peace was made, Lord *Ossory* told it to the *Dutch* Ambassadours: And said, since he did not destroy them by touching them in that weak and sore part, he had no mind they should lie any longer open to such another attack. When the Ambassadours wrote this over to their masters, all were sensible, how easy it had been to have seized, and secured that place; and what a terrible disorder it would have put them in: And upon this they gave order to put the place in a better posture of defence for the future. So powerfully did spite work on those about the King: And so easy was he to the man of wit and humour. The Duke staid long at sea, in hopes to have got the *East-India* fleet. But they came sailing so near the *German* coast, that they passed him before he was aware of it. So he came back after a long and inglorious campaign. He lost the honour of the action that was at *Solbay*; and missed the wealth of that fleet, which he had long waited for.

I will

I will complete the transactions of this memorable year with an account of the impression that *Luxemburgh* made on the *Dutch* near the end of it; which would have had a very tragical conclusion, if a happy turn of weather had not saved them. *Louvoys* was then with him, and was on the secret. By many feints, that amused the *Dutch* so skilfully, that there was no suspicion of the true design, all was prepared for an invasion, when a frost should come. It came at last: And it froze and thawed by turns for some days, which they reckon makes the ice firmest. At last a frost continued so strong for some days, that upon piercing and examining the ice, it was thought it could not be dissolved by any ordinary thaw in less than two days. So about midnight *Luxemburgh* marched out of *Utrecht* towards *Leyden* with about fifteen thousand men. Those of *Utrecht* told me, that, in the minute in which they began to march, a thaw wind blew very fresh. Yet they marched on till day light, and came to *Swanenden* and *Bodegrave*, which they gained not without difficulty. There they stopt, and committed many outrages of crying lust and barbarous cruelty, and vented their impiety in very blasphemous expressions, upon the continuance of the thaw, which now had quite melted the ice, so that it was not possible to go back, the way that they came, where all had been ice, but was now dissolved to about three foot depth of water. There were cause-ways: And they were forced to march on these. But there was a fort, thro' which they must pass. And one *Painevine* with two regiments was ordered to keep it, with some cannon in it. If he had continued there, they must all have been taken prisoners, which would have put an end to the war. But, when he saw them march to him in the morning, he gave all for lost; and went to *Jorgon*, where he gave the alarm, as if all was gone. And he offered to them, to come to help them by that garrison to a better capitulation. So he left his post, and went thither. The *French* army, not being stopt by that fort, got safe home. But their behaviour in those two villages was such, that, tho great pains was taken to spread it over the whole country, so it contributed not a little to the establishing the *Dutch* in their resolutions, of not only venturing but of losing all, rather than come under so cruel a yoke.

1672. An army from *Utrecht* came on the ice to *Holland*.

Painevine's withdrawing had lost them an advantage never to be regained. So the Prince ordered a Council of war to try him. He pleaded, that the place was not tenable, that the enemy had pass'd it; so he thought the use it was intended for was lost: And if the enemy had come to attack him, he must have surrendred upon discretion: And he pleaded further, that he went from it upon the desire of one of their towns to save it. Upon this defence, he was acquitted as to his life, but condemned to infamy, as a coward, and to have his sword broke over his head, and to be for ever banished the States dominions. But an appeal lay, according to their discipline, to a Council of war composed of General Officers: And they confirmed the sentence. The towns of *Holland* were highly offended at these proceedings. They said, they saw the officers were resolved to be gentle to one another, and to save their fellow officers, how guilty soever they might be. The Prince yielded to their instances, and brought him to a third trial before himself, and a Court of the supreme officers, in which they had the assistance of six Judges. *Painevine* stood on it, that he had undergone two trials, which was all that the martial law subjected him to; and in those he was acquitted. Yet this was over-ruled. It was urged against him, that he himself was present in the Council of war that ordered the making that fort; and he knew, that it was not intended to be a place tenable against an army, but was only meant to make a little stand for some time, and was intended for a desperate state of affairs; and that therefore he ought not to have left his post, because of the danger he was in: He saw the thaw began; and so ought to have staid, at least till he had seen how far that would go: And being put there by the Prince, he was to receive orders from none but him. Upon these grounds he was condemned, and executed, to the great satisfaction of the States, but to the general disgust of all the officers, who thought they were safe in the hands of an ordinary council of war, and did not like this new method of proceeding.

Painevine's sentence.

They were also not a little troubled at the strict discipline that the Prince settled, and at the severe execution of it. But by this means he wrought up his army to a pitch of obedience and courage, of sobriety and good order, that things put on another face: And all men began to hope that their armies would act with another spirit, now that the discipline was so carefully look'd to. It seems, the *French* made

1672. no great account of them: For they releaſed twenty five thouſand priſoners, taken in ſeveral places, for fifty thouſand crowns.

Thus I have gone far into the ſtate of affairs of *Holland* in this memorable year. I had moſt of theſe particulars from *Dickvelt* and *Halewyn*. And I thought this great turn deſerved to be ſet out with all the copiouſneſs, with which my informations could furniſh me. This year the King declared a new Miſtreſs, and made her Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*. She had been maid of honour to *Madame*, the King's ſiſter, and had come over with her to *Dover*; where the King had expreſſed ſuch a regard to her, that the Duke of *Buckingham*, who hated the Ducheſs of *Cleveland*, intended to put her on the King. He told him, that it was a decent piece of tenderneſs for his ſiſter to take care of ſome of her ſervants. So ſhe was the perſon the King eaſily conſented to invite over. That Duke aſſured the King of *France*, that he could never reckon himſelf ſure of the King, but by giving him a Miſtreſs that ſhould be true to his intereſts. It was ſoon agreed to. So the Duke of *Buckingham* ſent her with a part of his equipage to *Dieppe*; and ſaid, he would preſently follow. But he, who was the moſt inconſtant and forgetful of all men, never thought of her more; but went to *England* by the way of *Calais*. So *Montague*, then Ambaſſadour at *Paris*, hearing of this, ſent over for a Yatcht for her, and ſent ſome of his ſervants to wait on her, and to defray her charge, till ſhe was brought to *Whitehal*: And then Lord *Arlington* took care of her. So the Duke of *Buckingham* loſt the merit he might have pretended to; and brought over a Miſtreſs, whom his own ſtrange conduct threw into the hands of his enemies. The King was preſently taken with her. She ſtudied to pleaſe and obſerve him in every thing: So that he paſs'd away the reſt of his life in a great fondneſs for her. He kept her at a vaſt charge. And ſhe by many fits of ſickneſs, ſome believed real, and others thought only pretended, gained of him every thing ſhe deſired. She ſtuck firm to the *French* intereſt, and was its chief ſupport. The King divided himſelf between her and Miſtreſs *Gwyn*; and had no other avowed amour. But he was ſo entirely poſſeſſed by the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*, and ſo engaged by her in the *French* intereſt, that this threw him into great difficulties, and expoſed him to much contempt and diſtruſt.

A *French* Miſtreſs made Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

I do now return to the affairs of *Scotland*, to give an account of a ſeſſion of Parliament, and the other tranſactions there in this critical year. About the end of *May*, Duke *Lauderdale* came down with his Lady in great pomp. He was much lifted up with the *French* ſucceſs; and took ſuch pleaſure in talking of *De Wit*'s fate, that it could not be heard without horrour. He treated all people with ſuch ſcorn, that few were able to bear it. He adjourned the Parliament for a fortnight, that he might carry his Lady round the country; and was every where waited on, and entertained with as much reſpect, and at as great a charge, as if the King had been there in perſon. This enraged the Nobility. And they made great applications to Duke *Hamilton*, to lead a party againſt him, and to oppoſe the tax, that he demanded, of a whole year's aſſeſſment. I ſoon grew ſo weary of the Court, tho' there was ſcarce a perſon ſo well uſed by him as I my ſelf was, that I went out of town. But Duke *Hamilton* ſent for me; and told me, how vehemently he was ſollicited by the majority of the Nobility to oppoſe the demand of the tax. He had promiſed me not to oppoſe taxes in general: And I had aſſured Duke *Lauderdale* of it. But he ſaid, this demand was ſo extravagant, that he did not imagine it would go ſo far: So he did not think himſelf bound, by a promiſe made in general words, to agree to ſuch a high one. Upon this I ſpoke to Duke *Lauderdale*, to ſhew him the inclinations many had to an oppoſition to that demand, and the danger of it. He rejected it in a brutal manner, ſaying, They durſt as ſoon be damned as oppoſe him. Yet I made him ſo ſenſible of it, that he appointed the Marquis of *Athol* to go and talk in his name to Duke *Hamilton*, who moved that I might be preſent: And that was eaſily admitted. Lord *Athol* preſſed Duke *Hamilton* to come into an entire confidence with Duke *Lauderdale*; and promiſed, that he ſhould have the chief direction of all affairs in *Scotland* under the other. Duke *Hamilton* asked, how ſtood the Parliament of *England* affected to the war. Lord *Athol* aſſured him, there was a ſettled deſign of having no more Parliaments in *England*. The King would be maſter, and would be no longer curbed by a Houſe of Commons. He alſo laid out the great advantages that *Scotland*, more particularly the great Nobility, might find by ſtriking in heartily with the King's deſigns, and in making him abſolute in *England*. Duke *Hamilton* anſwered, the

Lauderdale's great inſolence.

very honeſtly, that he would never engage in ſuch deſigns: He would be always a good and faithful ſubject: But he would be likewiſe a good country man. He was very unwilling to concur in the land tax. He ſaid, *Scotland* had no reaſon to engage in the war, ſince as they might ſuffer much by it, ſo they could gain nothing, neither by the preſent war, nor by any peace that ſhould be made. Yet he was prevailed on, in concluſion, to agree to it. And upon that the buſineſs of the ſeſſion of Parliament went on ſmoothly without any oppoſition. 1672.

The Ducheſs of *Lauderdale*, not contented with the great appointments they had, ſet her ſelf by all poſſible methods to raiſe money. They lived at a vaſt expence: And every thing was ſet to ſale. She carried all things with a haughtineſs, that could not have been eaſily born from a Queen. She talked of all people with an ungoverned freedom, and grew to be univerſally hated. I was out of meaſure weary of my attendance at their Court, but was preſſed to continue it. Many found I did good offices. I got ſome to be conſidered, and advanced, that had no other way of acceſs. But that which made it more neceſſary was, that I ſaw *Sharp* and his creatures were making their Court with the moſt abject flattery, and all the ſubmiſſions poſſible. *Leighton* went ſeldom to them, tho' he was always treated by them with great diſtinction. So it was neceſſary for me to be about them, and keep them right: Otherwiſe all our deſigns were loſt without recovery. This led me to much uneaſy compliance; tho' I aſſerted my own liberty, and found ſo often fault with their proceedings, that once or twice I uſed ſuch freedom, and it was ſo ill taken, that I thought it was fit for me to retire. Yet I was ſent for, and continued in ſuch high favour, that I was again tried if I would accept of a Biſhoprick, and was promiſed the firſt of the two Archbiſhopricks that ſhould fall. But I was ſtill fixed in my former reſolutions, not to engage early, being then but nine and twenty: Nor could I come into a dependence on them.

He expected addreſſes for a Toleration.

Duke *Lauderdale* at his coming down had expected, that the Presbyterians ſhould have addreſſed themſelves to him for a ſhare in that liberty, which their brethren had now in *England*; and which he had aſſerted in a very particular manner at the Council table in *Whitehal*. One *Whatley*, a Juſtice of peace in *Lincolnſhire*, if I remember the County right, had diſturbed one of the Meeting-houſes, that had got a licence purſuant to the declaration for a Toleration: And he had ſet fines on thoſe that met in it, conformably to the Act againſt Conventicles: Upon which he was brought up to Council, to be reprimanded for his high contempt of his Majeſty's declaration. Some Privy Counſellours ſhewed their zeal in ſevere reflexions on his proceedings. Duke *Lauderdale* carried the matter very far: He ſaid, the King's edicts were to be conſidered, and obeyed as laws, and more than any other laws. This was writ down by ſome that heard it, who were reſolved to make uſe of it againſt him in due time. He looked on near two months after he came down to *Scotland*, waiting ſtill for an application for liberty of conſcience. But the deſigns of the Court were now clearly ſeen into. The Presbyterians underſtood, they were only to be made uſe of in order to the introducing of Popery. So they reſolved to be ſilent and paſſive. Upon this he broke out into fury and rage againſt them. Conventicles abounded in all places of the country. And ſome furious zealots broke into the houſes of ſome of the Miniſters, wounding them, and robbing their goods, forcing ſome of them to ſwear that they would never officiate any more in their Churches. Some of theſe were taken, and executed. I viſited them in priſon; and ſaw in them the blind madneſs of ill grounded zeal, of which they were never fully convinced. One of them ſeemed to be otherwiſe no ill man. Another of them was a bold villain. He juſtified all that they had done, from the *Iſraelites* robbing the *Ægyptians*, and deſtroying the *Canaanites*.

Deſigns from *Holland* to raiſe a rebellion in *Scotland*.

That which gave Duke *Lauderdale* a juſter ground of offence was, that one *Carſtairs*, much employed ſince that time in greater matters, was taken in a ſhip that came from *Rotterdam*. He himſelf eſcaped out of their hands: But his letters were taken. They had a great deal writ in white ink; which ſhewed, that the deſign of ſending him over was, to know in what diſpoſition the people were, promiſing arms and other neceſſaries, if they were in a condition to give the Government any diſturbance. But the whole was ſo darkly writ, much being referred to the bearer, that it was not poſſible to underſtand what lay hid under ſo many myſterious expreſſions. Upon this a ſevere proſecution of Conventicles was ſet on foot:

1672. And a great deal of money was raiſed by arbitrary fines. Lord *Athol* made of this in one week 1900 *l. ſter.* I did all I could to moderate this fury: But all was in vain. Duke *Lauderdale* broke out into the moſt frantick fits of rage poſſible. When I was once ſaying to him, was that a time to drive them into a rebellion? Yes, ſaid he, would to God they would rebel, that ſo he might bring over an army of *Iriſh* Papiſts to cut all their throats. Such a fury as this ſeemed to furniſh work for a phyſician, rather than for any other ſort of men. But after he had let himſelf looſe into theſe fits for near a month, he calmed all on the ſudden: Perhaps upon ſome ſignification from the King; for the party complained to their friends in *London*, who had ſtill ſome credit at Court.

He called for me all on the ſudden, and put me in mind of the project I had laid before him, of putting all the outed Miniſters by couples into pariſhes: So that inſtead of wandring about the country, to hold Conventicles in all places, they might be fixed to a certain abode, and every one might have the half of a benefice. I was ſtill of the ſame mind: And ſo was *Leightoun*; who compared this to the gathering the coals that were ſcattered over the houſe, ſetting it all on fire, into the chimney, where they might burn away ſafely. Duke *Lauderdale* ſet about it immediately: And the benefit of the Indulgence was extended to forty more Churches. This, if followed as to that of doubling them in a pariſh, and of confining them within their pariſhes, would have probably layd a flame that was ſpreading over the Nation, and was like to prove fatal in concluſion. But Duke *Lauderdale*'s way was, to govern by fits, and to paſs from hot to cold ones, always in extreams. So this of doubling them, which was the chief part of our ſcheme, was quite neglected. Single Miniſters went into thoſe Churches: And thoſe, who were not yet provided for, went about the country holding Conventicles very boldly, without any reſtraint: And no care at all was taken of the Church.

Leightoun reſolved to retire, and to leave his See.

Sharp and his inſtruments took occaſion from this to complain, that the Church was ruined by *Leightoun*'s means. And I wanted not my ſhare in the charge. And indeed the remiſneſs of the government was ſuch, that there was juſt cauſe of complaint. Great numbers met in the fields. Men went to thoſe meetings with ſuch arms as they had. And we were blamed for all this. It was ſaid, that things went ſo far beyond what a principle of moderation could ſuggeſt, that we did certainly deſign to ruine and overturn the conſtitution. *Leightoun* upon all this concluded he could do no good on either ſide: He had gained no ground on the Presbyterians, and was ſuſpected and hated by the Epiſcopal party. So he reſolved to retire from all publick employments, and to ſpend the reſt of his days in a corner, far from noiſe and buſineſs, and to give himſelf wholly to prayer and meditation, ſince he ſaw he could not carry on his great deſigns of healing and reforming the Church, on which he had ſet his heart. He had gathered together many inſtances out of Church hiſtory of Biſhops that had left their Sees, and retired from the world: And was much pleaſed with theſe. He and I had many diſcourſes on this argument. • I thought a man ought to be determined by the providence of God, and to continue in the ſtation he was in, tho' he could not do all the good in it that he had propoſed to himſelf: He might do good in a private way by his example, and by his labours more than he himſelf could know: And as a man ought to ſubmit to ſickneſs, poverty, or other afflictions, when they are laid on him by the hand of providence; ſo I thought the labouring without ſucceſs was indeed a very great trial of patience, yet ſuch labouring in an ungrateful employment was a croſs, and ſo was to be born with ſubmiſſion; and that a great uneaſineſs under that, or the forſaking a ſtation becauſe of it, might be the effect of ſecret pride, and an indignation againſt providence. He on the other hand ſaid, his work ſeemed to be at an end: He had no more to do, unleſs he had a mind to pleaſe himſelf with the lazy enjoying a good revenue. So he could not be wrought on by all that could be laid before him; but followed Duke *Lauderdale* to Court, and begged leave to retire from his Archbiſhoprick. The Duke would by no means conſent to this. So he deſired, that he might be allowed to do it within a year. Duke *Lauderdale* thought ſo much time was gained: So to be rid of his importunities he moved the King to promiſe him, that if he did not change his mind, he would within the year accept of his reſignation. He came back much pleaſed with what he had obtained: and ſaid to me upon it, there was now but one uneaſy ſtage between him and reſt, and he would wreſtle through it the beſt he could.

An

1672.

And now I am come to the period that I ſet out for this book. The world was ow in a general combuſtion ſet on by the ambition of the Court of *France*, and ſup- orted by the feebleneſs and treachery of the Court of *England*. A ſtand was nade by the Prince of *Orange*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*. But the latter, not eing in time aſſiſted by the Emperour, was forced to accept of ſuch conditions as he ould obtain. This winter there was great practice in all the Courts of *Europe*, by he Agents of *France*, to lay them every where aſleep; and to make the world look n their King's deſign in that campaign, as a piece of glory, for the humbling of a ich and proud Common-wealth; and that, as ſoon as that was done ſuitably to he dignity of the Great Monarch, he would give peace to the world, after he had hewn that nothing could ſtand before his arms. But the opening the progreſs of heſe negotiations, and the turn that the affairs of *Europe* took, belongs to the next eriod.

THE

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK III.

Of the reſt of King Charles II's. *reign, from the year* 1673 *to the year* 1685, *in which he died.*

HItherto the reign of King *Charles* was pretty ſerene and calm at home. A Nation weary of a long civil war was not eaſily brought into jealouſies and fears, which were the ſeeds of diſtraction, and might end in new confuſions and troubles. But the Court had now given ſuch broad intimations of an ill deſign, both on our religion and the civil conſtitution, that it was no more a jealouſy: All was now pen and barefaced. In the King's preſence the Court-flatterers were always magnifying abſolute government, and reflecting on the inſolence of a Houſe of Commons. The King ſaid once to the Earl of *Eſſex*, as he told me, that he did not wiſh to be like a Grand Signior, with ſome mutes about him, and bags of bow-ſtrings to ſtrangle men, as he had a mind to it: But he did not think he was a King, as long as a company of fellows were looking into all his actions, and examining his Miniſters, as well as his accounts. He reckoned, now he had ſet the Church party at ſuch a diſtance

1673. Great jealouſies of the King.

1673. from the Diſſenters, that it was impoſſible to make them join in oppoſition to his deſigns. He hoped, the Church party would be always ſubmiſſive: And he had the Diſſenters at mercy.

The proceedings of the former year had opened all men's eyes. The King's own religion was ſuſpected, as his brother's was declared: And the whole conduct ſhewed a deſign to govern by the *French* model. A *French* General was brought over to command our armies. Count *Schomberg*, who was a *German* by birth, (but his mother was an *Engliſh* woman,) was ſent over. He was a firm Proteſtant, and ſerved at firſt in *Holland*. But upon the Prince of *Orange*'s death he went into *France*, where he grew into ſo high a reputation, that he was kept under, and not raiſed to be a Marſhal, only on the account of his religion. He was a calm man, of great application and conduct. He thought much better than he ſpoke. He was a man of true judgment, of great probity, and of an humble and obliging temper: And at any other time of his life he would have been very acceptable to the *Engliſh*. But now he was looked on as one ſent over from *France* to bring our army under a *French* diſcipline: And ſo he was hated by the Nation, and not much loved by the Court. He was always preſſing the King to declare himſelf the head of the Proteſtant party. He preſs'd him likewiſe to bring his brother over from Popery: But the King ſaid to him, you know my brother long ago, that he is as ſtiff as a mule. He liked the way of *Charenton* ſo well, that he went once a week to *London* to the *French* Church there, that was according to that form: So the Duke and Lord *Clifford* looked on him as a Presbyterian, and an unfit man for their purpoſe. The Duke of *Buckingham* hated him; for he hoped to have commanded the Army. And as an army is a very unacceptable thing to the *Engliſh* Nation, ſo it came to be the more odious, when commanded by a General ſent over from *France*. *Schomberg* told me, he ſaw it was impoſſible that the King could bring any great deſign to a good effect: He loved his eaſe ſo much, that he never minded buſineſs: And every thing that was ſaid to him of affairs was heard with ſo little attention, that it made no impreſſion.

The Court was much divided.

The Miniſtry was all broke to pieces. The Duke of *Buckingham* was alone, hated by all, as he hated all the reſt. But he went ſo entirely into all their ill deſigns, that the King conſidered him, and either loved or feared him ſo much, that he had a deep root with him. Lord *Clifford* ſtuck firm to the Duke, and was heated with the deſign of bringing in Popery, even to enthuſiaſm. It was believed, if the deſign had ſucceeded, he had agreed with his wife to take orders, and to aſpire to a Cardinal's hat. He grew violent; and could ſcarce ſpeak with patience of the Church of *England*, and of the Clergy. The Earl of *Arlington* thought, that the deſign was now loſt, and that it was neceſſary for the King to make up with his people in the beſt manner he could. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was reſolved to ſave himſelf on any terms.

A ſeſſion of Parliament.

The money was exhauſted: So it was neceſſary to have a ſeſſion of Parliament. And one was called in the beginning of the year. At the opening it, the King excuſed the iſſuing out the writs, as done to ſave time, and to have a full Houſe at the firſt opening: But he left that matter wholly to them: He ſpoke of the Declaration for liberty of conſcience in another ſtyle: He ſaid, he had ſeen the good effects of it; and that he would ſtick to it, and maintain it: He ſaid, he was engaged in a war for the honour of the Nation, and therefore he demanded the ſupplies that were neceſſary to carry it on. On theſe heads Lord *Shaftsbury* enlarged. But no part of his ſpeech was more amazing than that, ſpeaking of the war with the *Dutch*, he ſaid *Delenda eſt Carthago*. Yet, while he made a baſe complying ſpeech in favour of the Court, and of the war, he was in a ſecret management with another party.

The Declaration was voted illegal.

The Houſe of Commons was upon this all in a flame. They ſaw Popery and the very lay at the bottom. Yet, that they might not graſp at too much at once, they reſolved effectually to break the whole deſign of Popery. They argued the matter of the Declaration; whether it was according to law, or not. It was plainly an annulling of the penal Law, made both againſt Papiſts and Diſſenters. It was ſaid, that tho' the King had a power of pardoning, yet he had not a power to authoriſe men to break laws. This muſt infer a power to alter the whole government. The ſtrength of every law was the penalty laid upon offenders: And if the King could ſecure offenders by indemnifying them before hand, it was a vain thing to make laws ſince by that maxim they had no force, but at the King's diſcretion. Thoſe who pleaded for the Declaration pretended to put a difference between penal Laws in ſpi-

1673.

ritual matters, and all others: And ſaid, that the King's ſupremacy ſeemed to give him a peculiar authority over theſe: By vertue of this it was, that the ſynagogue of the *Jews*, and the *Walloon* Churches, had been ſo long tolerated. But to this it was anſwered, that the intent of the law in aſſerting the ſupremacy was only to exclude all foreign juriſdiction, and to lodge the whole authority with the King: But that was ſtill to be bounded, and regulated by law: And a difference was to be made between a connivance, ſuch as that the *Jews* lived under, by which they were ſtill at mercy, and a legal authority: The Parliament had never diſputed the legality of the Patent for the *Walloon* congregations which was granted to encourage ſtrangers, profeſſing the ſame religion, to come among us, when they were perſecuted for it in their own country: It was at firſt granted only to ſtrangers: But afterwards in the days of their children, who were natives, it had been made void: And now they were excepted by a ſpecial clauſe out of the Act of Uniformity. The Houſe came quickly to a very unanimous reſolution, that the Declaration was againſt law. And they ſet that forth in an addreſs to the King, in which they prayed that it might be called in. Some were ſtudying to divert this, by ſetting them on to enquire into the iſſuing out of the writs. And the Court ſeemed willing that the ſtorm ſhould break on Lord *Shaftsbury*, and would have gladly compounded the matter by making him the ſacrifice. He ſaw into that; and ſo was reſolved to change ſides with the firſt opportunity.

A bill for a new teſt.

The Houſe was not content with this: But they brought in a bill diſabling all Papiſts from holding any employment, or place at Court; requiring all perſons in publick truſt to receive the Sacrament in a pariſh Church, and to carry an atteſted certificate of that, with witneſſes to prove it, into Chancery, or the County Seſſions; and there to make a declaration renouncing Tranſubſtantiation in full and poſitive words. Great pains was taken by the Court to divert this. They propoſed that ſome regard might be had to Proteſtant Diſſenters, and that their Meetings might be allowed. By this means they hoped to have ſet them and the Church party into new heats; for now all were united againſt Popery. *Love* who ſerved for the city of *London*, and was himſelf a Diſſenter, ſaw what ill effects any ſuch quarrels might have: and he moved, that an effectual ſecurity might be found againſt Popery, and that nothing might interpoſe till that was done. When that was over, then they would try to deſerve ſome favour: But at preſent they were willing to lye under the ſeverity of the laws, rather than clog a more neceſſary work with their concerns. The chief friends of the ſects agreed to this. So a vote paſs'd to bring in a bill in favour of Proteſtant Diſſenters, tho' there was not time enough, nor unanimity enough, to paſs one this ſeſſion: For it went no farther than a ſecond reading, but was dropt in the Committee. But this prudent behaviour of theirs did ſo ſoften the Church party, that there was no more votes nor bills offered at againſt them, even in that angry Parliament, that had been formerly ſo ſevere upon them.

The prudence of the Diſſenters.

The Court was now in great perplexity. If they gave way to proceedings in the Houſe of Commons, there was a full ſtop put to the deſign for Popery: And if they gave not way to it, there was an end of the war. The *French* could not furniſh us with ſo much money, as was neceſſary: And the ſhutting up the Exchequer had put an end to all credit. The Court tried what could be done in the Houſe of Lords. Lord *Clifford* reſolved to aſſert the Declaration with all the force, and all the arguments, he could bring for it. He ſhewed the heads he intended to ſpeak on to the King, who approved of them, and ſuggeſted ſome other hints to him. He began the debate with rough words: He called the vote of the Commons *Monſtrum Horrendum Ingens*, and run on in a very high ſtrain. He ſaid all that could be ſaid, with great heat, and many indecent expreſſions. When he had done, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, to the amazement of the whole Houſe, ſaid, he muſt differ from the Lord that ſpoke laſt *toto cœlo*. He ſaid, while thoſe matters were debated out of doors, he might think with others, that the Supremacy, aſſerted as it was by law, did warrant the Declaration: But now that ſuch a Houſe of Commons, ſo loyal and affectionate to the King were of another mind, he ſubmitted his reaſons to theirs: They were the King's great Council: They muſt both adviſe and ſupport him: They had done it; and would do it ſtill, if their laws and their religion were once ſecure to them. The King was all in fury to be thus forſaken by his Chancellor: And told Lord *Clifford*, how well he was pleaſed with his ſpeech, and how highly he was offended with the other. The debate went on, and upon a diviſion the Court had the

Debates in the Houſe of Lords.

1673. the majority. But againſt that vote about thirty of the moſt conſiderable of the House proteſted. So the Court ſaw, they had gained nothing in carrying a vote, that drew after it ſuch a proteſtation.

This matter took ſoon after that a quick turn. It had been much debated in the cabinet, what the King ſhould do. Lord *Clifford* and Duke *Lauderdale* were for the King's ſtanding his ground. Sir *Ellis Leightoun* aſſured me, that the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Berkley* offered to the King, if he would bring the army to town, that they would take out of both Houſes the Members that made the oppoſition. He fancied, the thing might have been eaſily brought about, and that, if the King would have acted with the ſpirit that he ſometimes put on, they might have carried their buſineſs. Duke *Lauderdale* talked of bringing an army out of *Scotland*, and ſeizing on *Newcaſtle*; and preſs'd this with as much vehemence, as if he had been able to have executed it. Lord *Clifford* ſaid to the King, his people did now ſee thro' all his deſigns: And therefore he muſt reſolve to make himſelf maſter at once, or be for ever ſubject to much jealouſy and contempt. The Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington* preſſed the King on the other hand to give the Parliament full content: And they undertook to procure him money for carrying on the war: And, if he was ſucceſsful in that, he might eaſily recover what he muſt in this extremity part with. This ſuited the King's own temper. Yet the Duke held him in ſuſpence.

The variety of opinions in the King's Council.

Colbert's brother, *Croiſſy*, was then the *French* Ambaſſadour here. Lord *Arlington* poſſeſſed him with ſuch an apprehenſion of the madneſs of violent counſels, and that the leaſt of the ill effects they might have would be the leaving the war wholly on the *French* King, and that it would be impoſſible to carry it on, if the King ſhould run to ſuch extremities, as ſome were driving him to at home; that he gained him both to preſs the King and his brother to comply with the Parliament, and to ſend an expreſs to his own maſter, repreſenting the whole matter in the light in which Lord *Arlington* had ſet it before him.

The *French* adviſe the King to yield to the Parliament.

In the afternoon of the day in which the matter had been argued in the Houſe of Lords, the Earls of *Shaftsbury* and *Arlington* got all thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons on whom they had any influence, (and who had money from the King, and were his ſpies, but had leave to vote with the party againſt the Court, for procuring them the more credit,) to go privately to him, and to tell him that upon Lord *Clifford*'s ſpeech the Houſe was in ſuch fury, that probably they would have gone to ſome high votes and impeachments: But the Lord *Shaftsbury* ſpeaking on the other ſide reſtrained them: They believed, he ſpoke the King's ſenſe, as the other did the Duke's: This calmed them. So they made the King apprehend, that the Lord Chancellor's ſpeech, with which he had been ſo much offended, was really a great ſervice done him: And they perſuaded him farther, that he might now ſave himſelf, and obtain an indemnity for his Miniſters, if he would part with the Declaration, and paſs the bill. This was ſo dextrouſly managed by Lord *Arlington*, who got a great number of the Members to go one after another to the King, who by concert ſpoke all the ſame language, that before night the King was quite changed, and ſaid to his brother, that Lord *Clifford* had undone himſelf, and had ſpoiled their buſineſs by his mad ſpeech; and that, tho' Lord *Shaftsbury* had ſpoke like a rogue, yet that had ſtopt a fury which the indiſcretion of the other had kindled, to ſuch a degree that he could ſerve him no longer. He gave him leave to let him know all this. The Duke was ſtruck with this; and imputed it wholly to Lord *Arlington*'s management. In the evening he told Lord *Clifford* what the King had ſaid. The Lord *Clifford*, who was naturally a vehement man, went upon that to the King, who ſcarce knew how to look him in the face. Lord *Clifford* ſaid, he knew how many enemies he muſt needs make to himſelf by his ſpeech in the Houſe of Lords: But he hoped that in it he both ſerved and pleaſed the King, and was therefore the less concerned in every thing elſe: But he was ſurpriſed to find by the Duke, that the King was now of another mind. The King was in ſome confuſion: He owned, that all he had ſaid was right in it ſelf: But he ſaid, that he, who ſat long in the House of Commons, ſhould have conſidered better what they could bear, and what the neceſſity of his affairs required. Lord *Clifford* in his firſt heat was inclined to have laid down his white ſtaff, and to have expoſtulated roundly with the King. But a cooler thought ſtop'd him. He reckoned he muſt now retire: And therefore he had a mind to take ſome care of his family in the way of doing it: So he reſtrained himſelf; and ſaid, he was ſorry that his beſt meant ſervices were ſo ill underſtood. Soon after this

The King went into that ſuddenly.

Clifford diſgraced.

letter

letters came from the *French* King, preſſing the King to do all that was neceſſary to procure money of his Parliament, ſince he could not bear the charge of the war alone. He alſo writ to the Duke, and excuſed the advice he gave upon the neceſſity of affairs; but promiſed faithfully to eſpouſe his concerns, as ſoon as he got out of the war, and that he would never be eaſy, till he recovered that which he was now forced to let go. Some parts of theſe tranſactions I had from the Duke, and from Duke *Lauderdale*: The reſt, that related to the Lord *Clifford*, *Titus* told me, he had from his own mouth. 1673.

As ſoon as Lord *Clifford* ſaw he muſt loſe the white ſtaff, he went to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had contributed much to the procuring it to him; and told him, he brought him the firſt notice that he was to loſe that place to which he had helped him, and that he would aſſiſt him to procure it to ſome of his friends. After they had talked round all that were in any ſort capable of it, and had found great objections to every one of them, they at laſt pitched on Sir *Thomas Osborn*, a Gentleman of *Yorkſhire*, whoſe eſtate was much ſunk. He was a very plauſible ſpeaker, but too copious, and could not eaſily make an end of his diſcourſe. He had been always among the high Cavaliers: And miſſing preferment he had oppoſed the Court much, and was one of Lord *Clarendon*'s bittereſt enemies. He gave himſelf great liberties in diſcourſe, and did not ſeem to have any regard to truth, or ſo much as to the appearances of it; and was an implacable enemy: But he had a peculiar way to make his friends depend on him, and to believe he was true to them. He was a poſitive, and undertaking man: So he gave the King great eaſe, by aſſuring him all things would go according to his mind in the next ſeſſion of Parliament. And when his hopes failed him; he had always ſome excuſe ready to put the miſcarriage upon. And by this means he got into the higheſt degree of confidence with the King, and maintained it the longeſt of all that ever ſerved him.

Osborn made Lord Treaſurer.

The King now went into new meaſures. He called for the Declaration, and ordered the ſeal put to it to be broken. So the act for the taking the Sacrament, and the Teſt againſt Tranſubſtantiation went on: And together with it an Act of Grace paſs'd, which was deſired chiefly to cover the Miniſtry, who were all very obnoxious by their late actings. The Court deſired at leaſt 1200000 *l.* for that ſum was neceſſary to the carrying on the war. The great body of thoſe who oppoſed the Court had reſolved to give only 600000 *l.* which was enough to procure a peace but not to continue the war. *Garroway* and *Lee* had led the oppoſition to the Court all this ſeſſion in the Houſe of Commons: So they were thought the propereſt to name the ſum. Above eighty of the chief of the party had met over night, and had agreed to name 600000 *l.* But *Garroway* named 1200000, and was ſeconded in it by *Lee*. So this ſurpriſe gained that great ſum, which enabled the Court to carry on the war. When their party reproached theſe perſons for it, they ſaid, they had tried ſome of the Court as to the ſum intended to be named, who had aſſured them, the whole agreement would be broke, if they offered ſo ſmall a ſum: And this made them venture on the double of it. They had good rewards from the Court: And yet they continued ſtill voting on the other ſide. They ſaid, they had got good pennyworths for their money: A ſure law againſt Popery, which had clauſes in it never paſſed before; for all that continued in office after the time lapſed, they not taking the Sacrament, and not renouncing Tranſubſtantiation (which came to be called the Teſt, and the Act from it the Teſt Act) were rendred incapable of holding any office: All the Acts they did in it were declared invalid and illegal, beſides a fine of 500 *l.* to the diſcoverer. Yet upon that Lord *Cavendiſh*, now Duke of *Devonſhire*, ſaid, that, when much money was given to buy a law againſt Popery, the force of the money would be ſtronger in order to the bringing it in, than the law could be for keeping it out. I never knew a thing of this nature carried ſo ſuddenly, and ſo artificially, in the Houſe of Commons as this was, to the great amazement of the *Dutch*, who relied on the Parliament, and did not doubt but that a peace with *England* would be procured by their interpoſition.

A great ſupply was given.

Thus this memorable ſeſſion ended. It was indeed much the beſt ſeſſion of that long Parliament. The Church party ſhewed a noble zeal for their religion: And the Diſſenters got great reputation by their ſilent deportment. After the ſeſſion was over the Duke carried all his commiſſions to the King, and wept as he delivered them up: But the King ſhewed no concern at all. Yet he put the Admiralty in a Commiſſi-

The Duke laid down all his commiſſions.

1673. on composed wholly of the Duke's creatures. So that the power of the navy was ſtill in his hands. Lord *Clifford* left the treaſury, and was ſucceeded by *Osborn*, who was ſoon after made Earl of *Danby*. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had loſt the King's favour quite. But it was not thought fit to lay him aſide, till it ſhould appear what ſervice he could do them in another ſeſſion of Parliament. Lord *Arlington* had loſt the Duke more than any other. He looked on him as a pitiful coward, who would forſake and betray any thing, rather than run any danger himſelf. Prince *Rupert* was ſent to command the fleet. But the Captains were the Duke's creatures: So they croſs'd him all they could, and complained of every thing he did. In a word they ſaid, he had neither ſenſe nor conduct left. Little could be expected from a fleet ſo commanded, and ſo divided. He had two or three engagements with the *Dutch*, that were well fought on both ſides, but were of no great conſequence, and were drawn battles. None of the *French* ſhips engaged, except one, who charged their Admiral for his ill conduct. But, inſtead of reward, he was clapt in the *Baſtille* upon his return to *France*. This opened the eyes and mouths of the whole Nation. All men cried out, and ſaid, we were engaged in a war by the *French*, that they might have the pleaſure to ſee the *Dutch* and us deſtroy one another, while they knew our ſeas and ports, and learned all our methods, but took care to preſerve themſelves. Count *Schomberg* told me, he preſs'd the *French* Ambaſſadour to have the matter examined. Otherwiſe, if ſatisfaction was not given to the Nation, he was ſure the next Parliament would break the alliance. But by the Ambaſſadour's coldneſs he ſaw, the *French* Admiral had acted according to his inſtructions. So *Schomberg* made haſte to get out of *England*, to prevent an addreſs to ſend him away: And he was by that time as weary of the Court, as the Court was of him.

The Duke treats for a ſecond marriage.

The Duke was now looking for another wife. He made addreſſes to the Lady *Bellaſis*, the widow of the Lord *Bellaſis*'s ſon. She was a zealous Proteſtant, tho' ſhe was married into a Popiſh family. She was a woman of much life, and great vivacity, but of a very ſmall proportion of beauty; as the Duke was often obſerved to be led by his amours to objects that had no extraordinary charms. Lady *Bellaſis* gained ſo much on the Duke, that he gave her a promiſe under his hand to marry her. And he ſent *Coleman* to her to draw her over to Popery: But in that ſhe could not be moved. When ſome of her friends reproached her for admitting the Duke ſo freely to ſee her, ſhe could not bear it, but ſaid, ſhe could ſhew that his addreſſes to her were honourable. When this came to the Lord *Bellaſis*'s ears, who was her father in law, and was a zealous Papiſt, and knew how intractable the Lady was in thoſe matters, he gave the whole deſign of bringing in their religion for gone, if that was not quickly broke: So he, pretending a zeal for the King, and the Duke's honour, went and told the King all he had heard. The King ſent for the Duke, and told him, it was too much that he had plaid the fool once; That was not to be done a ſecond time, and at ſuch an age. The Lady was alſo ſo threatned, that ſhe gave up the promiſe, but kept an atteſted copy of it, as ſhe her ſelf told me. There was an Archduchеſs of *Inſpruck*, to whom marriage was ſolemnly propoſed: But, the Emperes happening to die at that time, the Emperour himſelf married her. After that a match was propoſed to the Duke of *Modena*'s daughter, which took effect. But becauſe thoſe at *Rome* were not willing to conſent to it, unleſs ſhe might have a publick Chapel, which the Court would not hearken to, another marriage was propoſed for a daughter of the Duke of *Crequi*'s. I ſaw a long letter of the Duke's writ to Sir *William Lockhart* upon this ſubject with great anxiety. He apprehended, if he was not married before the ſeſſion of Parliament, that they would fall on that matter, and limit him ſo, that he ſhould never be able to marry to his content: He was vexed at the ſtiffneſs of the Court of *Rome*, who were demanding terms that could not be granted: He had ſent a poſitive order to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who was negotiating the buſineſs at *Modena*, to come away by ſuch a day, if all was not conſented to. In the mean while he hoped, the King of *France* would not put that mortification on him, as to expoſe him to the violence of the Parliament, (I uſe his own words;) but that he would give order for diſpatching that matter with all poſſible haſte. But, while he was thus perplexed, the Court of *Rome* yielded: And ſo the Duke married that Lady by proxy: And the Earl of *Peterborough* brought her over thro' *France*.

The

1673.

The *Swedes* offered at this time a mediation in order to a peace: And *Cologn* was proposed to be the place of treaty. The King ordered the Earl of *Sunderland*, Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, and Sir *Joseph Williamson*, thither to be his Plenipotentiaries. Lord *Sunderland* was a man of a clear and ready apprehension, and a quick decision in business. He had too much heat both of imagination and passion, and was apt to speak very freely both of persons and things. His own notions were always good. But he was a man of great expence. And, in order to the supporting himself, he went into the prevailing counsels at Court: And he changed sides often, with little regard either to religion, or the interest of his country. He raised many enemies to himself by the contempt with which he treated those who differed from him. He had indeed the superiour genius to all the men of business that I have yet known. And he had the dexterity of insinuating himself so entirely into the greatest degree of confidence with three succeeding Princes, who set up on very different interests, that he came by this to lose himself so much, that even those who esteemed his parts, depended little on his firmness.

A treaty opened at *Cologn*.

Lord *Sunderland*'s character.

The treaty of *Cologn* was of a short continuance: For the Emperour, looking on *Furstenberg*, the Dean of *Cologn*, and Bishop of *Strasburg*, afterwards advanced to be Cardinal, who was the Elector's Plenipotentiary at that treaty, as a subject of the Empire, who had betrayed it, ordered him to be seized on. The *French* looked on this as such a violation of the pass-ports, that they set it up for a preliminary, before they would enter upon a treaty, to have him set at liberty.

The treaty broke off.

Mastricht was taken this summer, in which the Duke of *Monmouth* distinguished himself so eminently, that he was much considered upon it. The King of *France* was there. After the taking of *Mastricht* he went to *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, and left the Prince of *Conde* with the army in *Flanders*, *Turenne* having the command of that on the upper *Rhine* against the *Germans*; for the Emperour and the whole Empire were now engaged.

But I return now to the intrigues of our Court. I came up this summer, in order to the publishing the memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*. I had left *Scotland* under an universal discontent. The whole administration there was both violent and corrupt, and seemed to be formed on a *French* model. The Parliament had in the year 1663, in order to the bringing our trade to a balance with *England*, given the King in trust a power to lay impositions on foreign commodities. So upon that a great duty was lately laid upon *French* salt, in order to the better vending the salt made at home: upon which it was sold very dear. And that raised great complaints. For, as the salt was excessive dear, so it did not serve all purposes. All people looked on this, as the beginning of a gabel. An imposition was also laid on *Tobacco*: And all brandy was prohibited to be imported, but not to be retailed. So those who had the grant of the measures, sold them, and raised the price very much. These occasioned monopolies: and the price of those things that were of great consumption among the Commons was much raised: So that a trust lodged with the Crown was now abused in the highest degree. As these things provoked the body of the people, so Duke *Lauderdale*'s insolence, and his engrossing every thing to himself, and to a few of his friends, and his wife, and his brother setting all things to sale, raised a very high discontent all over the Nation. The affairs of the Church were altogether neglected. So that in all respects we were quite out of joint.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

I went up with a full resolution to do my country all the service I could, and to deal very plainly with the Duke of *Lauderdale*, resolving if I could do no good, to retire from all affairs, and to meddle no more in publick business. I lost indeed my best friend at Court. Sir *Robert Murray* died suddenly at that time. He was the wisest, and worthiest Man of the age, and was as another father to me. I was sensible how much I lost in so critical a conjuncture, being bereft of the truest and faithfullest friend I had ever known: And so I saw, I was in danger of committing great errours for want of so kind a monitor.

At my coming to Court, Duke *Lauderdale* took me into his closet, and asked me the state of *Scotland*. I upon that gave him a very punctual and true account of it. He seemed to think that I aggravated matters; and asked me, if the King should send an army from *Scotland* to tame those in *England*, whether that might be depended on? I told him, certainly not: The Commons in the southern parts were all Presbyterians: And the Nobility though they had been ill used, and were generally discontented, and only waited for an occasion to shew it. He said, he was of another mind:

Lauderdale's design.

1673. mind: The hope of the ſpoil of *England* would ſeach them all in. I anſwered, the King was ruined if ever he truſted to that: And I added, that with relation to other more indifferent perſons, who might be otherwiſe ready enough to puſh their fortunes without any anxious enquiries into the grounds they went on, yet even theſe would not truſt the King, ſince he had ſo lately ſaid, he would ſtick to his Declaration, and yet had ſo ſoon after given it up. He ſaid, *Hinc illæ Lacrymæ*: But the King was forſaken in that matter, for none ſtuck to him but Lord *Clifford*, and himſelf: And then he ſet himſelf into a fit of railing at Lord *Shafeſbury*. I was ſtruck with this converſation: And by it I clearly ſaw into the deſperate deſigns of the Court, which were as fooliſh, as they were wicked: For I knew, that upon the leaſt diſorder in *England* they were ready in *Scotland* to have broke out into a rebellion: So far were they from any inclination to have aſſiſted the King in the maſtering of *England*. I was much perplexed in my ſelf what I ought to do, whether I ought not to have tried to give the King a truer view of our affairs: But I reſolved to ſtay for a fit opportunity. I tried the Ducheſs of *Lauderdale*, and ſet before her the injuſtice and oppreſſion that *Scotland* was groaning under: But I ſaw ſhe got too much by it to be any way concerned at it. They talked of going down to hold a ſeſſion of Parliament in *Scotland*: I warned them of their danger. But they deſpiſed all I could ſay: Only great offers were made to my ſelf, to make me wholly theirs, which made no impreſſion on me.

The King liked my Memoirs.

He carried me to the King, and propoſed the licenſing my Memoirs to him. The King bid me bring them to him; and ſaid, he would read them himſelf. He did read ſome parts of them, particularly the account I gave of the ill conduct of the Biſhops, that occaſioned the beginning of the wars; and told me, that he was well pleaſed with it. He was at that time ſo much offended with the *Engliſh* Biſhops for oppoſing the toleration, that he ſeemed much ſharpened againſt them. He gave me back my book to carry it to Secretary *Coventry*, in order to the licenſing it. The Secretary ſaid, he would read it all himſelf: So this obliged me to a longer ſtay than I intended. Sir *Ellis Leightoun* carried me to the Duke of *Buckingham*, with whom I paſs'd almoſt a whole night; and happened ſo far to pleaſe him, that he, who was apt to be fired with a new acquaintance, gave ſuch a character of me to the King, that ever after that he took much notice of me, and ſaid, he would hear me preach. He ſeemed well pleaſed with my ſermon; and ſpoke of it in a ſtrain that drew much envy on me.

And ſhewed me great favour.

He ordered me to be ſworn a Chaplain, and admitted me to a long private audience, that laſted above an hour, in which I took all the freedom with him that I thought became my profeſſion. He run me into a long diſcourſe about the authority of the Church, which he thought we made much of in our diſputes with the Diſſenters, and then took it all away when we dealt with the Papiſts. I ſaw plainly what he aimed at in this: And I quickly convinced him, that there was a great difference between an authority of government in things indifferent, and a pretence to infallibility. He complained heavily of the Biſhops for neglecting the true concern of the Church, and following Courts ſo much, and being ſo engaged in parties. I went thro' ſome other things with relation to his courſe of life, and entred into many particulars with much freedom. He bore it all very well; and thanked me for it: Some things he freely condemned, ſuch as living with another mans wife: Other things he excuſed, and thought God would not damn a man for a little irregular pleaſure. He ſeemed to take all I had ſaid very kindly: And during my ſtay at Court he uſed me in ſo particular a manner, that I was conſidered as a man growing into a high degree of favour.

My converſation with the Duke.

At the ſame time Lord *Ancram*, a *Scottiſh* Earl, but of a ſmall fortune, and of no principles, either as to religion or vertue, whoſe wife was a Papiſt, and himſelf a member of the Houſe of Commons, told the Duke that I had a great intereſt in *Scotland*, and might do him ſervice in that Kingdom. He depended on Duke *Lauderdale*; but hated him, becauſe he did nothing for him. We were acquainted there: And, he having ſtudied the moſt divinity of any man of quality I ever knew, we found many ſubjects of diſcourſe. He ſaw, I did not flatter Duke *Lauderdale*: And he fancied he might make a tool of me. So he ſeemed to wonder that I had not been carried to wait on the Duke; and brought me a meſſage from him, that he would be glad to ſee me: And upon that he carried me to him. The Duke received me very graciouſly. Lord *Ancram* had a mind to engage me to give him an account

account of the affairs of *Scotland*: But I avoided that, and very bluntly entred into much diſcourſe with him about matters of religion. He ſaid ſome of the common things, of the neceſſity of having but one Church, otherwiſe we ſaw what ſwarms of ſects did riſe up on our revolt from *Rome*, and theſe had raiſed many rebellions, and the ſhedding much blood: And he named both his father's death, and his great grandmother's, *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*: He alſo turned to ſome paſſages in *Heylin*'s hiſtory of the Reformation, which he had lying by him: And the paſſages were marked, to ſhew upon what motives and principles men were led into the changes that were then made. I enlarged upon all theſe particulars; and ſhewed him the progreſs that ignorance and ſuperſtition had made in many dark ages, and how much bloodſhed was occaſioned by the Papal pretenſions, for all which the opinion of infallibility was a ſource never to be exhauſted. And I ſpoke long to ſuch things as were beſt ſuited to his temper, and his capacity. I ſaw Lord *Arcram* helped him all he could, by which I perceived how he made his Court; for which when I reproached him afterwards, he ſaid, it was ill breeding in me to preſs ſo hard on a Prince. The Duke upon this converſation expreſſed ſuch a liking to me, that he ordered me to come oft to him: And afterwards he allowed me to come to him in a private way, as oft as I pleaſed. He deſired to know the ſtate of affairs in *Scotland*. I told him how little that Kingdom could be depended on. I turned the diſcourſe often to matters of religion. He broke it very gently; for he was not at all rough in private converſation. He wiſhed, I would let thoſe matters alone: I might be too hard for him, and ſilence him, but I could never convince him. I told him, it was a thing he could never anſwer to God nor the world, that being born and baptized in our Church, and having his father's laſt orders to continue ſtedfaſt in it, he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced, and as it were ſtollen out of it, hearing only one ſide, without offering his ſcruples to our divines, or hearing what they had to ſay in anſwer to them; and that he was now ſo fixed in his Popery, that he would not ſo much as examine the matter. He ſaid to me, he had often picqueered out (that was his word) on *Sheldon*, and ſome other Biſhops; by whoſe anſwers he could not but conclude, that they were much nearer the Church of *Rome*, than ſome of us young men were.

1673.

Stilling fleet had a little before this time publiſhed a book of the idolatry and fanaticiſm of the Church of *Rome*. Upon that the Duke ſaid, he asked *Sheldon*, if it was the doctrine of the Church of *England*, that Roman Catholicks were idolaters: Who anſwered him, it was not; but that young men of parts would be popular; and ſuch a charge was the way to it. He at that time ſhewed me the Ducheſs's paper, that has been ſince printed: It was all writ with her own hand. He gave me leave to read it twice over: But would not ſuffer me to copy it. And upon the mention made in it of her having ſpoke to Biſhops concerning ſome of her ſcruples, and that ſhe had ſuch anſwers from them, as confirmed and heightened them, I went from him to *Morley*, as was ſaid formerly, and had from him the anſwer there ſet down. I asked the Duke's leave to bring Dr. *Stilling fleet* to him. He was averſe to it; and ſaid, it would make much noiſe, and could do no good. I told him, even the noiſe would have a good effect: It would ſhew he was not ſo obſtinate, but that he was willing to hear our divines. I preſſed it much: For it became neceſſary to me, on my own account, to clear my ſelf from the ſuſpicion of Popery, which this extraordinary favour had drawn upon me. I at laſt prevailed with the Duke to conſent to it: And he aſſigned an hour of audience. *Stilling fleet* went very readily, tho' he had no hopes of ſucceſs. We were about two hours with him, and went over moſt of the points of controverſy. *Stilling fleet* thought, the point that would go the eaſieſt, and be the beſt underſtood by him, was the Papal pretenſions to a power over Princes, in depoſing them, and giving their dominions to others: And upon that, he ſhewed him, that Popery was calculated to make the Pope the ſovereign of all Chriſtendom. The Duke ſhifted the diſcourſe from one point to another; and did not ſeem to believe the matters of fact, and hiſtory alledged by us. So we deſired, he would call for ſome Prieſts, and hear us diſcourſe of thoſe matters with them in his preſence. He declined this; and ſaid, it would make a noiſe. He aſſured us, he deſired nothing, but to follow his own conſcience, which he impoſed on no body elſe, and that he would never attempt to alter the eſtabliſhed religion. He loved to repeat this often. But when I was alone with him, I warned him of the great difficulties his religion was like to caſt him into. This was no good argument to make

I carried Doctor *Stilling fleet* to him.

1673. him change: But it was certainly a very good argument to make him consider the matter ſo well, that he might be ſure he was in the right. He objected to me the doctrine of the Church of *England* in the point of ſubmiſſion, and of paſſive obedience. I told him, there was no truſting to a diſputable opinion: There were alſo diſtinctions and reſerves, even in thoſe who had aſſerted thoſe points the moſt. And it was very certain, that when men ſaw a viſible danger of being firſt undone, and then burnt, they would be inclined to the ſhorteſt way of arguing, and to ſave themſelves the beſt way they could: Intereſt and ſelf-preſervation were powerful motives. He did very often aſſure me, he was againſt all violent methods, and all perſecution for conſcience ſake, and was better furniſhed to ſpeak well on that head, than on any other. I told him, all he could ſay that way would do him little ſervice: For the Words of Princes were looked on as arts to lay men aſleep: And they had generally regarded them ſo little themſelves, that they ought not to expect that others ſhould have great regard to them. I added, he was now of a religion, in which others had the keeping of his conſcience, who would now hide from him this point of their religion, ſince it was not ſafe to own it, till they had it in their power to put it in practice: And whenever that time ſhould come, I was ſure that the principles of their Church muſt carry him to all the extremities of extirpation. I carried a volume of Judge *Crook's* to him, in which it is reported, that King *James* had once in Council complained of a ſlander caſt on him, as if he was inclined to change his religion; and had ſolemnly vindicated himſelf from the imputation; and prayed, that if any ſhould ever ſpring out of his loins that ſhould maintain any other religion than that which he truly maintained and profeſſed, that God would take him out of the world. He read it: But it made no impreſſion. And when I urged him with ſome things in his father's book, he gave me the account of it that was formerly mentioned. He entered into great freedom with me about all his affairs: And he ſhewed me the journals he took of buſineſs every day with his own hand: A method he ſaid, that the Earl of *Clarendon* had ſet him on. The Ducheſs had begun to write his life. He ſhewed me a part of it in a thin volume in folio. I read ſome of it, and found it writ with a great deal of ſpirit. He told me, he intended to truſt me with his journals, that I might draw a hiſtory out of them. And thus in a few weeks time, I had got far into his confidence. He did alſo allow me to ſpeak to him of the irregularities of his life, ſome of which he very freely confeſſed. And when I urged him, how ſuch a courſe of life did agree with the zeal he ſhewed in his religion; he anſwered, muſt a man be of no religion, unleſs he is a ſaint? Yet he bore my freedom very gently, and ſeemed to like me the better for it. My favour with him grew to be the obſervation of the whole Court. Lord *Ancram* ſaid, I might be what I pleaſed, if I would be a little ſofter in the points of religion. Sir *Ellis Leighton* brought me a meſſage from Father *Sheldon*, and ſome of his Prieſts, aſſuring me, they heard ſo well of me, that they offered me their ſervice. He preſſed me to improve my preſent advantages to the making my fortune: The See of *Durham* was then vacant: And he was confident, it would be no hard matter for me to compaſs it. But I had none of thoſe views, and ſo was not moved by them. The Duke of *Buckingham* asked me, what I meant in being ſo much about the Duke? If I fancied I could change him in point of religion, I knew him and the world very little: If I had a mind to raiſe my ſelf, a ſure method for that was, to talk to him of the Reformation, as a thing done in heat and haſte, and that in a calmer time it might be fit to review it all. He ſaid, I needed go no farther; for ſuch an intimation would certainly raiſe me. And when I was poſitive not to enter into ſuch a compliance, he told me, he knew Courts better than I did: Princes thought their favours were no ordinary things: They expected great ſubmiſſion in return: Otherwiſe they thought they were deſpiſed: And I would feel the ill effects of the favour I then had, if I did not ſtrike into ſome compliances: And, ſince he was reſolved againſt theſe, he adviſed me to withdraw from the Court, the ſooner the better. I imputed this to his hatred of the Duke: But I found afterwards the advice was ſound and good. I likewiſe ſaw thoſe things in the Duke's temper, from which I concluded, I could not maintain an intereſt in him long. He was for ſubjects ſubmitting in all things to the King's notions; and thought, that all who oppoſed him, or his Miniſters in Parliament, were rebels in their hearts; and he hated popular things, as below the dignity of a King. He was much ſharpened at this time by the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons.

In

1673.

In the former ſeſſion it was known, that he was treating a marriage with the Archdoches: And yet no addreſs was made to the King to hinder his marrying a Papiſt. His honour was not then engaged: ſo it had been ſeaſonable, and to good purpoſe to have moved in it then. But now he was married by proxy, and Lord *Peterborough* had brought the Lady to *Paris*. Yet the Houſe of Commons reſolved to follow the patern the King of *France* had lately ſet. He treated with the Elector Palatine for a marriage between his brother and the Elector's daughter; in which one of the conditions agreed to was, that ſhe ſhould enjoy the freedom of her religion, and have a private Oratory for the exerciſe of it. When ſhe came on her way as far as *Metz*, an order was ſent to ſtop her, till ſhe was better inſtructed. Upon which ſhe changed, at leaſt as to outward appearance. It is true, the Court of *France* gave it out that the Elector had conſented to this method, for the ſaving his own honour. And he had given the world cauſe to believe, he was capable of that, tho' he continued openly to deny it. The Houſe of Commons reſolved to follow this precedent, and to make an addreſs to the King, to ſtop the Princeſs of *Modena*'s coming to *England*, till ſhe ſhould change her religion. Upon this the Duke moved the King to prorogue the Parliament for a week: And a Commiſſion was ordered for it. The Duke went to the Houſe on that day, to preſs the calling up the Commons before they could have time to go on to buſineſs. Some Peers were to be brought in. The Duke preſſed Lord *Shaftsbury* to put that off, and to prorogue the Parliament. He ſaid coldly to him, there was no haſte. But the Commons made more haſte: For they quickly came to a vote for ſtopping the marriage. And by this means they were engaged, (having put ſuch an affront on the Duke,) to proceed farther. He preſently told me, how the matter went, and how the Lord Chancellour had uſed him: He was confident the King would take the Seals from him, if he could not manage the Commons ſo as to procure him money, of which there was indeed ſmall appearance. I told him, I looked on that as a fatal thing, if the Commons began once to affront him: That would have a ſad train of conſequences, as ſoon as they thought it neceſſary for their own preſervation to ſecure themſelves from falling under his revenges. He ſaid, he was reſolved to ſtand his ground, and to ſubmit to the King in every thing: He would never take off an enemy: But he would let all the world ſee, that he was ready to forgive every one, that ſhould come off from his oppoſition, and make applications to him. When the week of the prorogation was ended, the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech of the King's, which had ſuch various ſtrains in it, that it was plain it was made by different perſons. The Duke told me, that Lord *Clarendon* during his favour, had penned all the King's ſpeeches; but that now they were compoſed in the Cabinet, one Miniſter putting in one period, while another made the other; ſo that all was not of a piece. He told me, Lord *Arlington* was almoſt mad with fear: But Lord *Shaftsbury* reckoned himſelf gone at Court, and acted more roundly. In his ſpeech he ſtudied to correct his *Delenda eſt Carthago*, applying it to the *Loveſtein* party, whom he called the *Carthaginians*: But this made him as ridiculous, as the other had made him odious. The Houſe of Commons took up again the matter of the Duke's marriage, and moved for an addreſs about it. But ſtill the King's honour was engaged. Yet they addreſſed to him againſt it. But the King made them no anſwer. By that time I had obtained a licence of Secretary *Coventry* for my book, which the King ſaid ſhould be printed at his charge.

The Duke's marriage oppoſed by the Commons.

But now I muſt give an account of a ſtorm raiſed againſt my ſelf, the effects of which were very ſenſible to me for many years. The Duke of *Lauderdale* had kept the *Scottiſh* Nation in ſuch a dependence on himſelf, that he was not pleaſed with any of them that made any acquaintance in *England*, and leaſt of all in the Court: Nor could he endure, that any of them ſhould apply themſelves to the King, or the Duke, but thro' him. So he looked on the favour I had got into with a very jealous eye. His Dutcheſs queſtioned me about it. Thoſe who know what Court jealouſies are will eaſily believe, that I muſt have ſaid ſomewhat to ſatisfy them, or break with them. I told her, what was very true as to the Duke, that my converſation with him was about religion; and that with the King I had talked of the courſe of affairs he led. I obſerved a deep jealouſy of me in them both; eſpecially, becauſe I could not go with them to *Scotland*. I ſaid, I would follow, as ſoon as the Secretary ſhould diſpatch me. And as ſoon as that was done I took poſt, and by a great fall of ſnow was ſtop'd by the way. But I unhappily got to *Edenburgh* the Night before the Parliament met. Duke *Hamilton*, and many others, told me how ſtrangely Duke

A Parliament in *Scotland*.

Lauderdale

1673. *Lauderdale* talked of my intereſt at Court; as if I was ready to turn Papiſt. Duke *Hamilton* alſo told me, they were reſolved next day to attack Duke *Lauderdale*, and his whole adminiſtration in Parliament. I was troubled at this; and argued with him againſt the fitneſs of it all I could. But he ſaid he was engaged: The Earls of *Rothes*, *Argile*, and *Tweedale*, and all the Cavalier party, had promiſed to ſtick by him. I told him, what afterwards happened, that moſt of theſe would make their own terms, and leave him in the lurch: And the load would lye on him. When I ſaw the thing was paſt remedy, I reſolved to go home, and follow my ſtudies; ſince I could not keep Duke *Lauderdale* and him any longer in a good underſtanding.

A party formed againſt *Lauderdale*.

Next day, when the Parliament was opened, the King's letter was read, deſiring their aſſiſtance in carrying on the war with *Holland*, and aſſuring them of his affection to them in very kind words. This was ſeconded by Duke *Lauderdale* in a long ſpeech. And immediately it was moved to appoint a Committee to prepare an anſwer to the King's letter, as was uſual. Duke *Hamilton* moved, that the ſtate of the nation might be firſt conſidered, that ſo they might ſee what grievances they had: And he hinted at ſome. And then, as it had been laid, about twenty men, one after another, ſpoke to ſeveral particulars. Some mentioned the ſalt, others the tobacco, and the brandy: Some complained of the adminiſtration of juſtice, and others of the coin. With this the Duke of *Lauderdale* was ſtruck, as one dead; for he had raiſed his credit at Court by the opinion of his having all *Scotland* in his hand, and in a dependence on him; So a diſcovery of this want of credit with us he ſaw muſt ſink him there. He had not looked for this; tho' I had warned him of a great deal of it. But he reflecting on that, and on the credit I had got at Court, and on the haſte I made in my journey, and my coming critically the night before the ſeſſion opened, he laid all this together, and fancied I was ſent upon deſign, as the agent of the party, and that the licenſing my book was only a blind. He believed Sir *Robert Murray* had laid it, and that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had managed it. And becauſe it was a common artifice of King *Charles*'s Miniſters to put the miſcarriage of affairs upon ſome accident that had not been foreſeen by them, but ſhould be provided againſt for the future; he aſſured the King, that I had been the incendiary, that I had my uncle's temper in me, and that I muſt be ſubdued, otherwiſe I would embroil all his affairs. The King took all things of that kind eaſily from his Miniſters, without hearing anything to the contrary: For he was wont to ſay, all apologies were lies: Upon which one ſaid to him once, then he would always believe the firſt lye. But all this was much encreaſed, when Duke *Lauderdale* upon his coming up told the King that I had boaſted to his wife of the freedom that I had uſed with him upon his coming of life. With this the King was highly offended: Or at leaſt he made much use of it, to juſtify many hard things that he ſaid of me: And for many years he allowed himſelf a very free ſcope in talking of me: I was certainly to blame for the freedom I had uſed with the Ducheſs of *Lauderdale*: But I was ſurpriſed by her queſtion: And I could not bring my ſelf to tell a lye: So I had no other ſhift ready to ſatisfy her. But the Duke kept up ſtill a very good opinion of me. I went home to *Glaſcow*, where I proſecuted my ſtudies till the *June* following, when I went again to *London*.

He offers to redreſs grievances in Council.

Duke *Lauderdale* put off the ſeſſion of Parliament for ſome time; and called a council, in which he ſaid, great complaints had been made in Parliament of grievances: He had full authority to redreſs them all in the King's name: Therefore he charged the Privy Counſellours to lay all things of that kind before that board, and not to carry them before any other aſſembly, till they ſaw what redreſs was to be had there. Duke *Hamilton* ſaid, the regular way of complaints was to make them in Parliament, which only could redreſs them effectually; ſince the putting them down by the authority of Council, was only laying them aſide for a while, till a fitter opportunity was found to take them up again. Upon this Duke *Lauderdale* proteſted, that he was ready in the King's name to give the ſubject eaſe and freedom, and that thoſe who would not aſſiſt and concur with him in this were wanting in duty and reſpect to the King; and ſince he ſaw the matter of the ſalt, the tobacco, and the brandy, had raiſed much clamour, he would quaſh theſe. But the party had a mind to have the inſtruments of their oppreſſion puniſhed, as well as the oppreſſion it ſelf removed; and were reſolved to have theſe things condemned by ſome exemplary puniſhment, and to purſue Duke *Lauderdale* and his party with this clamour.

Next

1674.

Next session of Parliament new complaints were offered. Duke *Lauderdale* said, these ought to be made first to the Lords of the Articles, to whom all petitions and motions ought to be made first; and that they were the only Judges, what matters were fit to be brought into Parliament. The other side said, they were only a Committee of Parliament, to put motions into the form of Acts; but that the Parliament had full an entire authority to examine into the state of the Nation. In this debate, they had the reason of things on their side: But the words of the act favoured Duke *Lauderdale*. So he lodged it now where he wished it might be, in a point of prerogative. He valued himself to the King on this, that he had drawn the act that settled the power of the Lords of the articles; who being all upon the matter named by the King, it was of great concern to him to maintain that, as the check upon factious spirits there; which would be no sooner let go, than the Parliament of *Scotland* would grow as unquiet as a House of Commons was in *England*: That was a consideration which at this time had great weight with the King. I now return to give an account of this year's session in *England*.

A dispute raised about the Lords of the Articles.

In the beginning of it, the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Shaftsbury*, and *Arlington*, and Secretary *Coventry*, offered an advice to the King, for sending the Duke for some time from the Court, as a good expedient both for himself and the Duke. The King hearkened so far to it, that he sent them to move it to the Duke. He was highly incensed at it: He said, he would obey all the King's orders, but would look upon those as his enemies, who offered him such advices. And he never forgave this to any of them; no not to *Coventry*, for all his good opinion of him. He pressed the King vehemently to take the seals from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. So it was done: And they were given to *Finch*, then Attorney General, made afterwards Earl of *Nottingham*. He was a man of probity and well versed in the laws. He was long much admired for his eloquence: But it was laboured and affected: And he saw it as much despised before he died. He had no sort of knowledge in foreign affairs; And yet he loved to talk of them perpetually: By which he exposed himself to those who understood them. He thought he was bound to justify the Court in all debates in the House of Lords, which he did with the vehemence of a pleader, rather than with the solemnity of a senatour. He was an incorrupt Judge: And in his Court he could resist the strongest applications even from the King himself, tho' he did it no where else. He was too eloquent on the bench, in the House of Lords, and in common conversation. One thing deserves to be remembred of him: He took great care of filling the Church livings that belonged to the Seal with worthy men: And he obliged them all to residence. Lord *Shaftsbury* was now at liberty to open himself against the Court; which he did with as little reserve as decency.

The proceedings in the Parliament of *England*.

Finch's character.

The House of Commons were resolved to fall on all the Ministry. They began with Duke *Lauderdale*, and voted an address to remove him from the King's Councils and presence for ever. They went next upon the Duke of *Buckingham*: And, it being moved in his name, that the House would hear him, he was suffered to come to the House. The first day of his being before them he fell into such a disorder, that he pretended he was taken ill, and desired to be admitted again. Next day he was more composed. He justified his own designs, laying all the ill counsels upon others, chiefly on Lord *Arlington*, intimating plainly that the root of all errours was in the King and the Duke. He said, hunting was a good diversion, but if a man would hunt with a brace of lobsters, he would have but ill sport. He had used that figure to my self; but had then applied it to Prince *Rupert* and Lord *Arlington*: But it was now understood to go higher. His speech signified nothing towards the saving of himself: But it lost him the King's favour so entirely, that he never recovered it afterwards. Lord *Arlington* was next attack'd: He appeared also before the Commons, and spoke much better than was expected: He excused himself, but without blaming the King: And this had so good an effect, that tho' he, as Secretary of State, was more exposed than any other, by the many warrants and orders he had signed, yet he was acquitted, tho' by a small majority. But the care he took to preserve himself, and his success in it, lost him his high favour with the King, as the Duke was out of measure offended at him: So he quitted his post, and was made Lord Chamberlain.

The House of Commons was resolved to force the King to a peace with the *Dutch*. The Court of *France* recalled *Croissy*, finding that the Duke was offended at his being led by Lord *Arlington*. *Rouvigny* was sent over: A man of great practice in business,

1674. finesse, and in all intrigues. He was still a firm Protestant, but in all other respects a very dextrous Courtier, and one of the greatest Statesmen in *Europe*. He had the appointments of an Ambassadour, but would not take the character, that he might not have a Chapel, and Mass said in it. Upon his coming over, as he himself told me, he found all the Ministers of the Allies were perpetually plying the Members of the House of Commons with their memorials. He knew he could gain nothing on them: So he never left the King. The King was in great perplexity: He would have done any thing, and parted with any persons, if that would have procured him money for carrying on the war. But he saw little appearance of that. He found he was indeed at the mercy of the States. So Lord *Arlington* pressed the *Spanish* Ministers to prevail with the States, and the Prince of *Orange*, to get a proposition for a peace to be set on foot. And that it might have some shew of a peace both begg'd and bought, he proposed that a sum of money should be offered the King by the States, which should be made over by him to the Prince for the payment of the debt he owed him. *Rouvigny* press'd the King much to give his Parliament all satisfaction in points of religion. The King answered him, if it was not for his brother's folly, (*La Sottise de mon Frere*,) he would get out of all his difficulties. *Rouvigny* drew a memorial for informing the House of Commons of the modesty of his master's pretensions: For now the *French* King was sensible of his errours in making such high demands, as he had made at *Utrecht*; and was endeavouring to get out of the war on easier terms. The States committed a great errour in desiring a peace with *England*, without desiring at the same time, that the King should enter into the alliance for reducing the *French* to the terms of the Triple Alliance. But the Prince of *Orange* thought, that if he could once separate the King from his alliance with *France*, the other point would be soon brought about. And the States were much set on the having a peace with *England*, hoping then both to be freed of the great trouble of securing the coast at a vast charge; and also by the advantage of their fleet to ruine the trade, and to insult the coast of *France*. The States did this winter confer a new and extraordinary dignity on the Prince of *Orange*. They made him Hereditary Stadtholder. So that this was entailed on him, and his issue male. He had in a year and a half's time changed the whole face of their affairs. He had not only taken *Naerden*, which made *Amsterdam* easy: But by a very bold undertaking he had gone up the *Rhine* to *Bon*, and had taken it in a very few days: And in it had cut off the supplies that the *French* sent down to their garrisons on the *Rhine* and the *Issel*. So that the *French* finding they could not subsist longer there, were now resolved to evacuate all those places, and the three Provinces of which they were possessed; which they did a few months after. An alliance was also made with the Emperour. And by this means both the Elector of *Cologn*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, were brought to a peace with the States. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* was likewise returning to the alliance with the States: For in the treaty, to which he was forced to submit, with *Turenne* for a truce of a year he had put an article, reserving to himself a liberty to act in concurrence with the Empire, according to such resolutions as should be taken in the Diet. This change of the affairs of the States had got the Prince of *Orange* the affections of the people to such a degree, that he could have obtained every thing of them that he would have desired: And even the loss of so important a place as *Mastricht* was not at all charged on him. So he brought the States to make applications to the King in the style of those who begg'd a peace, tho' it was visible they could have forced it. In conclusion, a project of a peace with *England* was formed, or rather the peace of *Breda* was writ over again, with the offer of 2 or 300000 *l.* for the expence of the war. And the King signed it at Lord *Arlington*'s office.

A peace concluded with the States.

He came up immediately into the drawing room; where seeing *Rouvigny* he took him aside, and told him, he had been doing a thing that went more against his heart, than the losing of his right hand: He had signed a peace with the *Dutch*, the project being brought him by the *Spanish* Ambassadour: He saw nothing could content the House of Commons, or draw money from them: And Lord *Arlington* had pressed him so hard, that he had stood out till he was weary of his life: He saw it was impossible for him to carry on the war without supplies, of which it was plain he could have no hopes. *Rouvigny* told him, what was done could not be helped: But he would let him see how faithfully he would serve him on this occasion: He did not doubt but his master would submit all his pretensions to him, and make him the arbiter

The King became the mediatour of the peace.

1674.

rbiter and mediatour of the peace. This the King received with great joy; and aid, it would be the moſt acceptable ſervice that could be done him. The *French* reſolved upon this to accept of the King's mediation. And ſo the King got out of he war, very little to his honour, having both engaged in it upon unjuſt grounds, and managed it all along with ill conduct and bad ſucceſs: And now he got out of it in ſo poor and ſo diſhonourable a manner, that with it he loſt his credit both at home nd abroad. Yet he felt little of all this. He and his brother were now at their eaſe. Upon this, the Parliament was quickly prorogued: And the Court delivered it ſelf up again to its ordinary courſe of ſloth and luxury. But Lord *Arlington*, who had brought all this about, was ſo entirely loſt by it, that tho' he knew too much of the ſecret to be ill uſed, yet he could never recover the ground he had loſt.

The Ducheſs of *York* came over that winter. She was then very young, about ixteen, but of a full growth. She was a graceful perſon, with a good meaſure of beauty, and ſo much wit and cunning, that during all this reign ſhe behaved her ſelf n ſo obliging a manner, and ſeemed ſo innocent and good, that ſhe gained upon all hat came near her, and poſſeſſed them with ſuch impreſſions of her, that it was long before her behaviour after ſhe was a Queen could make them change their thoughts of her. So artificially did this young *Italian* behave her ſelf, that ſhe deceived even the eldeſt and moſt jealous perſons, both in the Court and Country. Only ſometimes a atyrical temper broke out too much, which was imputed to youth and wit not enough practiſed to the world. She avoided the appearances of a zealot, or a meddler n buſineſs; and gave her ſelf up to innocent cheerfulneſs, and was univerſally eſteemed nd beloved, as long as ſhe was Ducheſs. The Ducheſs's character.

She had one put about her to be her Secretary, *Coleman*; who became ſo active in affairs of the party, and ended his life ſo unfortunately, that ſince I had much converſation with him, his circumſtances may deſerve that his character ſhould be given, tho' his perſon did not. I was told, he was a Clergymans ſon: But he was early catched by the Jeſuits, and bred many years among them. He underſtood the art of managing controverſies, chiefly that great one of the authority of the Church, better than any of their Prieſts. He was a bold man, reſolved to raiſe himſelf, which he did by dedicating himſelf wholly to the Jeſuits: And ſo he was raiſed by them. He had a great eaſineſs in writing in ſeveral languages; and writ many long letters, and was the chief correſpondent the party had in *England*. He lived at a vaſt expence. And talked in ſo poſitive a manner, that it looked like one who knew he was well ſupported. I ſoon ſaw into his temper; and I warned the Duke of it: For I looked on him, as a man much liker to ſpoil buſineſs, than to carry it on dextrouſly. He got into the confidence of *P. Ferrier* the King of *France*'s confeſſour; and tried to get into the ame pitch of confidence with *P. de la Chaiſe*, who ſucceeded him in that poſt. He went about every where, even to the jayls among the criminals, to make proſeytes. He dealt much both in the giving and taking of bribes. But now the affairs of *England* were calmed, I look again to *Scotland*, which was yet in a ſtorm. *Coleman*'s character.

The King writ to Duke *Hamilton* to come up. And when he and Lord *Tweedale* arrived, they were ſo well received, that they hoped to carry their point. But the King's deſign in this was, that, if he could have brought the Houſe of Commons to have given money, he was reſolved to have parted with Duke *Lauderdale*, and have employed them. And his kind uſage of them was on deſign to perſuade the Commons to uſe himſelf better, by ſhewing that he was ready to comply with them. He gave them ſo good a hearing, that they thought they had fully convinced him: And he blamed them only for not complaining to himſelf of thoſe grievances. But, as ſoon as he ſaw it was to no purpoſe to look for money from the Houſe of Commons, and had ſigned the peace, he ſent them down with full aſſurances that all things ſhould be left to the judgment of the Parliament. They came down thro' the greateſt fall of ſnow that has been in all my life time. When they got home, inſtead of a ſeſſion, there was an order for a prorogation; which gave ſuch an univerſal diſcontent, that many offered at very extravagant propoſitions, for deſtroying Duke *Lauderdale* and all his party. Duke *Hamilton*, who told me this ſome years after, when an act of Grace was publiſhed, was neither ſo bad nor ſo bold as to hearken to theſe. The King writ him a cajoling letter, deſiring him to come up once more, and to refer all matters to him: And he aſſured him, he would make up all differences. The affairs of *Scotland*.

The Parliament was prorogued.

In

1674.

Dalrimple's character.

In the mean while Duke *Lauderdale* took all possible methods to become more popular. He connived at the insolence of the Presbyterians, who took possession of one of the vacant Churches of *Edenburgh*, and preached in it for some months. The Earl of *Argile* and Sir *James Dalrimple* were the men on whom the Presbyterians depended most. Duke *Lauderdale* returned to his old kindness with the former: And Lord *Argile* was very ready to forget his late unkindness. So matters were made up between them. *Dalrimple* was the President of the session, a man of great temper, and of a very mild deportment, but a cunning man. He was now taken into the chief confidence. He told the Presbyterians, if they would now support Duke *Lauderdale*, this would remove the prejudice the King had against them, as enemies to his service. This wrought on many of them.

The Clergy was much provoked.

What influence soever this might have on the Presbyterians, the strange conduct with relation to them provoked the Clergy out of measure. Some hot men, that were not preferred as they thought they deserved, grew very mutinous, and complained that things were let fall into much confusion. And they raised a grievous outcry for the want of a National Synod to regulate our worship and government: And it moved in the Diocesan Synods, that a petition should be offered to the Privy Council, setting forth the necessity of having a National Synod. I liked no part of this. I knew the temper of our Clergy too well, to depend much on them. Therefore I went out of the way on purpose when our Synod was to meet. Petitions were offered for a National Synod, which was thought an innocent thing. Yet, it being done on design to heighten the fermentation the Kingdom was in, great exceptions were taken to it. One Bishop, and four of the Clergy, were turned out by an order from the King, pursuant to the act asserting the Supremacy. After a year, upon their submission, they were restored. Tho' I was not at all concerned in this, (for I was ever of *Nazianzen's* opinion, who never wished to see any more Synods of the Clergy,) yet the King was made believe, that I had laid the whole matter, even that I did not appear in any part of it.

A great distraction in *Scotland*.

Another disorder broke out, which had greater effects. A cause being judged in the supreme Court of Session, the party appealed to the Parliament. This was looked on as a high contempt, done on design to make the Parliament a Court of judicature, that so there might be a necessity of frequent Parliaments. So the Judges required all the lawyers to condemn this, as contrary to law. And they had the words of a law on their side. For there lay no such appeal, as stopt process, nor was there a writ of errour in their law: But upon petitions, Parliaments had, tho' but seldom, reviewed and reversed the judgments of the Courts. So the debate lay about the sense of the word *Appeal*. Sir *George Lockhart*, brother to the Ambassadour, was the most learned lawyer, and the best pleader I have ever yet known in any Nation; and he had all the lawyers almost in a dependence on him. He was engaged with the party, and resolved to stand it out. The King sent down an order to put all men from the bar that did not condemn appeals. And, when that wrought not on them, they were by proclamation banished *Edenburgh*, and twelve miles about it: And a new day was assigned them for making their submission; the King in a very unusual style declaring on the word of a Prince, that, if they submitted not by that day, they should never be again admitted to their practice. They stood it out: And the day lapsed without their submitting. Yet afterwards they renounced appeals in the sense of the Roman law: And, notwithstanding the unusual threatning in the proclamation, they were again restored to practice. But this made a stop for a whole year in all legal proceedings.

Lauderdale's proceedings there.

The government of the city of *Edenburgh* was not so compliant as was expected. So Duke *Lauderdale* procured a letter from the King to turn out twelve of the chief Magistrates, and to declare them for ever incapable of all publick trusts: So entirely had he forgot his complaints formerly made against incapacity, even when pass'd in an Act of Parliament. The boroughs of *Scotland* have by law a privilege of meeting once a year in a body, to consider of trade, and of by-laws relating to it. At a convention held this year a petition was agreed on, and sent to the King, complaining of some late Acts that hindered trade, for the repeal of which there was great need of a session of Parliament: They therefore prayed, that when the King sent down a Commissioner to hold a session, he might be instructed in order to that repeal. This was judged a legal thing by the lawyers there; for this was a lawful assembly: They did not petition for a Parliament, but only for instructions to the session. Yet it was condemned

condemned as ſeditious: And thoſe who promoted it were fined and impriſoned for it. Thus Duke *Lauderdale* was lifted up out of meaſure, and reſolved to cruſh all that ſtood in his way. He was made Earl of *Guilford* in *England*, and had a penſion of 3000 *l.* And he let himſelf looſe into a very ungoverned fury. When Duke *Hamilton*, and ſome other Lords came up the King deſired they would put their complaints in writing. They ſaid, the laws were ſo oddly worded, and more oddly executed, in *Scotland*, that the modeſteſt paper they could offer might be condemned as leaſing-making, and miſrepreſenting the King's proceedings: So they would not venture on it. The King promiſed them, that no ill uſe ſhould be made of it to their prejudice. But they did not think it ſafe to truſt him; for he ſeemed to be entirely delivered up to all Duke *Lauderdale*'s paſſions. 1674.

It is no wonder then that I could not ſtand before him; tho' at my coming up the Duke of *York* received me with great kindneſs, and told me, how he had got out of great difficulties, and added, that the King was very firm to him: He commended likewiſe his new Ducheſs much: He was troubled at our diſorders: He was firm to Duke *Lauderdale*: But he would have endeavoured to reconcile matters, if there had been room for it. He told me, the King was highly incenſed againſt me; and was made believe, that I was the chief ſpring of all that had happened: He himſelf believed me more innocent; and ſaid, he would endeavour to ſet me right with him. And he carried me to the King, who received me coldly. Some days after, when the Duke was a hunting, the Lord Chamberlain told me, he had orders to ſtrike my name out of the liſt of the Chaplains; and that the King forbad me the Court, and expected I ſhould go back to *Scotland*. The Duke ſeemed troubled at this, and ſpoke to the King about it: But he was poſitive. Yet he admitted me to ſay to him what I had to offer in my own juſtification. I ſaid all that I thought neceſſary; and appealed to Duke *Hamilton*, who did me juſtice in it. But the King ſaid, he was afraid I had been too buſy; and wiſhed me to go home to *Scotland*, and be more quiet. The Duke upon this told me, that, if I went home without reconciling my ſelf to Duke *Lauderdale*, I ſhould be certainly ſhut up in a cloſe priſon, where I might perhaps lye too long. This I look'd on as a very high obligation: So I reſigned my employment, and reſolved to ſtay in *England*. I preached in many of the Churches of *London*; and was ſo well receiv'd, that it was probable I might be accepted of in any that was to be diſpoſed of by a popular election. So a Church falling to be given in that way, the electors had a mind to chooſe me: But yet they were not willing to offend the Court. The Duke ſpoke to Duke *Lauderdale*, and told him that he had a mind I ſhould be ſettled in *London*, and deſired he would not oppoſe it. Duke *Lauderdale* ſaid, all this was a trick of the party in *Scotland*, to ſettle me, that I might be a correſpondent between the factions in both Kingdoms. Yet, upon the Duke's undertaking that I ſhould not meddle in thoſe matters, he was contented that the King ſhould let the electors know, he was not againſt their chooſing me. Upon this Duke *Lauderdale*, ſeeing what a root I had with the Duke, ſent a meſſage to me, that, if I would promiſe to keep no farther correſpondence with Duke *Hamilton*, I ſhould again be reſtored to his favour. I ſaid, I had promiſed the Duke to meddle no more in *Scottiſh* affairs: But I could not forſake my friends, nor turn againſt them. By this he judged I was inflexible. So he carried a ſtory to the King the very night before the election, that upon enquiry was found to be falſe, when it was too late to help what was done. Upon that, the King ſent a ſevere meſſage to the electors. So I miſſed that. And ſome time after a new ſtory was invented, of which *Sharp* was indeed the author, by which the King was made believe that I was poſſeſſing both Lords and Commons againſt Duke *Lauderdale*. Upon that, the King ordered *Coventry* to command me to leave *London*, and not to come within twenty miles of it. The Duke told me what the particulars were, which were all falſe: For Lord *Faulconbridge* and Lord *Carliſle* were the Lords, into whom it was ſaid I was infuſing thoſe prejudices. Now I was known to neither of them; for, tho' they had deſired my acquaintance, I had declined it. So I told all this to Secretary *Coventry*, who made report of it to the King in the Duke's preſence: And thoſe Lords juſtified me in the matter. I hoped the King would upon all this recal his order. But he would not do it. So I asked to have it in writing. The Secretary knew it was againſt law: So he would not do it. But I was forbid the Court. The Duke brought Duke *Lauderdale* and me once together, to have made us friends. But nothing would do, unleſs I would forſake all my friends, and

I was diſgraced.

1674. diſcover ſecrets. I ſaid, I knew no wicked ones: And I could not break with perſons, with whom I had lived long in great friendſhip. The Duke ſpoke to the Lord Treaſurer, to ſoften Duke *Lauderdale* with relation to me; and ſent me to him. He undertook to do it; but ſaid afterwards, Duke *Lauderdale* was intractable.

This violent and groundleſs proſecution laſted ſome months. And during that time I ſaid to ſome, that Duke *Lauderdale* had gone ſo far in opening ſome wicked deſigns to me, that I perceived he could not be ſatisfied, unleſs I was undone. So I told what was mentioned before of the diſcourſes that paſs'd between him and me. This I ought not to have done, ſince they were the effects of confidence and friendſhip. But ſuch a courſe of provocation might have heated a cooler and elder man than I was, being then but thirty, to forget the caution that I ought to have uſed. The perſons who had this from me, reſolved to make uſe of it againſt him, in the next ſeſſion of Parliament: For which the Earl of *Danby* and he were preparing, by turning to new methods.

The Miniſters turned to the Church party.

Lord *Danby* ſet up to be the patron of the Church-party, and of the old Cavaliers: And Duke *Lauderdale* joined himſelf to him. It was ſaid, the King had all along neglected his beſt and ſureſt friends. So a new meaſure was taken up, of doing all poſſible honours to the memory of King *Charles* I. and to all that had been in his intereſts. A ſtatue of braſs on horſeback, that had been long neglected, was bought, and ſet up at *Charing-Croſs*: And a magnificent funeral was deſigned for him. The building of St. *Paul*'s in *London* was now ſet on foot with great zeal. *Morley* and ſome of the Biſhops were ſent for: And the new miniſtry ſettled a ſcheme with them, by which it was offered to cruſh all the deſigns of Popery. The Miniſters expreſſed a great zeal in this; and openly accuſed all the former Miniſters for neglecting it ſo long. But, to excuſe this to the Duke, they told him, it was a great misfortune, that the Church party and the Diſſenters were now run into one; that the Church party muſt have ſome content given them; and then a teſt was to be ſet on foot, that ſhould for ever ſhut out all Diſſenters, who were an implacable ſort of people. A Declaration renouncing the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance in any caſe whatſoever, and an engagement to endeavour no alteration in Church or State, was deſigned to be a neceſſary qualification of all that might chooſe, or be choſen Members of Parliament. If this could be carried, the King's party would be for ever ſeparated from the Diſſenters, and be ſo much the more united to him. In order to this, it was neceſſary to put out ſevere orders of Council againſt all convicted or ſuſpected Papiſts. The Duke acquainted me with this ſcheme. He diſliked it much. He thought, this would raiſe the Church party too high. He looked on them as intractable in the point of Popery. Therefore he thought, it was better to keep them under by ſupporting the Papiſts. He looked on the whole project as both knaviſh and fooliſh. And upon this he ſpoke ſeverely of Duke *Lauderdale*, who he ſaw would do any thing to ſave himſelf: He had been all along in ill terms both with *Sheldon* and *Morley*: But now he reconciled himſelf to them: He brought *Sharp* out of *Scotland*, who went about aſſuring all people, that the party ſet againſt him was likewiſe ſet againſt the Church. This, tho' notoriouſly falſe, paſſed for true among ſtrangers. And, *Leighton* coming up at the year's end to quit his Archbiſhoprick of *Glaſcow*, *Burnet* had made ſuch ſubmiſſions that he was reſtored to it. So that wound, which had been given to Epiſcopacy in his perſon, was now healed. And *Leightoun* retired to a private houſe in *Suſſex*, where he lived ten years in a moſt heavenly manner, and with a ſhining converſation. So now Duke *Lauderdale* was at the head of the Church party.

Correſpondence with *Holland* diſcovered.

The Court was ſomewhat diſturbed with diſcoveries that were made at this time. When Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* came back from *Cologn*, he ſecretly met with *Wicquefort*, who has publiſhed a work about Ambaſſadours. He was the *Dutch* Secretary, that tranſlated the intelligence that came from *England*. And ſometimes the originals were left in his hands. *Williamſon* prevailed with him to deliver theſe to him. Moſt of them were writ by the Lord *Howard*'s brother, who upon his brother's death was afterwards Lord *Howard*. He was a man of wit and learning, bold and poor, who had run thro' many parties in religion. In *Cromwell*'s time he was rebaptized, and had preached in *London*. He ſet up in oppoſition to *Cromwell*, as a great Commonwealth's man, and did ſome ſervice in the Reſtoration. But he was always poor and ready to engage in any thing that was bold. He went over in the beginning of the war, and offered to ſerve *De Wit*. But he told me, he found him a dry man. As ſoon as the Prince was raiſed, he waited on him, and on *Fagel*; and undertook not only to ſecret

1674.

nd them good intelligence, but to make a great party for them. He preſſed the rince to make a deſcent on *England*, only to force the King to call a Parliament, nd to be adviſed by it. And he drew ſuch a *Manifeſto*, as he believed would be ac-eptable to the Nation. He, and one of the *Du Moulins*, that was in Lord *Arling-n's* office, joined together, and gave the States very good intelligence. *Du Moulin*, earing that he was diſcovered, took the alarm in time, and got beyond ſea. Moſt f the papers that *Wicquefort* delivered were of *Howard's* writing. So upon his exa-ination in the Tower, it appeared they had his letters againſt him. And, when no-ce was ſent of this to *Holland*, *Wicquefort* was called on to bring before them all the riginal letters that were truſted to him. And, upon his not doing it, he was clapt up. nd the States ſent word to the King, that if any perſon ſuffered in *England* on the ccount of the letters betray'd by him, his head ſhould go for it. *Halewyn* told me, hen it was put to the Judges to know what ſort of crime this could be made, ſince he papers were given up after the peace was concluded, (otherwiſe the betraying the crets of the State to enemies was a manifeſt crime,) they came to this reſolution, hat as by the *Roman* law every thing was made capital that was *contra ſalutem Po-uli Romani*, ſo the delivering up ſuch papers was a capital crime. This threatning ved *Howard*. But yet *Wicquefort* was kept very long in priſon, and ruined by it. e had a ſort of a character from one of the Princes of *Germany*, upon which he iſted. But the States thought, that his coming into their ſervice was the throw-g up of that character. Upon this occaſion *Caſtairs*, mentioned in the year 1672, as ſent over from *Holland* to *England*. And he was ſeized on with a paper of in-ructions, that were drawn ſo darkly, that no wonder if they gave a jealouſy of ſome deſigns then on foot. The Prince ſaid, when asked about it, that it was only eant for a direction for carrying on the levies of ſome regiments that the King had lowed the *Dutch* to make in *Scotland*, which the King did the better to excuſe his tting ſo many continue in the *French* ſervice. Howſoever, mention being made of oney to be paid, and of men to be raiſed, and a compliment being ordered to be ade to Duke *Hamilton*, this looked ſuſpicious. *Howard* had confeſſed all he knew pon promiſe of pardon. So that and this laid together gave the Court ſome appre-enſions. Duke *Lauderdale* made uſe of it to heighten the King's ill opinion of the rty againſt him. And, becauſe Lieutenant General *Drummond* was of all the mili-ry men he that had the beſt capacity, and the greateſt reputation, he moved that might be ſecured. The method he took in doing it ſhewed, that he neither ſuſ-ected him, nor regarded the law. The ancient method was to require men to ren-r themſelves priſoners by ſuch a day. This was a ſnare to many, who, tho' inno-nt, yet hating reſtraint went out of the way, and were proceeded againſt in an utlawry: But an Act of Parliament had been made, condemning that method for e future. Yet Duke *Lauderdale* reſolved to follow it. And *Drummond*, knowing s innocence, rendred himſelf as required; and was kept a year in a very cold and convenient priſon, at *Dunbarton*, on the top of a high rock. This, coming after a hole life of loyalty and zeal, was thought a very extraordinary reward to ſuch high retenſions.

Jealouſies of the Prince of *Orange*.

Drummond was ordered to priſon.

One thing on this occaſion may be fit to be told. Lord *Kincardin* had ſerved Duke *auderdale* faithfully, even longer than he could do with a good conſcience: For he d ſtuck to him, and was left by him with the King, when he went to *Scotland*, ho knew well with how much zeal he had ſupported his intereſt, and excuſed his ults. When Duke *Lauderdale* was hotly puſhed at, he then promiſed to all his iends, that he would avoid all former errours, if he got out of his trouble: And at made Lord *Kincardin* ſo earneſt to ſerve him. But when he ſaw into how much ry he was running, he tried to have perſuaded him to more temper; but found it as in vain. Then he confeſſed to me, that I had judged truer than he had done; r I believed he would grow worſe than ever. When Lord *Kincardin* found, he uld not hinder things in private, he oppoſed them at Council: And ſo they broke ith him. He came up to juſtify himſelf to the King, who minded thoſe matters ry little; but thought it was neceſſary to give a full ſcope to Duke *Lauderdale's* otions, who had told the King there was a ſpirit of rebellion that run thro' all rts of people, and that was to be ſubdued by acts of power, tho' perhaps neither gal nor juſt: And when that evil ſpirit was once broken, then it would be fit to turn to more legal and moderate counſels. So Lord *Kincardin* found, there was no rguing with the King upon particulars. Therefore he beg'd leave to ſtay ſome time

at

1674. at Court, that he might not be obliged to oppose that, which the King was made believe his service required. The King consented to this; and upon all occasions used him very well. Duke *Lauderdale* could not bear that, and prest the King often to command him home; which he refused to do. Once he urged it with much vehemence: And the King answered as positively, that he saw no reason for it, and he would not do it. Upon this he came home as in a fit of distraction; and was gathering together all his commissions to deliver them up to the King. Upon that the Marquis of *Athol*, who was then in high favour with him, went to the King; and told him he had sent Duke *Lauderdale* home half dead, and half mad; and beg'd the King to take pity on him. So the King sent a message to Lord *Kincardin*, ordering him to go home. This Lord *Athol* himself told me afterwards.

The battel of *Seneff*.

Towards the end of summer the battel of *Seneff* was fought: In the beginning of which the *French* had a great advantage: But the Prince of *Conde* pushed it too far. And the Prince of *Orange* engaged the whole army with so much bravery, that it appeared that the *Dutch* army was now brought to another state than he had found it in. He charged himself in many places, with too great a neglect of his person, considering how much depended upon it. He once was engaged among a body of *French*, thinking they were his own men, and bid them charge: They told him they had no more powder: He, perceiving they were none of his men, with great presence of mind got out of their hands, and brought up a body of his army to charge them; who quickly routed them. The action in the afternoon recovered the loss that was made in the morning; and possessed all the world, the Prince of *Conde* in particular, with a great esteem of the Prince's conduct and courage. I will say little of foreign affairs; because there are many copious accounts of them in print, and I can add little to them. With relation to the battel of *Seneff*, the Prince himself told me that the day before he saw a Capuchin, that came over from the *French* army, and had a long conversation with *Zouch*, the Emperour's General; who behaved himself so ill on the day of battel, that the Prince said to his son at night, that his father had acted so basely, that, if it had not been for the respect he bore the Emperour, he would have shot him thro' the head. He was disgraced on this. But the success of the campaign was lost by it. They had a noble army; and might have done much more than they did. *Grave* was retaken in the end of the campaign. So the Provinces were now safe on that side. And the Prince had gained so much credit with the States, that he was now more than ever the master of their counsels.

Arlington went to *Holland*.

The alarm that those discoveries from *Holland* gave our Court, made Lord *Arlington* offer at one trial more for recovering the King's confidence. He offered to go over to *Holland* with the Earl of *Offory*: For they fancied they had a great interest in the Prince, by their having married two of *Beverwardt*'s daughters: And the Prince had always a particular affection to Lord *Offory*. Lord *Arlington* said, he would go to the bottom of every thing with the Prince; and did not doubt, but he would bring him into an entire dependence on his uncle, and particularly dispose him to a general peace; on which the King was much set, it being earnestly desired by the *French*. It was likewise believed, that he had leave to give the Prince the hope of marrying her, whom he afterwards married. The Duke told me, he knew nothing of the matter: He had heard, Lord *Arlington* had talked, as if the managing that was his chief errand: And upon that he had asked the King, who assured him that he had a positive order not so much as to speak of that matter: Yet, whether notwithstanding this he had a secret order, or whether he did it without order, he certainly talked a great deal of it to the Prince, as a thing which he might depend on, if he would in all other things be governed by the King.

Temple sent Ambassadour to *Holland*.

Sir *William Temple* had been sent over the summer before, as Ambassadour: And his chief instructions were, to dispose all peoples minds, chiefly the Prince's, to a peace. But the Prince had avoided the seeing him till the end of the campaign. Lord *Arlington* had thrown him off, when he went into the *French* interest: And *Temple* was too proud to bear contempt, or forget such an injury soon. He was a vain man, much blown up in his own conceit, which he shewed too indecently on all occasions. He had a true judgment in affairs, and very good principles with relation to government; but in nothing else. He seemed to think that things were as they are from all eternity: At least he thought religion was fit only for the mob. He was a great admirer of the sect of *Confusius* in *China*, who were atheists themselves, but

1674.

last religion to the rabble. He was a corrupter of all that came near him. And he delivered himself up wholly to study, ease and pleasure. He entred into a close friendship with Lord *Danby*, who depended much on him: And was directed in all his notions as to foreign affairs by him; for no man ever came into the Ministry, that understood the affairs of *Europe* so little as he did.

I will henceforth leave the account of our affairs beyond sea wholly to *Temple's* letters, in which they are very truly and fully set forth. And in them it appears, that the Prince of *Orange*, even while so young, and so little practised in affairs, had so clear and so just a view of them, that nothing could misguide him; and that the bad prospect he had from the ill condition of affairs did not frighten him to accept of any mean or base conditions of peace. His fidelity to his country, and the publick interest, was so firm, that no private considerations of his own could biass him, or indeed be much considered by him. These letters give him a character that is so sublime, as well as so genuine, that it raises him much above all the performances of the comick or panegyrick. I will mention very little that is to be found in them. *Holland* was in great expectation, when they saw two such men, as the Earls of *Offory* and *Arlington*, come over, together with the Earl of *Danby*'s eldest son, tho' the last only made the shew a little greater. Lord *Arlington* for some days insisted vehemently on the Prince's dismissing *Du Moulin*, who had discovered the secrets of his office to him. In this the Prince complied: And *Du Moulin* was sent to one of their plantations. As to all other things, Lord *Arlington* talked to him in the strain of a governour; and seemed to presume too much on his youth, and on his want of experience. But, instead of prevailing on the Prince, he lost him so entirely, that all his endeavours afterwards could never beget any confidence in him. So he came back; and reckoned this was his last essay, which succeeding so ill, he ever after that withdrew from all business. He made himself easy to the King, who continued to be still very kind to him.

1675.

Affairs in *England*.

At *Easter*, a piece of private news came from *France*, which the Duke was much delighted with, because it did an honour to the order of the Jesuits, to whom he had devoted himself. The new Confessour had so pressed the King of *France* in Lent to send away his Mistress, *Montespan*, that he prevailed at last. She was sent to a Nunnery. And so the King received the Sacrament, as was said, in a state of contrition. This was writ to the Duke, and set out with such circumstances, as the *French* usually do every thing that relates to their King. The Duke was much pleased with it. He told me, he had related it with all its circumstances to the King in the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*'s hearing; and said, they both heard it with great uneasiness, and were much out of countenance at it. The Duke himself was then in the best temper I had ever known him in. He was reading *Nurembergius* of the difference of things temporal and things eternal: And we had much good discourse on that subject. Lord *Arlington* was so much in his mind, that he once said to me, if Lord *Arlington* would read that book, he would not meddle in so many affairs as he did. I saw he was very jealous of him, and of his interest in the King. Thus I have given a full account of my acquaintance with the Duke.

I lost his favour soon after this. For in *April* 1675 a session of Parliament was held, as preparatory to one that was designed next winter, in which money was to be asked: But none was now asked; it being only called to heal all breaches, and to beget a good understanding between the King and his people. The House of Commons fell upon Duke *Lauderdale*. And those who knew what had pass'd between him and me, moved that I should be examined before a Committee. I was brought before them. I told them how I had been commanded out of town. But tho' that was illegal, yet, since it had been let fall, it was not insisted on. I was next examined concerning his design of arming the *Irish* Papists. I said, I, as well as others, had heard him say, he wished the Presbyterians in *Scotland* would rebel, that he might bring over the *Irish* Papists to cut their throats. I was next examined concerning the design of bringing a *Scottish* army into *England*. I desired to be excused, as to what had passed in private discourse; to which I thought I was not bound to answer, unless it were high treason. They pressed me long: And I would give them no other answer. So they all concluded, that I knew great matters; and reported this specially to the House. Upon that I was sent for, and brought before the House. I stood upon it as I had done at the Committee, that I was not bound to answer; that nothing

I was examined by the House of Commons.

1675 thing had paſſed that was high treaſon; and as to all other things, I did not think my ſelf bound to diſcover them. I ſaid farther, I knew Duke *Lauderdale* was apt to ſay things in a heat, which he did not intend to do. And, ſince he had uſed my ſelf ſo ill, I thought my ſelf the more obliged not to ſay any thing that looked like revenge for what I had met with from him. I was brought four times to the bar. At laſt I was told, the Houſe thought they had a right to examine into every thing that concerned the ſafety of the Nation, as well as into matters of treaſon: And they looked on me as bound to ſatisfy them: Otherwiſe they would make me feel the weight of their heavy diſpleaſure, as one that concealed what they thought was neceſſary to be known. Upon this I yielded, and gave an account of the diſcourſe formerly mentioned. They laid great weight on this, and renewed their addreſs againſt Duke *Lauderdale*.

I was much blamed for what I had done. Some, to make it look the worſe, added that I had been his chaplain, which was falſe; and that I had been much obliged to him, tho' I had never received any real obligation from him, but had done him great ſervices, for which I had been very unworthily requited. Yet the thing had an ill appearance, as the diſcloſing of what had paſs'd in confidence; tho' I make it a great queſtion, how far even that ought to bind a man, when the deſigns are very wicked, and the perſon continued ſtill in the ſame poſt, and capacity of executing them. I have told the matter as it was, and muſt leave my ſelf to the cenſure of the reader. My love to my country, and my private friendſhips carried me perhaps too far; eſpecially ſince I had declared much againſt Clergymens meddling in ſecular affairs, and yet had run my ſelf ſo deep in them.

This broke me quite with the Court, and in that reſpect proved a great bleſſing to me. It brought me out of many temptations; the greateſt of all being the kindneſs that was growing upon me from the Duke, which might have involved me into great difficulties, as it did expoſe me to much cenſure; all which went off upon this occaſion. And I applied my ſelf to my ſtudies, and my function, being then ſettled preacher at the Rolls, and ſoon after Lecturer of St. *Clements*. I lived many years under the protection of Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, Maſter of the Rolls, who continued ſteady in his favour to me, tho' the King ſent Secretary *Williamſon* to deſire him to diſmiſs me. He ſaid, he was an old man, fitting himſelf for another world, and he found my miniſtry uſeful to him; ſo he prayed that he might be excuſed in that. He was a long, and very kind patron to me. I continued ſeveral years in that poſt, free from all neceſſities: And, I thank God, that was all I deſired. But, ſince I was ſo long happy in ſo quiet a retreat, it ſeems but a juſt piece of gratitude, that I ſhould give ſome account of that venerable old man.

Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*'s character.

He was deſcended from a long-lived family; for his great grand-father lived till he was ninety eight, his grandfather to eighty ſix, and his father to ſeventy eight, and himſelf to eighty two. He had to the laſt a great ſoundneſs of health, of memory and of judgment. He was bred to the ſtudy of the law, being a younger brother. Upon his elder brother's death he threw it up. But falling in love with Judge *Crook*'s daughter, the father would not beſtow her on him, unleſs he would return to his ſtudies; which he did with great ſucceſs. That Judge was one of thoſe who deliver'd his judgment in the Chequer-chamber againſt the ſhip money, which he did with a long and learned argument. And Sir *Harbottle*'s father, who ſerved in Parliament for *Eſſex*, lay long in priſon, becauſe he would not pay the loan-money. Thus both his family, and his wife's, were zealous for the intereſt of their country. In the beginning of the long Parliament he was a great aſſerter of the laws; and ſeverely weigh'd againſt all that had been concerned in the former illegal oppreſſions. His principle was, that allegiance and protection were mutual obligations; and that the one went for the other. He thought the law was the meaſure of both; and that when a legal protection was denied to one that paid a legal allegiance, the ſubject had a right to defend himſelf. He was much troubled, when preachers aſſerted a divine right of regal government. He thought it had no other effect, but to give an ill impreſſion of them as aſpiring men: No body was convinced by it: It inclined the hearers rather to ſuſpect all they ſaid beſides: It looked like the ſacrificing their country to their own preferment; and an encouraging of Princes to turn tyrants. When the long Parliament engaged into the league with *Scotland*, he would not ſwear the Covenant. And he diſcontinued ſitting in the Houſe till it was laid aſide. Then he came back, and joined with *Hollis*, and the other Presbyterians, in a high oppo-

1675.

ion to the Independents, and to *Cromwell* in particular, as was told in the first book. And he was one of the secluded Members, that were forced out of the House. He followed afterwards the practice of the law, but was always looked at as one who wished well to the ancient government of *England*. So he was chosen Speaker of that House that called home the King; and had so great a merit in that whole affair, that he was soon after, without any application of his own, made Master of the Rolls: in which post he continued to his death with a high reputation, as he well deserved. For he was a just Judge; very slow, and ready to hear every thing that was offered, without passion or partiality. I thought his only fault was, that he was too rich. And yet he gave yearly great sums in charity, discharging many prisoners by paying their debts. He was a very pious and devout man, and spent every day at least an hour in the morning, and as much at night, in prayer and meditation. And even in winter, when he was obliged to be very early on the bench, he took care to rise so soon, that he had always the command of that time, which he gave to those exercises. He was much sharpened against Popery; but had always a tenderness to the Dissenters, tho' he himself continued still in the communion of the Church. His second wife, whom I knew, was niece to the great Sir *Francis Bacon*: And was the last heir of that family. She had all the high notions for the Church, and the Crown, in which she had been bred; but was the humblest, the devoutest, and best temper'd person I ever knew of that sort. It was really a pleasure to hear her talk of religion: She did it with so much elevation and force. She was always very plain in her clothes: And went oft to jayls, to consider the wants of the prisoners, and relieve, or discharge them; and by the meanness of her dress she pass'd but for a servant truly with the charities of others. When she was travelling in the country, as she drew near a village, she often ordered her coach to stay behind till she had walked about it, giving orders for the instruction of the children, and leaving liberally for that end. With two such persons I spent several of my years very happily. But I now return to the session of Parliament.

In the House of Commons the business against Duke *Lauderdale* was taken up warmly at three several times: And three several addresses were made to the King against him. The King's answer was, that he would protect no man against law and justice; but would condemn none without special matter well made out. There was no more offered: So addresses were feeble things. The next attempt was against the Earl of *Danby*, who had begun to invert the usual methods of the Exchequer. But the majority were for him: So that charge came to nothing. Only those who begun it formed a party against him, that grew in conclusion to be too hard for him. He took a different method from those who were in the Ministry before him. They had taken off the great and leading men: And left the herd as a despised company, who could do nothing, because they had none to head them. But Lord *Danby* reckoned that the major number was the surer game: So he neglected the great men, who he thought raised their price too high; and reckoned, that he could gain ten ordinary men, cheaper than one of those. This might have succeeded with him, if they that did lead his party had been wise and skilful men. But he seemed to be jealous of all such, as if they might gain too much credit with the King. The chief men that he made use of were of so low a size, that they were baffled in every debate. So that many, who were inclined enough to vote in all obedience, yet were ashamed to be in the vote on the side that was manifestly run down in the debate.

Danby attacked but in vain.

The ablest man of his party was *Seimour*, who was the first Speaker of the House of Commons that was not bred to the law. He was a man of great birth, being the elder branch of the *Seimour* family; and was a graceful man, bold and quick. But he had a sort of a pride so peculiar to himself, that I never saw any thing like it. He had neither shame nor decency with it. He was violent against the Court, till he forced himself into good posts. He was the most assuming Speaker that ever sate in the chair. He knew the House, and every man in it so well, that by looking about he could tell the fate of any question. So, if any thing was put, when the Court party was not well gathered together, he would have held the House from doing any thing, by a wilful mistaking or mistating the question. By that he gave time to those, who were appointed for that mercenary work, to go about and gather in their party. And he would discern when they had got the majority. And then he would very fairly state the question, when he saw he was sure to carry it.

Seimour's character.

A great

1675.

A great many of the Court grew to be ſo uneaſy, eſpecially when they ſaw the King was under the influence of *French* and Popiſh counſels, that they were glad to be out of the way at critical times. On ſome occaſions they would venture to vote againſt the Court: Of which the memorable anſwer of *Harvey*, who was Treaſurer to the Queen, was a noted inſtance. He was one whom the King loved perſonally. And yet upon a great occaſion he voted againſt that which the King deſired. So the King chid him ſeverely for it. Next day, another important queſtion falling in, he voted as the King would have him. So the King took notice of it at night; and ſaid, you were not againſt me to day. He anſwered, no, Sir, I was againſt my conſcience to day. This was ſo gravely delivered, that the King ſeemed pleaſed with it. And it was much talked of. While things went thus in the Houſe of Commons, there was the greateſt and longeſt debate in the Houſe of Lords, that has been in my time. They ſate upon it often till midnight.

Debates concerning a teſt.

It was about the teſt that Lord *Danby* had contrived, as was formerly mentioned. Lord *Danby*, and Lord *Finch*, and ſome of the Biſhops, were the chief arguers for it. They ſaid, it was neceſſary that a method ſhould be found out, to diſcriminate the good ſubjects from the bad: We had been lately involved in a long civil war occaſioned by the ill principles that ſome had taken up with relation to government. It was fit to prevent the return of ſuch miſeries: The King had granted a very full indemnity, and had obſerved it religiouſly: But there was no reaſon, while ſo much of the old leaven ſtill remained, to leave the Nation expoſed to men of ſuch principles: It was not fit to make a Parliament perpetual: Yet that was a leſs evil, than to run the hazard of a bad election; eſpecially when jealouſies and fears had been blowed about the Nation: A good conſtitution was to be preſerved by all prudent methods: No man was to be preſſed to take this teſt: But, as they, who were unwilling to come into ſuch an engagement, ought to have the modeſty to be contented with the favour and connivance of the Government, ſo, if that did not teach them good manners, it might be fit to uſe ſeverer tools. To all this great oppoſition was made. It was plain, the Duke did not like it: But the King was ſo ſet on it, that he did not declare himſelf againſt it. But all the Papiſts were againſt it: They thought the bringing any teſt in practice, would certainly bring on one that would turn them out of the Houſe. The Lords *Shaftsbury*, *Buckingham*, *Hollis*, *Halifax*, and all those who were thought the Country party, oppoſed this mightily. They thought, there ought to be no teſts beyond the oath of allegiance, upon the elections to Parliament. That it being the great privilege of *Engliſh* men, that they were not to be taxed but by their repreſentatives; it was therefore thought a diſinheriting men of the main part of their birthright, to do any thing that ſhould ſhut them out from their votes in electing: All teſts in publick aſſemblies were thought dangerous, and contrary to publick liberty: For if a Parliament thought any law inconvenient for the good of the whole, they muſt be ſuppoſed ſtill free to alter it: And no previous limitations could bind up their legiſlature: A great deal was ſaid, to ſhew that the peace of the world was beſt ſecured by good laws, and good government; and that oaths or teſts were no ſecurity: The ſcrupulous might be fettered by them: Yet the bulk of the world would boldly take any teſt, and as boldly break thro' it; of which the late times had given large proofs: The matter of this teſt was very doubtful: For, tho' generally ſpeaking the King's perſon and his power were not to be diſtinguiſhed, yet that was not univerſally true: An infant King, or a lunatick, were exceptions: So alſo a King in his enemies hands; which was the caſe of *Henry* VI. for whoſe perſon his own party fought even againſt his perſon: So an exception was to be underſtood otherwiſe the propoſition, that affirmed it was a traiterous poſition to ſeparate them, was not true: Nor could it be reaſonable to bind up men againſt alterations: For a new law was an alteration: It was not eaſy to define how far the power of making alterations might go, and where it muſt ſtop: Theſe things were beſt left at large. Upon the whole matter, as they were againſt any Parliamentary teſts, ſo they were more particularly againſt this. Lord *Shaftsbury* diſtinguiſhed himſelf more in this occaſion, than ever he had done before. He ſpoke once a whole hour, to ſhew the inconvenience of Condemning all reſiſtance upon any pretence whatſoever. He ſaid, it might be proper to lay ſuch ties upon thoſe who ſerved in the militia, and in Corporations, becauſe there was ſtill a ſuperiour power in Parliament to declare the intent of the oath: But it might be of very ill conſequence to lay it on a Parliament. Since there might be caſes, tho' ſo far out of view that it was hard to ſuppoſe them,

which he believed no man would ſay, it was not lawful to reſiſt. If a King would make us a Province, and tributary to *France*, and ſubdue the Nation by a *French* army, or to the Papal authority, muſt we be bound in that caſe tamely to ſubmit? Upon which he ſaid many things, that did cut to the quick. And yet, tho' his words were watched, ſo that it was reſolved to have ſent him to the Tower if any one word had fallen from him that had made him liable to ſuch a cenſure, he ſpoke both with ſo much boldneſs and ſo much caution, that tho' he provoked the Court extreamly no advantage could be taken againſt him. The Court carried every queſtion in favour of the teſt, tho' with great oppoſition, and a proteſtation made upon every ſtep that was carried. So that the bill was in a fair way to have paſs'd: And very probably it would have paſs'd in the Houſe of Commons, when by an unlooked for emergent the ſeſſion was broke. 1675.

A diſpute about appeals and privileges.

Ever ſince the end of King *James* I.'s reign petitions of appeal were brought to the Houſe of Lords from decrees in Chancery. This roſe from a parity of reaſon, becauſe writs of errour lay from the Courts of law to the Houſe of Lords. And ſince the buſineſs of the Chancery grew to be ſo extended and comprehenſive, it was not thought ſafe to leave it to the Lord Chancellour's conſcience. So this practice, tho' ſo lately begun, grew on by degrees to be the main buſineſs of the Houſe of Lords. A petition of appeal was brought againſt a Member of the Houſe of Commons. The Lords received it, and made an order upon it. The Member being ſerved with it, brought it into the Houſe of Commons. And they voted it a breach of privilege, for the Lords to meddle with one of their Houſe. The Lords on the other hand ſaid, they were bound to do juſtice to all: And no privilege could lye againſt that: And, ſince they never ſate but when the Commons ſate likewiſe, if a privilege from that Houſe could ſtop their proceedings, there muſt be a failure in juſtice: And ſince no privilege was ever pretended in the caſe of a writ of errour, it could not lye againſt an appeal. So they reſolved to proceed in the cauſe. The Commons paſs'd a vote againſt any lawyers that ſhould plead at the Lords bar in this cauſe. But the Lords commanded the Council to go on; with which they complied. And as they went from the Lords bar, they were by an order from the Houſe of Commons ſent to the Tower. But they were by another order from the Lords ſet at liberty. So the two Houſes being as it were at war, it was neceſſary to put an end to the ſeſſion.

The ſeſſion broke up on it.

This was very uneaſy to the Court: For they ſaw it was a very ſure method to break a ſeſſion of Parliament, every time that it was taken up. I am not ſure, if this was laid, or if it happened by accident. Lord *Shaftsbury* ſaid, it was laid by himſelf. But others aſſured me, it happened in courſe, tho' it produced great effects: for there never was a ſtrength in the Court to raiſe this debate of the teſt in any ſubſequent ſeſſion. And as this made the Court apprehend, they might by the proſecution of the ſame appeal loſe the next ſeſſion, ſince the prorogation did only diſcontinue Parliamentary proceedings, but not judiciary ones; ſo they feared this might go ſo far as to force a diſſolution of the preſent Parliament: To which the Court would be very hardly brought, after they had practiſed ſo long upon the Members, and knew them all ſo well.

In this ſeſſion, on a day that grievances were to be gone upon, *Grimſtone* ſaid, that conſidering the extent of privilege, he looked on a ſtanding Parliament as the greateſt grievance of the Nation; ſo many men being exempted from juſtice, and from the demands of their creditors, for ſo long, and ſo indefinite a time. This motion was let fall at that time. But it was not forgot. And it was likely to be taken up, when new opportunities ſhould be offered. The ſummer went over without any conſiderable accidents at home.

A ſeſſion of Parliament.

A new ſeſſion met next winter. And at the firſt opening it the King laid before the Commons the great difficulties he was in by the anticipations of his revenues. It was then generally thought, that the King was in ſuch ſtraits, that, if money could not be obtained, he muſt turn to other counſels, and to other Miniſters. The debate went high in the Committee of the whole Houſe. It was offered on the one ſide to ſhew, that the King had not enough in his hands to maintain the government, and to ſecure the Nation: Tho' our neutrality at that time made trade flow in upon us, ſo that the Cuſtoms roſe higher than ever. On the other hand it was ſaid, that if anticipations were once admitted as a reaſon for a ſupply, the Court would never want that reaſon. It was fitter to examine by whoſe means, or on

1675. what deſign thoſe anticipations were made. At laſt the queſtion was put. And, the vote being then ſtated, and the previous queſtion being then put, whether the main queſtion ſhould be then put, or not, the votes were equal. So Sir *Charles Harbord*, who was in the chair, gave it for putting the main queſtion. But, ſome of the Country ſide coming in between the two queſtions, the main queſtion was loſt by two or three. So near was the Court to the carrying ſo great a point. *Harbord* was much blamed for his raſhneſs. He ſaid, the duty of the chair was always to ſet matters forward: And ſo he ought to have given it for putting the main queſtion: And, if the ſame equality had continued, he ſaid, he would have given it for the Court. He was a very rich and covetous man, who knew *England* well: And his parts were very quick about him in that great age, being paſt eighty. A lively repartee was made by his own ſon to him in the debate. He had ſaid, the right way of dealing with the King, and of gaining him to them, was, to lay their hands on their purſes, and to deal roundly with him. So his ſon ſaid, he ſeconded his motion: But he meant, that they ſhould lay their hands on their purſes, as he himſelf did, and hold them well ſhut, that no money ſhould go out of them. The Earl of *Danby* was much diſappointed at this. Yet he took heart, ſince it was brought ſo near, that he reckoned he would make the next ſeſſion ſure. The petition of appeal, that had broke the former ſeſſion, was now brought on again before the Lords. The Court tried their whole ſtrength to keep it off, till they ſaw what might be expected from the Commons. So, upon the miſcarriage of the great vote in the Houſe of Commons, the Lords went on upon the petition: And, the Commons oppoſing them vigorouſly, as before, it was viſible that the Parliament muſt be prorogued.

The characters of ſome Parliament men.

Upon this it was propoſed in the Houſe of Lords to addreſs the King for diſſolving the preſent Parliament. It was manifeſt the two Houſes could no longer maintain the correſpondence that was neceſſary. In a new Parliament this muſt fall to the ground: But it could not while this laſted. It was ſaid, a ſtanding Parliament changed the conſtitution of *England*. The King did no more conſult with his people, nor know them: But he had now a cabal of ſingle perſons to deal with. The people were now cut off from their liberty of electing; and ſo had no more a true representative. It was ſaid, that a Parliament of a long continuance would be either an engine to ſell the liberties of their country, or would by rendring themſelves popular join with the people againſt the Crown. In either caſe it was like to be deſtructive to the conſtitution. So it was moved, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the King for diſſolving the Parliament. And, to the wonder of all men, the Duke joined in it. The majority of the temporal Lords were for it. But the bench of Biſhops was againſt it: And ſo it was not carried. The thing became the univerſal ſubject of diſcourſe. It was infuſed into the Members of the Houſe of Commons, that, if they would not be more tractable, and help the King out of his neceſſities, he was ſure a new Parliament would give him money, and make him eaſy; and this the rather for having diſſolved them. This wrought on many of them, who had been choſen while the Nation was in a fit, or rather a fury of loyalty. They knew they could never hope to be choſen again. Many of them were ruined in their fortunes, and lived upon their privileges, and upon their penſions. They had got it among them for a maxim, which contributed not a little to our preſervation while we were in ſuch hands, that, as they muſt not give the King too much at a time, leſt there ſhould be no more uſe of them, ſo they were to take care not to ſtarve the Court, leſt they themſelves ſhould be ſtarved by that means. They were indeed generally both againſt Popery and *France*. And, to redeem their credit for the money that they were ready to give ſomewhat too laviſhly, they ſaid, when they went into their countries, that it was on deſign to fix the King to an *Engliſh* intereſt, and the Proteſtant religion. And they had talked ſo high on thoſe heads, that the Court itſelf could not manage them, when any thing relating to theſe came before them. Some of them were high for the prerogative: Others high for the Church: And all the mercenary men were careful of themſelves. In oppoſition to theſe a great party was formed, who declared more heartily for the Proteſtant religion, and for the intereſt of *England*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, opened many of their eyes, and let them know the deſigns of the Court. And indeed they were then ſo viſible, that there was enough ſeen, without ſuch ſecret intelligence, to convince the moſt incredulous. Sir *William Coventry* had the greateſt cre-

1675.

f any man in the House. He never meddled personally with any Minister. He had perfect understanding of affairs. So he laid open the errours of the government with the more authority, because he mixed no passion nor private resentments with it. His brother usually answered him with much life in a repartee, but not with the weight and force with which he spoke. Colonel *Birch* was a man of a peculiar character. He had been a carrier at first, and retained still, even to an affectation, the clownishness of his education. He got up in the progress of the war to be a Colonel, and to be concerned in the Excise. And at the Restoration he was found to be so useful in managing the Excise, that he was put in a good post. He was the roughest and boldest speaker in the House; and talked in the language and phrases of a carrier, but with a beauty and eloquence that was always acceptable. I heard *Coventry* say, he was the best speaker to carry a popular assembly before him that he had ever known. He spoke always with much life and heat. But judgment was not his talent. *Waller* was the delight of the House: And even at eighty he said the liveliest things of any among them: He was only concerned to say that which should make him be applauded. But he never laid the business of the House to heart, being a vain and empty, tho' a witty, man. He deserves the character of being one of the great refiners of our language and poetry. He was for near sixty years one of the best of all our writers that way. The two men of quality that were the most considered were, the Lord *Russell*, and the Lord *Cavendish*. Lord *Russell* was a man of great candour, and of a general reputation; universally beloved, and trusted; of a generous and obliging temper. He had given such proofs of undaunted courage, and of an unshaken firmness, that I never knew any man have an entire a credit in the Nation as he had. He quickly got out of some of the disorders into which the Court had drawn him. And ever after that his life was unblemished in all respects. He had from his first education an inclination to favour the Nonconformists; and wished the laws could have been made easier to them, or they more pliant to the law. He was a slow man, and of little discourse: But he had a true judgment, when he considered things at his own leisure. His understanding was not defective: But his vertues were so eminent, that they would have more than balanced real defects, if any had been found in the other. Lord *Cavendish*, afterwards Earl, and then Duke, of *Devonshire* was too much a libertine both in principle and practice. He went off from the Court at first upon resentments for some disappointments there. He was ambitious, and had the courage of a hero, with an unusual proportion both of wit and knowledge. He had a great softness in his exteriour deportment. *Littleton* and *Powle* were the men that laid the matters of the House with the greatest dexterity and care. *Powle* was very learned in precedents, and Parliament journals, which goes a great way in their debates: And, when he had time to prepare himself, he was a clear and strong speaker. *Littleton* was the ablest and the vehementest arguer of them all. He commonly lay quiet till the end of a debate: And he often ended it, speaking with a strain of conviction and authority, that was not easily resisted. I lived the very next door to him for several years: And we spent a great deal of our time every day together. He told me all their management: And commonly, when he was to put his whole strength to argue any point, he used to talk it over with me, and to set me to object all that could against him. He lived wholly in *London*. So matters were most in his hands during the intervals of Parliament. And by his means it was, that I arrived at such knowledge of their intrigues. He was a wise and worthy man, had studied much modern history, and the present state and interest of *Europe*. Sir *Thomas Lee* was a man that valued himself upon artifice and cunning, in which he was a great master, without being out of countenance when it was discovered. *Vaughan*, the chief Justice's son, was a man of great integrity, had much pride, but did great service. These were the chief men that preserved the Nation from a very deceitful and practising Court, and from a corrupt House of Commons. And by their skill and firmness they, from a small number who began the opposition, grew at last to be the majority.

1676.

All this I thought fit to lay together, and to fill as it were an empty place in my history: For, as our main business lay in preparing for, or managing a session of Parliament, so we had now a long interval, of above a year, between this session in winter 1675, and the next session of Parliament, which was not till the spring in 1677. The *French* were much set on procuring a peace. And they seeing how much

A long interval between the sessions of Parliament.

1676. much the Parliament was ſet on engaging the King in the Alliance, prevailed with him to diſcontinue the ſeſſion; for which no doubt he had round ſums of money ſent to him.

An account of ſome paſſages of *Lockhart's* courage in *France*.

About this time *Lockhart* the Ambaſſadour in *France* died. The farther he ſaw into the deſigns of the Court, he grew the more uneaſy in the poſt he was in, tho' he acted in it with great ſpirit and reſolution, both with relation to his own maſter, and to the *French* King: Of which I will ſet down two paſſages, that may be very inſtructive to Ambaſſadours. In this time of neutrality the *French* privateers took many *Engliſh* ſhips, pretending they were *Dutch* only with *Engliſh* paſſes. One of theſe was taken by a privateer, that, as was believed, *Pepys*, then Secretary to the *Engliſh* Admiralty, and in great favour with the Duke, had built; and, as was ſaid, out of the King's ſtores. The merchants proved in Council, that the ſhip was *Engliſh*. So *Lockhart* had an order to demand her: And he preſſed it ſo effectually, that an order was ſent from the Court of *France* to diſcharge her. But, before that was executed, the King was prevailed on by *Pepys*, to tell the *French* Ambaſſadour, that he did not concern himſelf in that ſhip: He believed merchants were rogues, and could bring witneſſes to prove whatſoever they had a mind to: So the Court of *France*, might do what they pleaſed in that matter. This was writ to *Verſailles* a day or two after the former order was ſent. But upon it a new one went to *Dunkirk*, where the ſhip lay, to ſtop her. This came before ſhe could get out. So *Lockhart*, being informed of that, went to Court, and complained heavily. He was told, what the King himſelf had ſaid about it. He anſwered reſolutely, that the King ſpoke to them only by him. Yet he wrote upon this to the Court of *England*, deſiring to be recalled, ſince he could ſerve no longer with honour, after he had been ſo diſowned. Upon this the King wrote him a letter with his own pen, excuſing the matter the beſt he could; and juſtified him in what he had done. And upon that ſecret orders were ſent, and the ſhip was diſcharged. The other was a higher point, conſidering the bigotry of the King of *France*. *Lockhart* had a *French* Popiſh ſervant, who was dying, and ſent for the Sacrament. Upon which it was brought with the proceſſion ordinary in ſuch caſes. *Lockhart*, hearing of this, ordered his gates to be ſhut. And upon that many were enflamed, and were running to force his gates: But he ordered all his family to ſtand to their arms, and, if any force was offered, to fire. There was a great noiſe made of this. But no force was offered. He reſolved to complain firſt: And ſo went to Court, and expoſtulated upon it. He ſaid, his houſe was his maſter's houſe: And here a publick triumph was attempted on his maſter's religion, and affronts were offered him: He ſaid, if a Prieſt had brought the Sacrament privately, he would have connived at it: But he asked reparation for ſo publick an injury. The King of *France* ſeemed to be highly diſpleaſed at this, calling it the greateſt indignity that had ever been done to his God during his reign. Yet the point did not bear arguing: So *Lockhart* ſaid nothing to that. When *Lockhart* went from him, *Pompone* followed him, ſent after him by the King; and told him he would force the King to ſuffer none of his ſubjects to ſerve him. He anſwered, he would order his coach-man to drive the quicker to *Paris*, to prevent that; and left *Pompone* to gueſs the meaning. As ſoon as he came to his houſe, he ordered all his *French* ſervants to be immediately paid off, and diſmiſs'd. The Court of *England* was forced to juſtify him in all this matter. A publick letter of thanks was writ to him upon it. And the Court of *France* thought it fit to digeſt it. But the *French* King look'd on him ever after with great coldneſs, if not with averſion. Soon after that he fell into a languiſhing, which after ſome months carried him off. I have ever look'd on him as the greateſt man that his country produced in this age, next to Sir *Robert Murray*.

Management in *France*.

The Earl of *Danby* began now to talk againſt the *French* intereſt with open mouth. *Rouvigny* ſtaid but two years in *England*: For, tho' he ſerved his maſter's intereſts but too well, yet the Popiſh party could not bear the want of a Chapel in the *French* Ambaſſadour's houſe: So he was recalled: And *Courtin* was ſent in his room. Before he parted, he talked roundly with Lord *Danby*: He ſaid, he was going into popular intereſts againſt thoſe of his maſter's honour, who having engaged the King of *France* in the war, and being forced to leave him to fight it out alone, ought not to turn againſt him; eſpecially, ſince the King of *France* referred every thing to him as the arbiter and mediatour of the peace: He remembred him of the old Duke of *Buckingham*'s fate, who thought to become popular by breaking the *Spaniſh* match; and that was his ruin: He ſaid, the King of *France* was the King's beſt friend, and trueſt ally.

And if he made the King forſake him, and depend on his Parliament, being ſo tempered as they were then, both the King and he might come to repent it, when it was too late. I had all this from himſelf. To this Lord *Danby* replied, that he ſpoke as a faithful ſervant to his own maſter, and that he himſelf would act as a faithful ſervant to his maſter. *Courtin* ſpoke a great deal to the ſame purpoſe, in the Prince of *Condé*'s preſence, when I had the honour to wait on him. He told me there was a ſtrange reverſe in things: Lord *Danby* was at that time ſuffering for being in the *French* intereſt: And Lord *Montague* was popular as being againſt it: Whereas, to his knowledge, during his employment in *England*, Lord *Danby* was an enemy to their intereſt, as much as Lord *Montague* was for it. I can ſay nothing as to one point, whether any great ſums came over from *France* all this while, or not. Some watched the riſing and falling of the exchange, by which men skilful in thoſe matters can judge, when any great ſum paſſes from one Kingdom to another, either in ſpecie, or by bill: But they could never find out any thing to make them conclude it was done. Lord *Montague* told me, he tried often to get into that ſecret, but in vain: He often ſaid to the King, that, if he would truſt him, he could make better bargains for him, than others had made: But the King never anſwered him a word on that head: And he believed, that what ſums ſoever, came over, they were only to the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*, or to the King's privy purſe; and that the *French* Ambaſſadour had the ſole managing of that matter, the King perhaps not being willing to truſt any of his own ſubjects with ſo important and ſo dangerous a ſecret. In all companies the Earl of *Danby* was declaring openly againſt *France*, and Popery. And the See of *London* falling then void by *Henchman*'s death, he brought *Compton*, brother to the Earl of *Northampton*, to ſucceed him. He was made Biſhop of *Oxford*, upon *Crew*'s being promoted to *Dureſme*. 1676.

Compton carried arms for ſome years. When he was paſs'd thirty, he took orders. He was an humble and modeſt man. He applied himſelf more to his function, than Biſhops had commonly done. He went much about his dioceſe; and preached, and confirmed in many places. His preaching was without much life or learning: For he had not gone thro' his ſtudies with the exactneſs that was fitting. He was a great patron of the Converts from Popery, and of thoſe Proteſtants, whom the bad uſage they were beginning to meet with in *France* drove over to us: And by theſe means he came to have a great reputation. He was making many complaints to the King, and often in Council, of the inſolence of the Papiſts, and of *Coleman*'s in particular. So that the King ordered the Duke to diſmiſs *Coleman* out of his ſervice. Yet he continued ſtill in his confidence. But with theſe good qualities *Compton* was a weak man, wilful and ſtrangely wedded to a party. He was a property to Lord *Danby*, and was turned by him as he pleaſed. The Duke hated him. But Lord *Danby* perſwaded both the King and him, that, as his heat did no great hurt to any perſon, ſo the giving way to it helped to lay the jealouſies of the Church party. About a year after that, *Sheldon* dying, *Compton* was perſuaded that Lord *Danby* had tried with all his ſtrength to promote him to *Canterbury*; tho' that was never once intended. There were none of the order, that were in any ſort fitted to fill that See, whom the court could truſt. The characters of ſome Biſhops.

Sancroft, Dean of St. *Paul*'s was raiſed to it. He was a man of ſolemn deportment, had a ſullen gravity in his looks, and was conſiderably learned. He had put on a monaſtick ſtrictneſs, and lived abſtracted from company. Theſe things, together with his living unmarried, and his being fixed in the old maxims of high loyalty, and ſuperſtitious valuing of little things, made the Court conclude, that he was a man, who might be entirely gained to ſerve all their ends; or at leaſt, that he would be an unactive ſpeculative man, and give them little oppoſition in any thing that they might attempt, when they had more promiſing opportunities. He was a dry, cold man, reſerved, and peeviſh; ſo that none loved him, and few eſteemed him: Yet the high Church party were well pleaſed with his promotion.

As Lord *Danby* thus raiſed his creatures in the Church, ſo he got all men turned out of their places, that did not entirely depend on him: And went on in his credit with the King, ſtill aſſuring him, that, if he would leave things to his conduct, he could certainly bring about the whole Cavalier party again to him. And ſuch was the corruption and poverty of that party, that, had it not been that *French* and Poliſh counſels were ſo viſible in the whole courſe of our affairs, he had very probably gained them to have raiſed the King's power, and to have extirpated the Diſſenters,

1676. and to have brought things very near to the ſtate they were in, in King *Charles* I.'s time, before the war.

The projects of the Papiſts.

All this while the Papiſts were not idle. They tried their ſtrength with the King to get the Parliament diſſolved: In which their hopes carried them ſo far, that *Coleman* drew a declaration for juſtifying it. Their deſign in this was, once to divide the King and his people: For they reckoned the new Parliament would not be ſo eaſy to him as this was. For how angry ſoever this was at him, and he ſometimes at them, yet they ſaw that a ſevere act againſt Popery, or ſome ſteps made againſt *France*, would diſpoſe them to forget all former quarrels, and to give money. And as the King always wanted that, and loved to be eaſy, ſo the proſpect of it was ever in his view. They feared, that at ſome time or other this might make him both ſacrifice Popery, and forſake *France*. So they took all poſſible methods to engage the King to a more entire dependence on *France*, and to a diſtruſt of his own people. They were labouring for a general peace in all Courts, where they had any intereſt. The Prince of *Orange*'s obſtinacy was the common ſubject of their complaints. Lord *Shaftsbury* tried, upon the Duke's concurring in the vote for an addreſs to have the Parliament diſſolved, if he could ſeparate him from the Earl of *Danby*. And he ſent a meſſage to him by the Lord *Stafford*, that his voting as he did in that matter had gained much on many who were formerly his enemies: He wiſhed he would uſe his intereſt with the King to get that brought about: And he durſt undertake, that a new Parliament ſhould be more inclinable to grant the Papiſts a toleration, than they would ever find this would prove.

Coleman's intrigues.

But the Duke and Lord *Danby* were too firmly united to be eaſily divided: For whatever Lord *Danby* gave out, he made the Duke believe, that all that he intended would really turn to his ſervice. *Coleman* was very buſy in writing many letters to all places, but chiefly to the Court of *France*. He was in all his diſpatches ſetting forth the good ſtate of the Duke's affairs, and the great ſtrength he was daily gaining. He was either very ſanguine, if he believed this himſelf, or very bold in offering to impoſe it ſo poſitively on others. He was always full of aſſurances, that, if a peace could be brought about, ſo that the King of *France* was ſet at liberty to aſſiſt them with his purſe, and his force, they were never in ſuch hopes in ſucceeding in the great deſign of rooting out this peſtilent hereſy, that had ſo long over-run theſe northern Kingdoms, as now. He had a friend, one Sir *William Throgmorton*, of whom he intended to make great uſe. He and his wife had prevailed with him and his Lady to change their religion. And ſo he ſent them over to *France*, recommending him to the King's confeſſour, *F. Ferrier*, as a man that might do them great ſervice, if he could be made one of theirs. So *Ferrier*, looking on him as a man of importance, applied himſelf to turn him, which was ſoon done. And the confeſſour, to raiſe the value of his convert, ſpoke of him to the King, in ſuch a ſtrain, that he was much conſidered. When his Lady abjured, the Duke of *Orleans* led her up to the altar. He took great ſtate on him, and ſoon ſpent all he had. He was a buſy man between the two Courts. But, before he got into any conſiderable poſt, *Ferrier* died: And the new confeſſour did not take ſuch care of him as his predeceſſour had done. So he was forced to quit his high living, and retire to a private houſe. And he ſent his Lady into a monaſtery. Yet he continued ſtill to be *Coleman*'s agent, and correſpondent. He went often to ſee an *Engliſh* Lady, that was of their religion, Lady *Brun*. And, being one day with her, he received a deep wound by a knife ſtruck into his thigh, that pierced the great artery. Whether the Lady did it to defend her ſelf, or he to ſhew the violence of his paſſion, was not known. It was not poſſible to ſtop the bleeding. Yet the Lady would have him carried out of her houſe. He died in the houſe of one *Hollman*, an eminent man of their religion, then at *Paris*. The whole matter was carried off in ſuch ſecrecy, that *Lockhart*, then at *Paris*, could never penetrate farther into it. I had this from his Lady after his death.

Coleman quickly found out another correſpondent, that was more uſeful to him than he whom he loſt could ever have been, F. *St. German*, a Jeſuit, who was ſent over with the Ducheſs, and paſs'd for her confeſſour, tho' I have been aſſured that was a miſtake. He had all the heat of his order in him, and was apt to talk very boldly. I was ſometimes in company with him. He was complained of in Council by the Biſhop of *London* for ſome practice on one that was come over a convert, whom he was between threatning and perſuaſion working on, in order to the ſending him back. This came to be diſcovered. Upon which he fled. And on him *Coleman* fixed his

his chief correſpondent. *Howard* was about this time by Cardinal *Altieri*'s means promoted to be a Cardinal. And upon that the King and Duke ſent compliments to *Rome*. This opened a negotiation with that Court, that was put in the hands of the *Internuncio* at *Bruſſels*. So it was propoſed, that a ſum of money ſhould be given the King, if in return of that ſome ſuitable favours for thoſe of their religion could be obtained. *Coleman* was ſent over by the Duke to *Bruſſels*, to treat about it, none being in the ſecret, but the Lord *Arundell*. Yet, as he underſtood it, the King himſelf knew of it. When he went thither, he found the ſum offered was ſo ſmall, and the conditions demanded were ſo high, that he made no progreſs in the negotiation. Whatſoever *Coleman* did in the main buſineſs, he took good care of himſelf. All his letters were full of their being able to do nothing for want of money. And he made the *French* Ambaſſadour believe, he could do his maſter great ſervice, if he was well ſupplied. He got once 2500 guineas from him, to gain his maſter ſome friends. But he applied it all to furniſh out his own expence. He was at that time ſo lifted up, that he had a mind to paſs for the head of the party. And of this I will give one inſtance, in which I my ſelf had a ſhare. 1676.

Sir *Philip Terwhit*, a Papiſt, had married a zealous Proteſtant, who ſuſpecting his religion charged him with it. But he denied it before marriage; and carried that ſo far, that he received the Sacrament with her in her own Church. After they were married, ſhe found that he had deceived her: And they lived untowardly together. At this time ſome ſcruples were put in her head, with which ſhe acquainted me, and ſeemed fully ſatisfied with the anſwers that I gave her. She came afterwards to me, and deſired, I would come to her houſe, and talk of all thoſe matters with ſome that her husband would bring to meet us. I told her, I would not decline the thing, if deſired, tho' I ſeldom knew good come of ſuch conferences. She made the ſame propoſition to Dr. *Stillingfleet*; and he gave the ſame anſwer. So a day was ſet, and we went thither, and found ten or twelve perſons, that were not known to us. We were ſcarce ſet down, when *Coleman* came in, who took the whole debate upon him. I writ down a very exact account of all that paſs'd, and ſent it to them, and had their additions to it: And I printed it. The thing made a great noiſe, and was a new indication of *Coleman*'s arrogance. Soon after that the Lady, who continued firm upon this conference, was poſſeſſed with new ſcruples about the validity of our ordinations. I got from her the paper that was put in her hand, and anſwered it: And ſhe ſeemed ſatisfied with that likewiſe. But afterwards the uneaſineſs of her life prevailed more on her, than her ſcruples did; and ſhe changed her religion.

A conference between *Coleman* and ſome divines.

Some time after I had printed the Memoirs of the Dukes of *Hamilton*, which were favourably received, the reading of theſe got me the acquaintance and friendſhip of Sir *William Jones*, then Attorney General. He was raiſed to that high poſt merely by merit, and by his being thought the greateſt man of the law: For, as he was no flatterer, but a man of a moroſe temper, ſo he was againſt all the meaſures that they took at Court. They were weary of him, and were raiſing Sir *John King* to vie with him: But he died in his riſe, which indeed went on very quick. *Jones* was an honeſt, and wiſe man. He had a roughneſs in his deportment, that was very diſagreeable: But he was a good natured man at bottom, and a faithful friend. He grew weary of his employment, and laid it down: And, tho' the Great Seal was offered him, he would not accept of it, nor return to buſineſs. The quickneſs of his thoughts carried his views far. And the ſourneſs of his temper made him too apt both to ſuſpect and to deſpiſe moſt of thoſe that came to him. My way of writing hiſtory pleas'd him: And ſo he preſſed me to undertake the hiſtory of *England*. But *Sanders*'s book, that was then tranſlated into *French*, and cried up much in *France*, made all my friends preſs me to anſwer it, by writing the hiſtory of the Reformation. So now all my thoughts were turned that way. I laid out for *MSS.* and ſearched into all offices. I got for ſome days into the *Cotton* library. But Duke *Lauderdale*, hearing of my deſign, and apprehending it might ſucceed in my hands, got *Dolben*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, to divert Sir *John Cotton* from ſuffering me to ſearch into his library. He told him, I was a great enemy to the prerogative, to which *Cotton* was devoted, even to ſlavery. So he ſaid, I would certainly make an ill uſe of all I had found. This wrought ſo much on him, that I was no more admitted, till my firſt volume was publiſhed. And then, when he ſaw how I had compoſed it, he gave me free acceſs to it.

I undertook to write the hiſtory of our Reformation.

At

1676.

The Earl of *Essex*'s character.

At this time the Earl of *Essex* was brought over from being Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whose friendship to me was afterwards such, that I think my self obliged to stop, and to give some account of him. He was the Lord *Capell*'s son. his education was neglected by reason of the war. But, when he was at mans age, he made himself master of the *Latin* tongue, and made a great progress in mathematicks, and in all the other parts of learning. He knew our law and constitution well, and was a very thoughtful man. He began soon to appear against the Court. The King imputed it to his resentments: So he resolved to make use of him. He sent him Ambassadour to *Denmark*, where his behaviour in the affair of the flag gained him much reputation: Tho' he said to me there was nothing in it. That King had ordered the Governour of *Croonenburgh* to make all ships that pass'd strike to him. So when Lord *Essex* was sailing by, he sent to him, either to strike to him, or to sail by in the night, or to keep out of his reach: Otherwise he must shoot, first with powder, but next with ball. Lord *Essex* sent him a resolute answer, that the Kings of *England* made others strike to them, but their ships struck to none: He would not steal thro' in the dark, nor keep out of his reach: And if he shot at him, he would defend himself. The Governour did shoot at him, but on design shot over him. This was thought great bravery in him: Yet he reckoned, it was impossible the Governour would endeavour to sink a ship that brought over an Ambassadour. While he was there, the King died, which made a great change in the Court. For that King had made one of his servants Stadtholder; which was indeed a strange thing, he himself being upon the place. He was but a mean person, and was advanced by the favour the Queen bore him. Lord *Essex*'s first business was to justify his behaviour in refusing to strike. Now at his going from *England*, Sir *John Cotton* had desired him to take some volumes of his library that related to *Danish* affairs; which he took, without apprehending that he should have great occasion to use them: But this accident made him search into them. And he found very good materials to justify his conduct; since by formal treaties it had been expresly stipulated, that the *English* ships of war should not strike in the *Danish* seas. This raised his character so high at Court, that it was writ over to him, that he might expect every thing he should pretend to at his return. The change of government that he saw in *Denmark*, and the bringing it about with so little difficulty, made a great impression on him; since one of the freest Nations in the world was on a sudden brought under a most arbitrary form of government. Many of the ancient Nobility seemed uneasy under the change. And even the Chancellour himself, tho' raised by favour from very mean beginnings, could not forbear to lament even to him the change of their constitution.

His employment in *Denmark*.

And his government of *Ireland*.

Upon his return from *Denmark*, he was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. He could never understand how he came to be raised to that post; for he had not pretended to it: And he was a violent enemy to Popery; not so much from any fixed principle in religion, in which he was too loose, as because he looked on it as an invasion made on the freedom of human nature. In his government of *Ireland* he exceeded all that had gone before him; and is still considered as a pattern to all that come after him. He studied to understand exactly well the constitution, and interest of the Nation. He read over all their Council books; and made large abstracts out of them, to guide him, so as to advance every thing that had been at any time set on foot for the good of the Kingdom. He made several volumes of tables of the state, and persons that were in every county and town; and got true characters of all that were capable to serve the publick. And he preferred men always upon merit, without any application from themselves; and watched over all about him, that there should be no bribes going among his servants. The revenue of *Ireland* was then in the Earl of *Ranelagh*'s management; who was one of the ablest men that Island had bred, capable of all affairs, even in the midst of a loose run of pleasure, and much riot. He had the art of pleasing masters of very different tempers and interests so much, that he continued above thirty years in great posts. He had undertaken to furnish the King with money for the building of *Windsor* out of the revenue of *Ireland*. And it was believed the Duchess of *Portsmouth* had a great yearly pension out of his office. By this means payments in *Ireland* were not regularly made. So the Earl of *Essex* complained of this. The King would not own how much he had from Lord *Ranelagh*, but press'd Lord *Essex* to pass his accounts. He answered, he could not pass them as accounts: But, if the King would forgive Lord

Ranelagh,

Rawleigh, he would pass a discharge, but not an ill account. The King was not pleased with this, nor with his exactness in that government; It reproached his own too much. So he took a resolution about this time to put the Duke of *Ormond* in it again. Upon this occasion the Earl of *Essex* told me, that he knew the King did often take money into his privy purse, to defraud his Exchequer: For he reckoned that what was carried thither, was not so much his own, as his privy purse was. And *Coventry* told Lord *Essex*, that there was once a Plantation-cause at the Council board: And he was troubled to see the King espouse the worst side: And upon that he went to him, and told him secretly, that it was a vile cause which he was supporting: The King answered him, he had got good money for doing it. 1676.

About this time there was a proposition made for farming the revenue of *Ireland*. And Lord *Danby* seemed for some time to favour one set of men, who offered to farm it. But on the sudden he turned to another. The secret of this broke out, that he was to have great advantages by the second proposition. The matter was brought to the Council table: And some were examined to it upon oath. Lord *Widrington* did confess that he made offer of a round sum to Lord *Danby*, but said that he did not accept of it. Lord *Hallifax* was yet of the Council. So he observed that the Lord Treasurer had rejected that offer very mildly; but not so as to discourage a second attempt: It would be somewhat strange, if a man should ask the use of another mans wife, and if the other should indeed refuse it, but with great civility. This nettled Lord *Danby*, who upon that got him to be dismis'd from that board: At which the Duke was much pleased, who hated Lord *Hallifax* at that time, more even than the Earl of *Shaftsbury* himself; for he had fallen severely on the declaration for toleration in the house of Lords. He said, if we could make good the eastern compliment, *O King live for ever*, he could trust the King with every thing; but since that was so much a compliment, that it could never become real, he could not be implicite in his confidence. Thus matters went on all 1676, and to the beginning of the year 1677, when another session of Parliament was held. I have brought within this year several things that may be of use to enlighten the reader as to the state of things, tho' perhaps of their own nature they were not important enough to deserve to be told. But in so bare a year, as this proved to be, it seemed no impertinent digression, to bring all such matters into the reader's way.

I shall next give some account of *Scottish* affairs. The Duke of *Lauderdale* had mastered the opposition made to him so entirely, that men were now, tho' silent, not quiet. The field Conventicles increased mightily. Men came to them armed. And upon that great numbers were outlawed: And a writ was issued out, that was indeed legal, but very seldom used, called Intercommoning: Because it made all that harboured such persons, or did not seize them, when they had it in their power, to be involved in the same guilt. By this means many, apprehending a severe prosecution, left their houses, and went about like a sort of Banditti, and fell under a fierce and savage temper. The Privy Council upon this pretended they were in a state of war. And upon an old statute, that was almost quite forgot, it was set on foot, that the King had a power to take any Castle that lay convenient for his forces, and put a garrison in it. So twelve houses were marked out: Of which two were the chief dwelling houses of two Peers. The rest were the houses of gentlemen, that had gone into the party against Duke *Lauderdale*. And, tho' these were houses of no strength, and not at all properly situated for the suppressing of Conventicles, yet they were taken. Soldiers were put in them. And the countries about were required to furnish those small garrisons with all things necessary. This was against the express words of the law that had lately settled the militia. Great opposition was made to it. Yet it was kept up above a year, till the houses were quite ruined by the rude soldiers, who understood that the more waste they made it would be the more acceptable. At last it was let fall. The affairs of *Scotland*.

Another thing happened, scarce worth mentioning, if it was not for the effects that followed on it. One *Carstairs*, a loose and vicious gentleman, who had ruined his estate, undertook to *Sharp* to go about in disguise, to see those Conventicles, and to carry some with him to witness against such as they saw at them; in which he himself was not to appear: But he was to have a proportion of all the fines that should be set upon this evidence: And he was to have so much for every one of their teachers that he could catch. He had many different disguises, and passed by different names in every one of them. He found *Kirkton*, an eminent preacher among them, who

1676. was as cautious as the reſt were bold, and had avoided all ſuſpitious and dangerous meetings. *Carſtairs*, ſeeing him walking on the ſtreets of *Edenburgh*, told him, there was a perſon that was ſick, and ſent him to beg a viſit from him. He ſuſpecting nothing went with him. *Carſtairs* brought him to his own lodgings: And there he told him, he had a warrant againſt him, which he would execute, if he would not give him money to let him alone. *Kirkton* ſaid, he had not offended, and was willing to go to priſon till his innocence ſhould appear. *Carſtairs* really had no warrant: But, as was afterwards diſcovered, he had often taken this method, and had got money by it. So he went out to procure a warrant, and left *Kirkton* lock'd up in his chamber. *Kirkton* called to the people of the houſe: And told them how he was trepan'd. And he got one of them to ſeek *Baillie* of *Jerriſwood*, his brother-in-law, who was a Gentleman of great parts, but of much greater vertue. *Carſtairs* could not find nine Privy Counſellours to ſign a warrant, which were the number required by law. Yet, when he came back, he pretended he had a warrant, and would force *Kirkton* to go to priſon upon it. *Kirkton* refuſed to obey any ſuch warrant, till he ſaw it. And upon that *Carſtairs* ſtruggled, and pulled him to the ground, and ſate on him, the other crying out murther. At that time *Baillie* came to the door: And, hearing him cry out, he called to *Carſtairs* to open the door: And, that not being done, he forced it, and found *Carſtairs* ſitting upon *Kirkton*. He drew his ſword, and made him come off him. He then asked him, what warrant he had to uſe him as he did. He ſaid, he had a warrant to carry him to priſon: But he refuſed to ſhew it. *Baillie* offered to aſſiſt in executing it, if he had any: But he perſiſted in this, that he was not bound to ſhew it. *Baillie* made *Kirkton* to go out, and followed him, no violence being uſed; for which he had many witneſſes, whom the noiſe had brought together. And he ſaid, he was reſolved to ſue *Carſtairs* for this riot. But before the next Council day a warrant was ſigned by nine Privy Counſellours, but antedated, for the committing of *Kirkton*, and of ſix or ſeven more of their preachers. Lord *Athol* told me he was one of thoſe who ſigned it, with that falſe date to it. So *Baillie* was cited before the Council: *Carſtairs* produced his warrant, which he pretended he had at the time that *Kirkton* was in his hands, but did not think fit to ſhew, ſince that would diſcover the names of others, againſt whom he was alſo to make uſe of it. *Baillie* brought his witneſſes to prove his behaviour. But they would not ſo much as examine them. It was ſaid, that upon *Carſtairs* ſaying he had a warrant *Kirkton* was bound to go to jayl; and that, if it had been found that he was carried thither without a warrant, the jaylor would not have received him. Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Kinkardin*, were yet upon the council. And they argued long againſt this way of proceeding, as liker a Court of Inquiſition, than a legal government. Yet *Baillie* was fined 500 *l.* and condemned to a year's impriſonment. And upon this an occaſion was taken to turn Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Kinkardin* out of the Council, as enemies to the Church, and as favourers of Conventicles.

1677. The Parliament of *England* had been prorogued for about a year and ſome months, by two different prorogations. One of theſe was for more than a year. So upon that it was made a queſtion, whether by that the Parliament was not diſſolved. The argument for it was laid thus. By the ancient laws, a Parliament was to be held *once a year, and oftener, if need be*: It was ſaid, the words, *if need be*, in one act, which were not in another that enacted an annual Parliament without that addition, did not belong to the whole period, by which a ſeſſion was only to be held once a year if it was needful; but belonged only to the word *oftener*: So that the law was poſitive for a Parliament once a year: And if ſo, then any act contrary to that law was an unlawful act: By conſequence it could have no operation: From whence it was inferred, that the prorogation which did run beyond a year, and by conſequence made that the Parliament could not ſit that year, was illegal; and that therefore the Parliament could not ſit by virtue of ſuch an illegal act. Lord *Shaftsbury* laid hold on this with great joy, and he thought to work his point by it. The Duke of *Buckingham* was for every thing that would embroil matters. The Earl of *Salisbury* was brought into it, who was a high ſpirited man, and had a very ill opinion of the Court. Lord *Wharton* went alſo into it. And Lord *Hollis* writ a book for it: But a fit of the gout kept him out of the way. All the reſt of the party was againſt it. They ſaid, it was a ſubtilty: And it was very dangerous to hang ſo much weight upon ſuch weak grounds. The words, *if need be*, had been underſtood to belong to the whole act:

A queſtion raiſed in *England* about the legality of a prorogation.

And

1677.

And the long Parliament did not pretend to make annual Parliaments neceſſary, but inſiſted only on a triennial Parliament: If there had been need of a Parliament during that long prorogation, the King by proclamation might have diſſolved it, and called a new one. All that knew the temper of the Houſe of Commons were much troubled at this diſpute, that was like to riſe on ſuch a point. It was very certain the majority of both Houſes, who only could judge it, would be againſt it. And they thought ſuch an attempt to force a diſſolution, would make the Commons do every thing that the Court deſired. Lord *Halifax* ſet himſelf much againſt this; and did it not without expreſſing great ſharpneſs againſt Lord *Shaftsbury*, who could not be managed in this matter. So, upon the firſt opening the ſeſſion, the debate was brought on: And theſe Lords ſtood againſt the whole Houſe. That matter was ſoon decided by a queſtion.

But then a ſecond debate roſe; which held for two days, whether theſe Lords were not liable to cenſure, for offering a debate, that might create great diſtractions in the ſubjects minds, concerning the legality of Parliament. Lord *Halifax* with the reſt of the party argued againſt it ſtrongly. They ſaid, if an idle motion was made, and checked at firſt, he that made it might be cenſured for it; tho' it was ſeldom, if ever, to be practiſed in a free Council, where every man was not bound to be wiſe, nor to make no impertinent motion: But when the motion was entertained, and a debate followed, and a queſtion was put upon it, it was deſtructive to the freedom of publick Councils, to call any one to an account for it: They might with the ſame juſtice call them to an account for their debates and votes: So that no man was ſafe, unleſs he could know where the majority would be: Here would be a precedent to tip down ſo many Lords at a time, and to garboil the Houſe, as often as any party ſhould have a great majority. It was ſaid on the other hand, here was a deſign to put the Nation into great diſorder, and to bring the legality of a Parliament into diſpute. So it was carried to oblige them to ask pardon as delinquents: Otherwiſe it was reſolved to ſend them to the Tower. They refuſed to ask pardon; and ſo were ſent thither. The Earl of *Sulisbury* was the firſt that was called on: For the Duke of *Buckingham* went out of the Houſe. He deſired, he might have his ſervants to wait on him: And the firſt he named was his cook; which the King reſented highly, as carrying in it an inſinuation of the worſt ſort. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* made the ſame demand. But the Lord *Wharton* did not ask for his cook. The Duke of *Buckingham* came in next day; and was ſent after them to the Tower. And they were ordered to continue priſoners during the pleaſure of the Houſe, or during the King's pleaſure. They were much viſited. So to check that, tho' no complaint was made of their behaviour, they were made cloſe priſoners, not to be viſited without leave from the King, or the Houſe: And particular obſervations were made of all thoſe that asked leave. This was much cried out on; And the Earl of *Danby*'s long impriſonment afterwards, was thought a juſt retaliation for the violence with which he drove this on: Three of the Lords lay in the Tower for ſome months: But they were ſet at liberty upon their petitioning the King. Lord *Shaftsbury* would not petition: But he moved in the King's bench that he might be diſcharged. The King's juſtice, he ſaid, was to be diſpenſed in that Court. The Court ſaid, he was committed by an order from the Houſe of Lords, which was a Court ſuperiour to them: So they could take no cognizance of the matter. Lord *Danby* cenſured this motion highly, as done in contempt of the Houſe of Lords; and ſaid, he would make uſe of it againſt him next ſeſſion of Parliament. Yet he was often forced to make the ſame motion at that bar: And he complained of the injuſtice of the Court for refuſing to bail or diſcharge him, tho' in that they followed the precedent, which at this time was directed by himſelf.

The Lords that moved it ſent to the Tower.

The debate about the diſſolution of the Parliament, had the effect in the Houſe of Commons that was foreſeen: For the Commons were much inflamed againſt Lord *Shaftsbury*, and his party. They at firſt voted 600000 *l.* for the building thirty ſhips: For they reſolved to begin with a popular bill. A clauſe was put in the bill by the Country party, that the money ſhould be accounted for to the Commons, in hope that the Lords would alter that clauſe, and make it accountable to both Houſes; which was done by the Lords, and conferences were held upon it. The Lords thought, that, ſince they paid their ſhare of the tax, it was not reaſonable to exclude them from the accounts. The Commons adhered to their clauſe: And the bill was in great danger of being loſt. But the King prevailed with the Lords to recede. An additi-

Proceedings in Parliament.

1677.

additional excise, that had been formerly given, was now falling: So they continued that for three years longer. And they were in all things so compliant, that the Court had not for many years had so hopeful a session as this was. But all was changed of a sudden.

Affairs in *Flanders.*

The King of *France* was then making one of his early campaigns in *Flanders*; in which he at first took *Valenciennes*, and then divided his Army in two. He with one besieged *Cambray*: And the other commanded by his brother besieged St. Omer. But, tho' I intend to say little of foreign affairs, yet where I come to the knowledge of particulars that I have not seen in any printed relations, I will venture to set them down. *Turenne's* death was a great blow to the King of *France*; but not to his Ministers, whom he despised, and who hated him. But the King had such a personal regard to him, that they were afraid of opposing him too much. He was both the most cautious, and the most obliging General that ever commanded an Army. He had the art of making every man love him, except those that thought they came in some competition with him: For he was apt to treat them with too much contempt. It was an extraordinary thing that a random cannot shot should have killed him. He sat by the balance of his body a while on the saddle, but fell down dead in the place: And a great design he had, which probably would have been fatal to the *German* Army, died with him. The Prince of *Condé* was sent to command the Army to his great affliction: For this was a declaration, that he was esteemed inferiour to *Turenne*, which he could not well bear, tho' he was inferiour to him in all that related to the command; unless it was in a day of battle, in which the presence of mind, and vivacity of thought, which were wonderful in him, gave him some advantage. But he had too much pride, to be so obliging as a General ought to be. And he was too much a slave to pleasure, and gamed too much, to have that constant application to his business that the other had. He was entirely lost in the King's good opinion, not only by reason of his behaviour during his minority. But, after that was forgiven, once when the King was ill, not without apprehensions, he sent for him, and recommended his son to his care, in case he should die at that time. But he, instead of receiving this as a great mark of confidence, with due acknowledgments, expostulated upon the ill usage he had met with. The King recovered; but never forgot that treatment, and took all occasions to mortify him; which the Ministers knew well, and seconded him in it: So that, bating the outward respect due to his birth, they treated him very hardly in all his pretensions.

The *French* King declined a battle when offered by the Prince of *Orange.*

The *French* King came down to *Flanders* in 76, and first took *Condé*, and then besieged *Bouchain*. The siege went on in form: And the King lay with an Army covering it, when on a sudden the Prince of *Orange* drew his Army together, and went up almost to the King's camp, offering him battle. All the Marshals and Generals concluded that battle was to be given, and that the war would be thus ended. The King heard all this coldly. *Schomberg* was newly made a Marshal, and had got great honour the year before against the Prince of *Orange*, in raising the siege of *Maestricht*. He commanded in a quarter at some distance. The King said he would come to no resolution, till he heard his opinion. *Louvoy* sent for him by a confident person, whom he ordered to tell him what had happen'd; and that, in any opinion he was to give, he must consider the King's person. So, when he came to the King's tent, a council of war was called: And *Schomberg* was ordered to deliver his opinion first. He said, the King was there on design to cover the siege of *Bouchain*: A young General was come up on a desperate humour to offer battle: He did not doubt, but it would be a glorious decision of the war: But the King ought to consider his own designs, and not to be led out of these by any bravado, or even by the great hope of success: The King ought to remain in his post till the place was taken: Otherwise he suffered another man to be the master of his counsels and actions. When the place was taken, then he was to come to new counsels: But till then he thought he was to pursue his first design. The King said *Schomberg* was in the right: And he was applauded that day, as a better Counsellor than a General. I had all this from his own mouth.

To this I will add a pleasant passage, that the Prince of *Condé* told young *Rowney*, now Earl of *Galloway*. The King of *France* has never yet fought a battle; and has a mighty notion of that matter: And, it seems, he apprehends the danger of it too much. Once he was chiding the Prince of *Conti* for his being about to fight a combat

combat with a man of quality. The King told him, he ought to consider the dignity of his blood, and not put himself on the level with other subjects; and that his uncle had declined fighting on that very account. The Prince of *Conti* answered, my uncle might well have done so, after he had won two battles; but I, who have yet done nothing, must pretend to no such distinction. The King told this answer to the Prince of *Condé*, who saw he was nettled with it. So he said to him, that his nephew just in that spoke like a young man: For winning of a battle was no great matter; since, tho' he who commanded had the glory of it, yet it was the subalterns that did the business: In which he thought he pleased the King; and for which he laughed heartily at him, when he told the story. The late King told me, that in these campaigns the *Spaniards* were both so ignorant and so backward, so proud and yet so weak, that they would never own their feebleness, or their wants, to him. They pretended they had stores when they had none; and thousands when they scarce had hundreds. He had in their counsels often desired, that they would give him only a true state of their garrisons and magazines. But they always gave it false. So that for some campaigns all was lost, merely because they deceived him in the strength they pretended they had. At last he believed nothing they said, but sent his own officers to examine every thing. *Monterey* was a wise man, and a good Governour, but was a coward. *Villa Hermosa* was a brave man, but ignorant and weak. Thus the Prince had a sad time of it every campaign. But none was so unhappy as this: In which, upon the loss of *Valenciennes*, he looking on St. *Omer* as more important than *Cambray*, went thither, and ventured a battle too rashly. *Luxembourgh*, with a great body of horse, came into the Duke of *Orleans*'s Army, just as they were engaging. Some regiments of marines, on whom the Prince depended much, did basely run away. Yet the other bodies fought so well, that he lost not much, besides the honour of the day. But upon that St. *Omer* did immediately capitulate, as *Cambray* did some days after. It was thought, that the King was jealous of the honour his brother had got in that action; for he never had the command of an Army after that time: And, courage being the chief good quality that he had, it was thought his having no occasion given him to shew it flowed from some particular reason.

1677.

Cambray and St. *Omer* taken.

These things happening during this session of Parliament, made great impression on all peoples minds. Sir *W. Coventry* opened the business in the House of Commons; and shewed the danger of all these Provinces falling under the power of *France*; which must end in the ruin of the United Provinces, if a timely stop were not put to the progress the *French* were making. He demonstrated, that the interest of *England* made it necessary for the King to withdraw his mediation, and enter into the alliance against *France*: And the whole House went into this. There were great complaints made of the regiments that the King kept in the *French* army, and of the great service that was done by them. It is true, the King suffered the *Dutch* to make levies. But there was another sort of encouragement given to the levies for *France*, particularly in *Scotland*; where it looked liker a press than a levy. They had not only the publick jayls given them to keep their men in: But, when these were full, they had the castle of *Edenburgh* assign'd them, till ships were ready for their transport. Some, that were put in prison for Conventicles, were, by order of Council, delivered to their officers. The *Spanish* Ambassadour heard of this, and made great complaints upon it. So a Proclamation was ordered, prohibiting any more levies. But Duke *Lauderdale* kept it up some days, and writ down to hasten the levies away; for a Proclamation was coming down against them. They were all shipped off, but had not sailed, when the Proclamation came down: Yet it was kept up, till they sailed away. One of the ships was driven back by stress of weather: But no care was taken to execute the Proclamation. So apparently was that Kingdom in a *French* management.

The House of Commons pressed the King, by repeated addresses, to fall into the interest of *Europe*, as well as into his own. The King was uneasy at this, and sent them several angry messages. Peace and war, he said, were undoubtedly matters within his prerogative, in which they ought not to meddle. And the King in common discourse remembred often the Parliament's engaging his father and grandfather in the affairs of *Germany*, and to break the match with *Spain*, which proved fatal to them: And he resolved not to be served in such a manner. Upon this occasion, Lord *Danby* saw his errour, of neglecting the leading men, and reckoning upon a majority, such

The House of Commons pressed the King to engage in the war.

1677. as could be made: For these leading men did so entangle the debates, and overreached those on whom he had presumed, that they, working on the aversion that the *English* Nation naturally has to a *French* interest, spoiled the hopefullest Session the Court had had of a great while, before the Court was well aware of it. The King, who was yet finally united with *Danby*, dismissed them with a very angry speech, chiding them for going so far in matters that were above them, and that belonged only to him. Tho' they brought to him many precedents in the Reigns of the highest spirited of all our Kings, in which Parliaments had not only offered general advices, about the entring into wars, but even special ones, as to the conduct that was to be held in them. The whole Nation thought it a great happiness to see a Session, that Lord *Shaftsbury*'s willfulness had, as it were, driven in to the Court, end with doing so little mischief, far contrary to all mens expectations.

Danby declared against *France*.

When the Session was over, Lord *Danby* saw his ruin was inevitable, if he could not bring the King off from a *French* interest: Upon which he set himself much to it. And, as he talked with an extraordinary zeal against *France* on all occasions, so he pressed the King much to follow the advices of his Parliament. The King seemed to insist upon this, that he would once have a peace made, upon the grounds that he had concerted with *France*: And, when that was done, he would enter next day into the Alliance. But he stood much upon this, that having once engaged with *France* in the war, he could not with honour turn against *France*, till it was at an end. This was such a refining in a point of honour, which that King had not on all other occasions considered so much, that all men believed there was somewhat else at the bottom. The Earl of *Danby* continued to give, by Sir *William Temple*, all possible assurances to the Prince of *Orange*, pressing him likewise to make some compliances on his side. And he gave him great hopes of bringing about a marriage with the Duke's Daughter; which was universally desired by all the Protestant party, both at home and abroad. Great offers were made to the Duke to draw him into the Alliance. He was offered the command of the whole force of the Allies. And he seemed to be wrought on by the prospect of so great an authority. There was a party that were still very jealous of Lord *Danby* in all this matter. Some thought all this was artifice; that a war would be offered to the next Session only to draw money from the Parliament, and thereby to raise an army; and that when the army was raised, and much money given to support it, all would be laid to *France* for another great sum; and that the Parliament would be brought to give the money to pay an army for some years, till the Nation should be subdued to an entire compliance with the Court. It was given out, that this must be the scheme by which he maintained himself in the King and the Duke's confidence, even when he declared himself an open enemy to that which they were still supporting. This he did with so little decency, that at *Sancroft*'s consecration dinner, he began a health, to the confusion of all that were not for a war with *France*. He got the Prince of *Orange* to ask the King's leave to come over at the end of the campaign. With which the Court of *France* was not pleased, for they suspected a design in the marriage. But the King assured *Barillon*, who was lately sent over Ambassador in *Courtin*'s place, that there was not a thought of that; and that the Prince of *Orange* had only a mind to talk with him: And he hoped, he should bring him to such measures, as should produce a speedy peace.

The Prince of *Orange* came into *England*.

The campaign ended unsuccessfully to the Prince: For he sat down before *Cambray*, but was forced to raise the siege. When that was over, he came to *England*, and staid some time in it, talking with his two uncles about a peace. But they could not bring him up to their terms. After a fruitless stay for some weeks, he intended to go back without proposing marriage. He had no mind to be denied: And he saw no hope of succeeding, unless he would enter more entirely into his uncle's measures. Lord *Danby* pressed his staying a few days longer, and that the management of that matter might be left to him. So next *Monday* morning, after he had taken care, by all his creatures about the King, to put him in a very good humour, he came to the King, and told him, he had received Letters from all the best friends his Majesty had in *England*, and shewed a bundle of them; (in which he was pretty sure the King would not trouble himself to read them; probably they were written as he had directed.) They all agreed, he said, in the same advice, that the King should make a marriage between the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke's daughter: For they all believed he came over on that account: And, if he went away without

1677.

no body would doubt, but that he had propoſed it, and had been denied. Upon
whieh the Parliament would certainly make addreſſes to the King for it. And if the
marriage was made upon that, the King would loſe the grace and thanks of it: But
if it was ſtill denied, even after the addreſſes of both Houſes, it would raiſe jealouſies
that might have very ill conſequences. Whereas, if the King did it of his own mo-
tion, he would have the honour of it: And, by ſo doing, he would bring the Prince
into a greater dependence on himſelf, and beget in the Nation ſuch a good opinion
of him, as would lay a foundation for a mutual confidence. This he enforced with
all the topicks he could think on. The King ſaid, the Prince had not ſo much as
propoſed it: Lord *Danby* owned he had ſpoke of it to himſelf; and ſaid, that his not
moving it to the King was only, becauſe he apprehended he was not like to ſucceed in
it. The King ſaid next, my brother will never conſent to it. Lord *Danby* anſwer-
ed, perhaps not, unleſs the King took it upon him to command it: And he thought
it was the Duke's intereſt to have it done, even more than the King's: All people
were now poſſeſs'd of his being a Papiſt, and were very apprehenſive of it: But if
they ſaw his daughter given to one that was at the head of the Proteſtant intereſt,
it would very much ſoften theſe apprehenſions, when it did appear that his religion
was only a perſonal thing, not to be derived to his children after him. With all
this the King was convinced. So he ſent for the Duke, Lord *Danby* ſtaying ſtill
with him. When the Duke came, the King told him he had ſent for him, to
deſire he would conſent to a thing that he was ſure was as much for his intereſt,
as it was for his own quiet and ſatisfaction. The Duke, without asking what it was,
ſaid, he would be ready always to comply with the King's pleaſure in every thing.
So the King left it to the Lord *Danby* to ſay over all he had ſaid on that head to
himſelf. The Duke ſeemed much concerned. But the King ſaid to him; Brother,
I deſire it of you for my ſake, as well as your own: And upon that the Duke
conſented to it. So Lord *Danby* ſent immediately for the Prince, and in the King's
name ordered a Council to be preſently ſummoned. Upon the Prince's coming, the
King, in a very obliging way, ſaid to him; Nephew, it is not good for man to be
alone, I will give you a help meet for you: And ſo he told him he would beſtow
his niece on him. And the Duke, with a ſeeming heartineſs, gave his conſent in
very obliging terms: The King adding, Nephew, remember that love and war do
not agree well together. In the mean while the news of the intended marriage
went over the Court and Town. All, except the *French* and the Popiſh party, were
much pleaſed with it. *Barillon* was amazed. He went to the Dutcheſs of *Portſ-
mouth*; and got her to ſend all her creatures to deſire to ſpeak to the King: She
writ him likewiſe ſeveral Billets to the ſame purpoſe. But Lord *Danby* had order-
ed the Council to be called: And he took care, that neither the King nor the Duke
ſhould be ſpoke to, till the matter was declared in Council. And when that was
done, the King preſented the Prince to the young Lady, as the perſon he deſigned
ſhould be her husband. When *Barillon* ſaw it was gone ſo far, he ſent a courier to
the Court of *France* with the news: Upon whoſe arrival *Montague*, that was then
their Ambaſſadour there, was ſent for. When he came to *Verſailles*, he ſaw the
King the moſt moved, that he had ever obſerved him to be. He asked him, when
was the marriage to be made? *Montague* underſtood not what he meant. So he
explained all to him. *Montague* proteſted to him, that he knew nothing of the
whole matter. That King ſaid, he always believed the journey would end in this:
and he ſeemed to think that our Court had now forſaken him. He ſpoke of the
King's part in it more decently; but expoſtulated ſeverely on the Duke's part, who
had now given his daughter to the greateſt enemy he had in the world. To all this
Montague had no anſwer to make. But next night he had a courier with letters,
from the King, the Duke, and the Prince, to the King of *France*. The Prince
had no mind to this piece of courtſhip: But his uncle obliged him to it, as a civi-
lity due to kindred and blood. The King aſſured the King of *France*, that he had
made the match on deſign to engage the Prince to be more tractable in the treaty,
that was now going on at *Nimeguen*. The King of *France* received theſe letters ci-
villy; but did not ſeem much ſatisfied with them. *Montague* was called over ſoon
after this, to get new inſtructions. And Lord *Danby* asked him, how the King of
France received the news of the marriage. He anſwered, as he would have done the
loſs of an army; and that he had ſpoke very hardly of the Duke, for conſenting to
it, and not at leaſt acquainting him with it. Lord *Danby* anſwered, he wronged
him;

He married the Duke's daughter.

1677. him; for he did not know of it an hour before it was publiſhed, and the King himſelf not above two hours. All this relation I had from *Montague* himſelf. It was a maſter-piece indeed, and the chief thing in the Earl of *Danby*'s miniſtry, for which the Duke never forgave him.

1678. Upon the general ſatisfaction that this marriage gave the whole Nation, a new ſeſſion of Parliament was called in the beginning of the year 78: To which the King declared the ſenſe he had of the dangerous ſtate their neighbours were in, and that it was neceſſary he ſhould be put in a poſture to bring things to a balance. So the Houſe was preſſed to ſupply the King in ſo plentiful a manner, as the occaſion did require. The Court asked money, both for an army, and a fleet. Sir *William Coventry* ſhewed the great inconvenience of raiſing a land army, the danger that might follow on it, the little uſe could be made of it, and the great charge it muſt put the Nation to: He was for hiring bodies from the *German* Princes, and for aſſiſting the *Dutch* with money: And he moved to recal our troops from *France*, and to employ them in the *Dutch* Service: He thought, that which did more properly belong to *England*, was to ſet out a great fleet, and to cut off the *French* trade every where; for they were then very high in their manufactures and trade; their people were ingenious as well as induſtrious; they wrought hard, and lived low; ſo they ſold cheaper than others could do; and it was found, that we ſent very near a million of our money in ſpecie every year for the balance of our trade with them. But the King had promiſed ſo many Commiſſions to men of quality in both Houſes, that this carried it for a land army. It was ſaid, what hazard could there be from an army commanded by men of eſtates, as this was to be? A ſevere act paſs'd prohibiting all importation of the *French* manufactures or growth for three years, and to the next ſeſſion of Parliament after that. This was made as ſtrict as was poſſible: And for a year after it was well looked to. But the merchants found ways to evade it: And the Court was too much *French*, not to connive at the breach of it. In the preamble of this act it was ſet forth, that we were in an actual war with *France*. This was excepted to, as not true in fact. But the Miniſtry affirmed we were already engaged ſo far with the Allies, that it was really a war, and that our troops were already called from *France*. *Coventry* in ſome heat ſaid, the King was engaged, and he would rather be guilty of the murder of forty men, than to do any thing to retard the progreſs of the war. The oddneſs of the expreſſion made it to be often objected afterwards to him. A poll bill was granted, together with the continuance of the additional cuſtoms that were near falling off. Six hundred thouſand pound was alſo given for a land army, and for a fleet. All the Court party magnified the deſign of raiſing an army. They ſaid, the employing hired troops was neither honourable nor ſafe. The *Spaniards* were willing to put *Oſtend* and *Newport* in our hands: And we could not be anſwerable for theſe places, if they were not kept by our own people.

Supplies giv'n towards the war.

At this time the King of *France* made a ſtep that ſtruck terrour into the *Dutch*, and enflamed the *Engliſh* out of meaſure. *Louvoy* till then was rather his father's aſſiſtant, than a miniſter upon his own foot. He at this time gained the credit with the King, which he maintained ſo long afterwards. He propoſed to him the taking of *Ghent*; and thought that the King's getting into ſuch a place, ſo near the *Dutch* would immediately diſpoſe them to a peace. But it was not eaſy to bring their army ſo ſoon about it, without being obſerved: So the execution ſeemed impoſſible. He therefore laid ſuch a ſcheme of marches and countermarches, as did amuſe all the Allies. Sometimes the deſign ſeemed to be on the *Rhine*. Sometimes on *Luxemburgh*. And while their forces were ſent to defend thoſe places, where they apprehended the deſign was laid, and that none of the *French* Generals themſelves did apprehend what the true deſign was, all on the ſudden *Ghent* was inveſted: And both town and citadel were quickly taken. This was *Louvoy*'s maſter-piece. And it had the intended effect. It brought the *Dutch* to reſolve on a peace. The *French* King might have taken *Bruges*, *Oſtend* and *Newport*. But he only took *Ypres*; for he had no mind to provoke the *Engliſh*. He was ſure of his point by the fright this put the *Dutch* in. We were much alarmed at it. And the Duke of *Monmouth* was immediately ſent over with ſome of the Guards.

The *French* take *Ghent*.

But the Parliament grew jealous, as they had great cauſe given them, both by what was then doing in *Scotland*, and by the management they obſerved at Court. And now I muſt look Northward to a very extraordinary ſcene that opened there. Duke *Lauderdale* and

The affairs of *Scotland*.

and his Dutchess went to *Scotland* the former year. Her design was to marry her daughters into two of the great families of *Scotland*, *Argile* and *Murray*, which she did. But, things being then in great disorder, by reason of the numbers and desperate tempers of those who were intercommoned, *Sharp* pretended, he was in great danger of his life; and that the rather, because the person that had made the attempt on him was let live still. Upon this I must tell what had pass'd three years before this. *Sharp* had observed a man that kept shop at his door, who look'd very narrowly at him always as he pass'd by: And he fancied, he was the man that had shot at him six years before. So he ordered him to be taken up and examined. It was found, he had two pistols by him, that were deeply charged, which encreased the suspicion. Yet the man denied all. But *Sharp* got a friend of his to go to him, and deal with him to make a full confession: And he made solemn promises, that he would procure his pardon. His friend answered, he hoped he did not intend to make use of him to trepan a man to his ruin. Upon that, with lifted up hands, *Sharp* promised by the living God, that no hurt should come to him, if he made a full discovery. The person came again to him, and said, if a promise was made in the King's name, the prisoner would tell all. So it was brought before the Council. Lord *Rothes*, *Halton*, and *Primerose* were ordered to examine him. *Primerose* said, it would be a strange force of eloquence, to persuade a man to confess, and be hanged. So Duke *Lauderdale*, being the King's Commissioner, gave them power to promise him his life. And as soon as these Lords told him this, he immediately kneeled down, and confessed the fact, and told the whole manner of it. There was but one person privy to it, who was then dead. *Sharp* was troubled to see so small a discovery made: Yet they could not draw more from him. So then it was considered, what should be done to him. Some moved the cutting off his right hand. Others said, he might learn to practise with his left hand, and to take his revenge; therefore they thought both hands should be cut off. Lord *Rothes*, who was a pleasant man, said, how shall he wipe his breech then. This is not very decent to be mentioned in such a work, if it were not necessary; for when the truth of the promise now given was afterwards called in question, this jest was called to mind, and made the whole matter to be remembred. But *Primerose* moved, that since life was promised, which the cutting off a limb might endanger, it was better to keep him prisoner during life in a castle they had in the *Bass*, a rock in the mouth of the *Frith*: And thither he was sent. But it was thought necessary to make him repeat his confession in a Court of Judicature: So he was brought into the justitiary Court, upon an indictment for the crime, to which it was expected he should plead guilty. But the Judge, who hated *Sharp*, as he went up to the bench, passing by the prisoner said to him, Confess nothing, unless you are sure of your limbs as well as of your life. Upon this hint, he apprehending the danger, refused to confess: Which being reported to the Council, an act was pass'd mentioning the promise and his confession, and adding, that since he had retracted his confession, they likewise recalled the promise of pardon: The meaning of which was this, that, if any other evidence was brought against him, the promise should not cover him: But it still was understood, that this promise secured him from any ill effect by his own confession. The thing was almost forgot after four years, the man being in all respects very inconsiderable. But now *Sharp* would have his life. So Duke *Lauderdale* gave way to it: And he was brought to *Edenburgh* in order to his trial. *Nisbit*, who had been the King's advocate, and was one of the worthiest and learnedest men of the age, was turned out. And *Mackenzie* was put in his place, who was a man of much life and wit, but he was neither equal nor correct in it: He has published many books, some of law, but all full of faults; for he was a slight and superficial man. *Lockhart* was assigned counsel for the prisoner. And now that the matter came again into peoples memory, all were amazed at the proceeding. *Primerose* was turned out of the place of Lord Register, and was made Justice General. He fancied orders had been given to raze the Act that the Council had made: So he turned the books, and he found the act still on record. He took a copy of it, and sent it to *Mitchell*'s Counsel: That was the prisoner's name. And a day or two before the trial, he went to Duke *Lauderdale*, who, together with *Sharp*, Lord *Rothes*, and Lord *Halton*, were summoned as the prisoner's witnesses. He told him, many thought there had been a promise of life given. Duke *Lauderdale* denied it stiffly. *Primerose* said, he heard there was an act of Council made about it, and he wished that might be looked into. Duke *Lauderdale* said, he was sure it was not possible, and he

1678. *Mitchell*'s trial.

1678. would not give himſelf the trouble to turn over the books of Council. *Primeroſe*, who told me this ſaid his conſcience led him to give Duke *Lauderdale* this warning of the matter, but that he was not ſorry to ſee him thus reject it. The trial was very ſolemn. The confeſſion was brought againſt him, as full evidence: To which *Lockhart* did plead, to the admiration of all, to ſhew that no extrajudicial confeſſion could be allowed in a Court. The hardſhips of a priſon, the hopes of life, with other practices, might draw confeſſions from men, when they were perhaps drunk, or out of their ſenſes. He brought upon this a meaſure of learning, that amazed the audience, out of the lawyers of all civilized Nations. And when it was oppoſed to this, that the Council was a Court of judicature, he ſhewed, that it was not the proper Court for crimes of this nature, and that it had not proceeded in this as a Court of Judicature. And he brought out likewiſe a great deal of learning upon thoſe heads. But this was over-ruled by the Court, and the confeſſion was found to be judicial. The next thing pleaded for him was, that it was drawn from him upon hope and promiſe of life: And to this *Sharp* was examined. The perſon he had ſent to *Mitchell* gave a full evidence of the promiſes he had made him: But *Sharp* denied them all. He alſo denied he heard any promiſe of life made him by the Council: So did the Lords *Lauderdale*, *Rothes*, and *Halton*, to the aſtoniſhment of all that were preſent. *Lockhart* upon that produced a copy of the act of Council, that made expreſs mention of the promiſe given, and of his having confeſſed upon that. And the priſoner prayed that the books of Council, which lay in a room over that in which the Court ſat, might be ſent for. *Lockhart* pleaded, that ſince the Court had judged that the Council was a Judicature, all people had a right to ſearch into their regiſters; and the priſoner, who was like to ſuffer by a confeſſion made there, ought to have the benefit of thoſe books. Duke *Lauderdale*, who was in the Court only as a witneſs, and ſo had no right to ſpeak, ſtood up, and ſaid, he and thoſe other noble perſons were not brought thither to be accuſed of perjury; and added, that the books of Council were the King's ſecrets, and that no Court ſhould have the peruſing of them. The Court was terrified with this, and the Judges were divided in opinion. *Primeroſe*, and one other, was for calling for the books. But three were of opinion, that they were not to furniſh the priſoner with evidence, but to judge of that which he brought. And here was only a bare copy, not atteſted upon oath, which ought not to have been read. So, this defence being rejected, he was caſt and condemned.

And condemnation. As ſoon as the Court broke up, the Lords went up ſtairs, and to their ſhame found the act recorded, and ſigned by Lord *Rothes*, as preſident of the Council. He pretended, he ſigned every thing that the Clark of Council put in the book without reading it. And it was intended to throw it on him. But he, to clear himſelf, ſearched among his papers, and found a draught of the Act in *Nisbit*'s hand. So, he being rich, and one they had turned out, they reſolved to put it upon him, and to fine him deeply. But he examined the *Sederunt* in the book, and ſpoke to all who were there at the board, of whom nine happened to be in Town, who were ready to depoſe upon oath, that when the Council had ordered this Act to be drawn, the Clark of the Council deſired the help of the King's advocate in penning it, which he gave him; and his draught was approved by the Council. And now Lord *Rothes*'s jeſt was remembred. Yet Duke *Lauderdale* ſtill ſtood to it, that the promiſe could only be for interceding with the King for his pardon, ſince the Council had not the power of pardoning in them. Lord *Kincardin* acted in this the part of a chriſtian to an enemy. Duke *Lauderdale* had writ to him, he being then ſerving for him at Court, that he referred the account of *Mitchell*'s buſineſs to his brother's letters; in which the matter was truly related, that upon promiſe of life he had confeſſed the fact; and he concluded, deſiring him to aſk the King, that he would be pleaſed to make good the promiſe. Theſe letters I ſaw in Lord *Kincardin*'s hand. Before the trial he ſent a Biſhop to Duke *Lauderdale*, deſiring him to conſider better of that matter, before he would upon oath deny it: For he was ſure he had it under his, and his brother's hand, tho' he could not yet fall upon their letters. But Duke *Lauderdale* deſpiſed this. Yet, before the execution he went to his houſe in the Country, and there found the letters, and brought them in with him, and ſhewed them to that Biſhop. All this made ſome impreſſion on Duke *Lauderdale*: And he was willing to grant a reprieve, and to refer the matter to the King. So a petition was offered to the Council: And he ſpoke for it. But *Sharp* ſaid, that was upon the matter the expoſing his perſon to any man that would attempt to murder him, ſince favour was to be ſhewed to ſuch an aſſaſſin. Then ſaid

Duke

Duke *Lauderdale*, in an impious jeſt, Let *Mitchell* glorify God in the graſs market, which was the place where he was to be hanged. This action, and all concern'd in it, were look'd at by all people with horrour. And it was ſuch a complication of treachery, perjury, and cruelty, as the like had not perhaps been known. Yet Duke *Lauderdale* had a Chaplain, *Hickes*, afterwards Dean of *Worceſter*, who publiſhed a falſe and partial relation of this matter, in order to the juſtifying of it. *Primeroſe* not only gave me an account of this matter, but ſent me an authentick record of the trial, every page ſigned by the clark of the Court; of which I have here given an abſtract. This I ſet down the more fully, to let my readers ſee to what a height in wickedneſs men may be carried, after they have once thrown off good principles. What *Sharp* did now to preſerve himſelf from ſuch practices was probably that which, both in the juſt judgment of God, and the enflamed fury of wicked men, brought him two years after to ſuch a diſmal end. 1678.

This made way to more deſperate undertakings. Conventicles grew in the Weſt to a very unſufferable pitch: They had generally with them a troop of armed and deſperate men, that drew up, and ſent parties out to ſecure them. Duke *Lauderdale* upon this threatned he would extirpate them, and ruin the whole country, if a ſtop was not put to thoſe meetings. The chief men of thoſe parts upon that went into *Edenburgh*: They offered to guard and aſſiſt any that ſhould be ſent to execute the laws againſt all offenders; and offered to leave ſome as Hoſtages, who ſhould be bound body for body for their ſecurity: They confeſſed there were many Conventicles held among them in a moſt ſcandalous manner: But, tho' they met in the fields, and many of them were armed, yet, when their ſermons were done, they diſperſed themſelves: And there was no violent oppoſition made at any time to the execution of the law: So, they ſaid, there was no danger of the publick peace of the country. Thoſe conventicling people were become very giddy and furious: And ſome hot and hair-brained young preachers had the chief following among them, who infuſed wild principles in them, which were diſowned by the chief men of the party. The truth was, the country was in a great diſtraction: And that was chiefly occaſioned by the ſtrange adminiſtration they were then under. Many grew weary of their country, and even of their lives. If Duke *Lauderdale* or any of his party, brought a complaint againſt any of the other ſide, how falſe or frivolous ſoever, they were ſummoned upon it to appear before the Council, as ſowers of ſedition, and as men that ſpread lies of the Government: And upon the ſlighteſt pretences they were fined and impriſoned. When very illegal things were to be done, the common method was this: A letter was drawn for it to be ſigned by the King, directing it upon ſome colour of law or ancient practice: The King ſigned whatſoever was thus ſent to him: And when his letter was read in Council, if any of the lawyers or others of the board offered to object to it, he was brow-beaten, as a man that oppoſed the King's ſervice, and refuſed to obey his orders. And by theſe means things were driven to great extremities.

The adminiſtration there grew very violent and illegal.

Upon one of thoſe letters, a new motion was ſet on foot, that went beyond all that had been yet made. All the landlords in the Weſtern Counties were required to enter into bonds for themſelves, their wives, children, ſervants, tenants, and all that lived upon their eſtates, that they ſhould not go to Conventicles, nor harbour any vagrant teachers, or any intercommoned perſons; and that they ſhould live in all points according to law under the penalties of the laws. This was generally refuſed by them: They ſaid, the law did not impoſe it on them: They could not be anſwerable for their ſervants, much leſs for their tenants: This put it in the power of every ſervant or tenant to ruin them. Upon their refuſing this, Duke *Lauderdale* writ to the King, that the country was in a ſtate of rebellion, and that it was neceſſary to proceed to hoſtilities for reducing them. So by a letter, ſuch as he ſent up, the King left it to him and the Council to take care of the publick peace in the beſt way they could.

Upon this all the force the King had was ſent into the Weſt Country, with ſome cannon, as if it had been for ſome dangerous expedition: And letters were writ to the Lords in the Highlands, to ſend all the ſtrength they could to aſſiſt the King's army. The Marquis of *Athol*, to ſhew his greatneſs, ſent 2400 men. The Earl of *Braidalbin* ſent 1700. And, in all, 8000 men were brought into the country, and let looſe upon free quarter. A Committee of Council was ſent to give neceſſary orders. Here was an Army. But no enemy appeared. The Highlanders were very unruly, and

An army of Highlanders ſent to the Weſt upon free quarter.

1678. and stole, and robbed every where. The gentlemen of the country were required to deliver up their arms upon oath, and to keep no horse above four pound price. The gentlemen looked on, and would do nothing. This put Duke *Lauderdale* in such a frenzy, that at Council table he made bare his arms above his elbow, and swore by *Jehovah* he would make them enter into those bonds. Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who were vexed to see such waste made on their estates, in plowing time especially, came to *Edenburgh* to try if it were possible to mollify him. But a Proclamation was issued out, requiring all the inhabitants of those Counties to go to their houses, to be assisting to the King's host, and to obey such orders as should be sent them. And by another Proclamation all men were forbidden to go out of the Kingdom without leave from the Council, on pretence that their stay was necessary for the King's service. These things seemed done on design to force a rebellion, which they thought would be soon quashed, and would give a good colour for keeping up an army. And Duke *Lauderdale*'s party depended so much on this, that they began to divide in their hopes the confiscated estates among them: So that on *Valentine*'s day, instead of drawing mistresses, they drew estates. And great joy appeared in their looks upon a false alarm that was brought them of an insurrection: And they were as much dejected, when they knew it was false. It was happy for the publick peace, that the people were universally possessed with this opinion: For when they saw a rebellion was desired, they bore the present oppression more quietly, than perhaps they would have done, if it had not been for that. All the chief men of the country were summoned before the Committee of Council, and charged with a great many crimes, of which they were required to purge themselves by oath: Otherwise they would hold them guilty, and proceed against them as such. It was in vain to pretend, that this was against all law, and was the practice only of the Courts of Inquisition. Yet the gentlemen, being thus forced to it, did purge themselves by oath. And, after all the enquiries that were made, there did not appear one single circumstance to prove that any rebellion was intended. And, when all other things failed so evidently, recourse was had to a writ, which a man who suspects another of ill designs towards him may serve him with: And it was called Law-Boroughs, as most used in Boroughs. This lay against a whole family: The master was answerable, if any one of his household broke it. So, by a new practice, this writ was served upon the whole country at the King's suit: And, upon serving the writ, security was to be given, much like the binding men to their good behaviour. Many were put in prison for refusing to give this security.

Many of the Nobility came up to complain to the King.

Duke *Hamilton* had intimation sent him, that it was designed to serve this on him. So he, and ten or twelve of the Nobility, with about fifty gentlemen of quality, came up to complain of all this, which looked like *French*, or rather like *Turkish* government. The Lords of *Athol* and *Perth*, who had been two of the Committee of Council, and had now fallen off from Duke *Lauderdale*, came up with them to give the King an account of the whole progress of this matter. The clamour this made was so high, that Duke *Lauderdale* saw he could not stand under it. So the Highlanders were sent home, after they had wasted the country near two months. And he magnified this as an act of his compassion, that they were so soon dismist. Indeed all his own party were against him in it. Lord *Argile* sent none of his men down with the other Highlanders. And Lord *Stairs* pretended that by a fall his hand was out of joint: So he signed none of these wild orders.

But the King would not see them.

When the *Scottish* Nobility came to *London*, the King would not see them, because they were come out of the Kingdom in contempt of a Proclamation; tho' they said, that Proclamation, being intended to hinder them from bringing their complaints to the King, was one of their greatest grievances. But it was answered, they ought to have asked leave: And if it had been denied them, they were next to have asked the King's leave: And the King insisted still on this. Only he saw the Lords of *Athol* and *Perth*. The madness of this proceeding made him conclude, that Duke *Lauderdale*'s head was turned. Yet he would not disown, much less punish him for what he had done. But he intended to put *Scotland* in another management, and to set the Duke of *Monmouth* at the head of it. So he suffered him to go to the Scots Lords, and be their intercessour with him. They were all much charmed with the softness of his temper and behaviour. But, tho' he assured them the King would put their affairs in other hands, they looked on that as one of the King's artifices to get rid of them. The matter made great noise: And it was in the time of the session

1678.

of Parliament here. And all people said, that by the management in *Scotland* it appeared what was the spirit of the Government; and what would be done here, as soon as the designs of the Court were brought to a greater perfection. The Earl of *Danby*, by supporting Duke *Lauderdale*, heightned the prejudices that himself lay under. The Duke did also justify his conduct; which raised higher jealousies of him, as being pleased with that method of government. The chief of the *Scottish* Nobility were heard before the Cabinet-Council. And the Earl of *Nottingham* held them chiefly to the point of coming out of the Kingdom in the face of a Proclamation. They said, such Proclamations were anciently legal, when we had a King of our own among our selves. But now it was manifestly against law, since it barred them from access to the King, which was a right that was never to be denied them. Lord *Nottingham* objected next to them a practice of making the heads of the families or clans in the Highlands to bind for their whole name; and why by a parity of reason might they not be required to bind for their tenants? It was answered, that anciently estates were set so low, that service and the following the landlords was instead of a rent; and then, in the inroads that were made into *England*, landlords were required to bring their tenants along with them: But now lands were let at rack: And so an end was put to that service: In the Highlands the feuds among the families were still so high, that every name came under such a dependence on the head or chief of it for their own security, that he was really the master of them all; and so might be bound for them: But even this was only to restrain depredations and murthers: And it was an unheard of stretch, to oblige men to be bound for others in matters of Religion and Conscience, whether real or pretended.

A Convention of Estates gives money, and justifies the administration.

The whole matter was at that time let fall. And Duke *Lauderdale* took advantage from their absence to desire leave from the King to summon a Convention of Estates; from whom he might more certainly understand the sense of the whole Kingdom. And, what by corrupting the Nobility, what by carrying elections, or at least disputes about them, which would be judged as the majority should happen to be at first, he hoped to carry his point. So he issued out the writs, while they were at *London*, knowing nothing of the design. And these being returnable in three weeks, he laid the matter so, that before they could get home, all the elections were over: And he was master of above four parts in five of that Assembly. So they granted an assessment for three years, in order to the maintaining a greater force. And they wrote a letter to the King, not only justifying, but highly magnifying Duke *Lauderdale*'s government. This was so base and so abject a thing, that it brought the whole Nation under great contempt.

Affairs in *England*.

And thus I leave the affairs of *Scotland*, which had a very ill influence on the minds of the *English*; chiefly on the House of Commons then sitting, who upon it made a new address against Duke *Lauderdale*. And that was followed by another of a higher strain, representing to the King the ill effects of his not hearkning to their address the former year with relation to foreign affairs; and desiring him to change his Ministry, and to dismis all those that had advised the prorogation at that time, and his delaying so long to assist the Allies. This was carried only by a small majority of two or three. So Lord *Danby* brought up all his creatures, the aged and infirm not excepted: And then the majority lay the other way: And by short adjournments the Parliament was kept sitting till *Midsummer*.

The House of Commons grew jealous of the Court.

Once Lord *Danby*, thinking he had a clear majority, got the King to send a message to the House, desiring an additional Revenue of 300000 *l.* during life. This set the House all in a flame. It was said, here was no demand for a war, but for a revenue, which would furnish the Court so well, that there would be no more need of Parliaments. The Court party thought such a gift as this would make them useless. So the thing was upon one debate rejected without a division. Lord *Danby* was much censured for this rash attempt, which discovered the designs of the Court too barefacedly. At the same time he ordered *Montague* to treat with the Court of *France* for a peace, in case they would engage to pay the King 300000 *l.* a year for three years. So, when that came afterwards to be known, it was then generally believed, that the design was to keep up and model the army now raised, reckoning there would be money enough to pay them till the Nation should be brought under a military government. And the opinion of this prevailed so, that Lord *Danby* became the most hated Minister that had ever been about the King. All people said now, they saw the secret of that high favour

1678. vour he had been so long in, and the black designs that he was contriving. At this time expresses went very quick between *England* and *France*: And the state of foreign affairs varied every post. So that it was visible we were in a secret negotiation: Of which *Temple* has given so particular an account, that I refer my reader wholly to him. But I shall add one particular, that he has not mentioned: *Montague*, who was a man of pleasure, was in an intrigue with the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, who was quite cast off by the King, and was then at *Paris*. The King had ordered him to find out an astrologer, of whom it was no wonder he had a good opinion, for he had, long before his Restoration, foretold he should enter *London* on the 29th of *May* 60. He was yet alive, and *Montague* found him, and saw he was capable of being corrupted. So he resolved to prompt him, to send the King such hints as should serve his own ends. And he was so bewitched with the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, that he trusted her with this secret. But she, growing jealous of a new amour, took all the ways she could think on to ruin him, reserving this of the astrologer for her last shift. And by it she compassed her ends: For *Montague* was entirely lost upon it with the King, and came over without being recalled. The Earl of *Sunderland* was sent Ambassadour in his room.

Affairs abroad.

The treaty went on at *Nimeguen*, where *Temple* and *Jenkins* were our Plenipotentiaries. The States were resolved to have a peace. The Prince of *Orange* did all he could to hinder it. But *De Wit*'s party began to gather strength again. And they infused a jealousy in all people, that the Prince intended to keep up the war for his own ends. A peace might be now had by restoring all that belonged to the States, and by a tolerable barrier in *Flanders*. It is true, the great difficulty was concerning their allies, the King of *Denmark*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; who had fallen on the *Swede*, upon the King's declaring for *France*, and had beat him out of *Germany*. No peace could be had, unless the *Swede* was restored. Those Princes, who had been quite exhausted by that war, would not consent to this. So they, who had adhered so faithfully to the States in their extremity, pressed them to stick by them. And this was the Prince of *Orange*'s constant topick: How could they expect any of their allies should stick to them, if they now forsook such faithful friends? But nothing could prevail. It was given out in *Holland*, that they could not depend on *England*, that Court being so entirely in a *French* interest, that they suspected they would, as they had once done, sell them again to the *French*. And this was believed to be let out by the *French* Ministers themselves, who, to come at their ends, were apt enough to give up even those who sacrificed every thing to them. It was said, the Court of *France* would consider both *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh*, and repay the charge of the war against *Sweden*. This, it was said, was to force those Princes into a dependence on *France*, who would not continue those payments so much for past as for future services. In the mean while the *French* had block'd up *Mons*. So the Prince of *Orange* went to force them from their posts. *Luxemburgh* commanded there, and seemed to be in full hope of a peace, when the Prince came and attack'd him. And, notwithstanding the advantage of his situation, it appeared how much the *Dutch* army was now superiour to the *French*, for they beat them out of several posts. The Prince had no order to stop. He indeed knew that the peace was upon the matter concluded. But no intimation was yet made to him. So it was lawful for him to take all advantages. And he was not apprehensive of a new embroilment; but rather wish'd it. The *French* treasure was so exhausted, and their King was so weary of the war, that no notice was taken of the business of *Mons*. The treaty at *Nimeguen* was finished and ratified. Yet new difficulties arose, upon the *French* King's refusing to evacuate the places that were to be restored till the *Swede* was restored to all his dominions. Upon this the *English* struck in again: And the King talked so high, as if he would engage anew in the war. But the *French* prevented that, and did evacuate the places. And then they got *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* into their dependence, under the pretence of repaying the charge of the war. But it was more truly, the engaging them into the interests of *France* by great pensions. So a general peace quickly followed. And there was no more occasion for our troops beyond sea. The *French* were so apprehensive of them, that *Rouvigny*, now Earl of *Galloway*, was sent over to negotiate matters. That which *France* insisted most on, was the disbanding the army. And the force of money was so strong, that he had orders to offer six millions of their money, in case the army should be disbanded in *August*. *Rouvigny* had such an ill opinion of the

the designs of our Court, if the army was kept up, that he insisted on fixing the day for disbanding it; at which the Duke was very uneasy. And matters were so managed, that the army was not disbanded by the day prefixed for it. So the King of *France* saved his money. And for this piece of good management *Rouvigny* was much commended. The troops were brought into *England*, and kept up, under the pretence that there was not money to pay them off. So all people look'd on the next session as very critical. The party against the Court gave all for lost. They believed the *Earl Danby*, who had so often brought his party to be very near the majority, would now lay matters so well as to be sure to carry the session. And many did so despair of being able to balance his numbers, that they resolved to come up no more, and reckoned that all opposition would be fruitless, and serve only to expose themselves to the fury of the Court. But of a sudden an unlook'd for accident changed all their measures, and put the Kingdom into so great a fermentation, that it well deserves to be opened very particularly. I am so well instructed in all the steps of it, that I am more capable to give a full account of it than any man I know. And I will do it so impartially, that no party shall have cause to censure me for concealings, or altering the truth in any one instance. It is the History of that called the Popish Plot. 1678.

The Popish Plot.

Three days before *Michaelmas*, Dr. *Tonge* came to me. I had known him at Sir *Robert Murray's*. He was a gardiner and a chymist, and was full of projects and notions. He had got some credit in *Cromwell's* time: And that kept him poor. He was a very mean Divine, and seemed credulous and simple. But I had always look'd on him as a sincere man. At this time he told me of strange designs against the King's person; and that *Coniers*, a *Benedictin*, had provided himself of a poynard, with which he undertook to kill him. I was amazed at all this; and did not know whether he was crazed, or had come to me on design to involve me in a concealing of treason. So I went to Dr. *Lloyd*, and sent him to the Secretary's office with an account of that discourse of *Tonge's*, since I would not be guilty of misprision of treason. He found at the office, that *Tonge* was making discoveries there; of which they made no other account, but that he intended to get himself to be made a Dean. I told this next morning to *Littleton* and *Powle*. And they looked on it as a design of Lord *Danby's*, to be laid before the next session, thereby to dispose them to keep up a greater force, since the Papists were plotting against the King's life: This would put an end to all jealousies of the King, now the Papists were conspiring against his life. But Lord *Hallifax*, when I told him of it, had another apprehension of it. He said, considering the suspicions all people had of the Duke's Religion, he believed every discovery of that sort would raise a flame, which the Court would not be able to manage.

Oates's character.

The day after that *Titus Oates* was brought before the Council. He was the son of an Anabaptist teacher, who afterwards conformed, and got into orders, and took a benefice, as this his son did. He was proud and ill natured, haughty, but ignorant. He had been complained of for some very indecent expressions concerning the mysteries of the Christian religion. He was once presented for perjury. But he got to be a Chaplain in one of the King's ships, from which he was dismiss'd upon complaint of some unnatural practices, not to be named. He got a qualification from the Duke of *Norfolk* as one of his chaplains: And there he fell into much discourse with the Priests that were about that family. He seemed inclined to be instructed in the Popish Religion. One *Hutchinson*, a Jesuit, had that work put on him. He was a weak and light-headed man, and afterwards came over to the Church of *England*. *Hutchinson* was a Curate about the City near a year, and came oft to me, and preached once for me. He seemed to be a sincere devout man, who did not at all love the order, for he found they were a deceitful and meddling sort of people. They never trusted him with any secrets, but employed him wholly in making converts. He went afterwards back to that Church. So all this was thought a juggle only to cast an odium upon *Oates*. He told me, that *Oates* and they were always in ill terms. They did not allow *Oates* above nine pence a day, of which he complained much. And *Hutchinson* relieved him often. They wished they could be well rid of him; and sent him beyond sea, being in very ill terms with him. This made *Hutchinson* conclude, that they had not at that time trusted *Oates* with their secrets. *Oates* was kept for some time at St. *Omers*; and from thence sent thro' *France* into *Spain*; and was now returned into *England*. He had been long acquainted with *Tonge*; and

1678. and made his first discovery to him. And he, by the means of one *Kirby*, a Chymist, that was sometimes in the King's laboratory, signified the thing to the King. So *Tonge* had an audience, and told the King a long thread of many passages, all tending to the taking away his life; which the King, as he afterwards told me, knew not what to make of: Yet among so many particulars he did not know but there might be some truth. So he sent him to Lord *Danby*, who intended to make some use of it, but could not give much credit to it, and handled the matter too remisly: For, if at first the thing had been traced quick, either the truth or the imposture of the whole affair might have been made appear. The King ordered Lord *Danby* to say nothing of it to the Duke. In the mean while some letters of an odd strain, relating to plots and discoveries, were sent by the post to *Windsor*, directed to *Beddingfield*, the Duke's confessour; who when he had read them, carried them to the Duke, and protested he did not know what they meant, nor from whom they came. The Duke carried them to the King. And he fancied they were writ either by *Tonge* or *Oates*, and sent on design to have them intercepted, to give the more credit to the discovery. The Duke's enemies on the other hand gave out, that he had got some hints of the discovery, and brought these as a blind to impose on the King. The matter lay in a secret and remiss management for six weeks.

His discovery. At last, on *Michaelmas* Eve, *Oates* was brought before the Council; and entertained them with a long relation of many discourses he had heard among the Jesuits, of their design to kill the King. He named persons, places, and times, almost without number. He said, many Jesuits had disguised themselves, and were gone to *Scotland*, and held Field-Conventicles, on design to distract the government there. He said, he was sent first to St. *Omers*, thence to *Paris*, and from thence to *Spain*, to negotiate this design; and that upon his return, when he brought many letters and directions from beyond Sea, there was a great meeting of the Jesuits held in *London*, in *April* last, in different rooms in a tavern near St. *Clements*; and that he was employed to convey the resolutions of those in one room to those in another, and so to hand them round. The issue of the consultation was, that they came to a resolution to kill the King by shooting, stabbing, or poisoning him; that several attempts were made, all which failed in the execution, as shall be told when the trials are related. While he was going on, waiting for some certain evidence to accompany his discovery, he perceived they were jealous of him: And so he durst not trust himself among them any more. In all this there was not a word of *Coniers*, of whom *Tonge* had spoke to me. So that was dropt. This was the substance of what *Oates* told the first day. Many Jesuits were upon this seized on that night, and the next day. And their Papers were sealed up next day. He accused *Coleman* of a strict correspondence with *P. de la Chaise*; (whose name he had not right, for he called him *Father Le Shee*:) And he said in general, that *Coleman* was acquainted with all their designs.

Coleman and his papers seized. *Coleman* had a whole day free to make his escape, if he thought he was in any danger. And he had conveyed all his papers out of the way: Only he forgot a drawer under the table, in which the papers relating to 74, 75, and a part of 76 were left. And from these I drew the negotiations, that I have formerly mentioned as directed by him. If he had either left all his papers, or withdrawn all, it had been happy for his party. Nothing had appeared, if all his papers had been put out of the way. But, if all had been left, it might have been concluded, that the whole secret lay in them. But he left enough to give great jealousy. And, no more appearing, all was believed that the witnesses had deposed. *Coleman* went out of the way for a day, hearing that there was a warrant out against him. But he delivered himself the next day to the Secretary of State. When *Oates* and he were confronted, *Oates* did not know him at first: But he named him, when he heard him speak. Yet he only charged him upon hear-say. So he was put in a messenger's hands. *Oates* named *Wakeman*, the Queen's physician; but did not know him at all. And being asked, if he knew any thing against him, he answered he did not, adding, God forbid, he should say any thing more than he knew, he would not do that for all the world. Nor did he name *Langhorn* the famous Lawyer, that indeed managed all their concerns. The King found him out in one thing. He said, when he was in *Spain*, he was carried to *Don John*, who promised great assistance in the execution of their designs. The King, who knew *Don John* well, asked him what a sort of man he was: He answered, he was a tall lean man: Now *Don John* was a little fat man. At first

first he seemed to design to recommend himself to the Duke and the Ministers: For he said, he heard the Jesuits oft say, that the Duke was not sure enough to them: And they were in doubt, whether he would approve of their killing the King: But they were resolved, if they found him stiff in that matter, to dispatch him likewise. He said, they had oft made use of his name, and counterfeited his hand and seal, without his knowledge. He said, the Jesuits cherished the faction in *Scotland* against Duke *Lauderdale*; and intended to murder the Duke of *Ormond*, as a great enemy to all their designs. And he affirmed, he had seen many letters, in which these things were mentioned, and had heard them oft spoke of. He gave a long account of the burning of *London*, at which they intended to have killed the King: But they relented, when they saw him so active in quenching the fire, which, as he said, they had kindled. 1678.

Coleman's letters confirm it.

The whole town was all over enflamed with this discovery. It consisted of so many particulars, that it was thought to be above invention. But when *Coleman*'s letters came to be read and examined, it got a great confirmation; since by these it appeared, that so many years before they thought the design for the converting the Nation, and rooting out the pestilent heresy that had reigned so long in these northern Kingdoms, was very near its being executed: Mention was oft made of the Duke's great zeal for it: And many indecent reflexions were made on the King, for his inconstancy, and his disposition to be brought to any thing for money: They depended on the *French* King's assistance: And therefore were earnest in their endeavours to bring about a general peace, as that which must finish their design.

On the second day after this discovery, the King went to *Newmarket*. This was censured, as a very indecent levity in him, to go and see horse-races, when all people were so much possessed with this extraordinary discovery, to which *Coleman*'s letters had gained an universal credit. While the King was gone, *Tonge* desired to speak with me. So I went to him to *Whitehal*, where both he and *Oates* were lodged under a guard. I found him so lifted up, that he seemed to have lost the little sense he had. *Oates* came in; and made me a compliment, that I was one that was mark'd out to be kill'd. He had before said the same to *Stillingfleet* of him. But he made that honour which he did us too cheap, when he said, *Tonge* was to be serv'd in the same manner, because he had translated the Jesuits morals into *English*. He broke out into great fury against the Jesuits, and said, he would have their blood. But I, to divert him from that strain, asked him, what were the arguments that prevailed on him to change his religion, and to go over to the church of *Rome*. He upon that stood up, and laid his hands on his breast; and said, God and his holy Angels knew, that he had never changed, but that he had gone among them on purpose to betray them. This gave me such a character of him, that I could have no regard to any thing he either said or swore after that.

Godfrey is murther'd.

A few days after this, a very extraordinary thing happened, that contributed more than any other thing to the establishing the belief of all this evidence. Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey* was an eminent Justice of Peace, that lived near *Whitehal*. He had the courage to stay in *London*, and keep things in order during the plague; which gained him much reputation, and upon which he was Knighted. He was esteemed the best Justice of peace in *England*; and kept the Quarter where he lived in very good order. He was then entring upon a great design of taking up all beggars and putting them to work. He was thought vain, and apt to take too much upon him. But there are so few men of a publick spirit, that small faults, tho' they lessen them, yet ought to be gently censured. I knew him well, and never had reason to think him faulty that way. He was a zealous Protestant, and loved the Church of *England*; but had kind thoughts of the Non-conformists, and was not froward to execute the laws against them. And he, to avoid being put on doing that, was not apt to search for Priests or Mass-houses. So that few men of his zeal lived in better terms with the Papists than he did. *Oates* went to him the day before he appeared at the Council board; and made oath of the narrative he intended to make, which he afterwards published. This seemed to be done in distrust of the Privy Council, as if they might stifle his evidence; which to prevent he put it in safe hands. Upon that *Godfrey* was chid for his presuming to meddle in so tender a matter. And it was generally believed, that *Coleman* and he were long in a private conversation, between the time of his (*Coleman*'s) being put in the messenger's hands, and his being made a close prisoner: Which was done as soon as report was made to the Council of the contents of his

1678. letters. It is certain, *Godfrey* grew apprehensive and reserved: For meeting me in the street, after some discourse of the present state of affairs, he said, he believed he himself should be knocked on the head. Yet he took no care of himself, and went about according to his own maxims, still without a servant: For he used to say, that the servants in *London* were corrupted by the idleness and ill company they fell into, while they attended on their masters. On the day fortnight from that in which *Oates* had made his discovery, being *Saturday*, he went abroad in the morning, and was seen about one a clock near St. *Clement's* Church; but was never seen any more. He was a punctual man to good hours: So his servants were amazed when he did not come home. Yet, he having an ancient mother that lived at *Hamersmith*, they fancied, he had heard she was dying, and so was gone to see her. Next morning they sent thither, but heard no news of him. So his two brothers, who lived in the City, were sent to. They were not acquainted with his affairs: So they did not know whether he might not have slept aside for debt; since at that time all people were calling in their money, which broke a great many. But, no creditors coming about the house, they on *Tuesday* published his being thus lost. The Council sate upon it, and were going to order a search of all the houses about the town; but were diverted from it by many stories that were brought them by the Duke of *Norfolk*. Sometimes it was said, he was indecently married: And the scene was often shifted of the places where it was said he was. The Duke of *Norfolk's* officiousness in this matter, and the last place he was seen at, being near *Arundel* house, brought him under great suspicion. On *Thursday* one came into a Bookseller's shop after dinner, and said, he was found thrust thro' with a sword. That was presently brought as news to me: But the reporter of it was not known. That night late his body was found in a ditch, about a mile out of the town, near St. *Pancras* Church. His sword was thrust thro' him. But no blood was on his clothes, or about him. His shoes were clean. His money was in his pocket. But nothing was about his neck. And a mark was all round it, an inch broad, which shewed he was strangled. His breast was likewise all over marked with bruises: And his neck was broken. All this I saw; for Dr. *Lloyd* and I went to view his body. There were many drops of white wax-lights on his breeches, which he never used himself. And since only persons of quality, or Priests, use those lights, this made all people conclude in whose hands he must have been. And it was visible he was first strangled, and then carried to that place, where his sword was run thro' his dead body. For a while it was given out, that he was an hypocondriacal man, and had killed himself. Of this the King was possessed, till Dr. *Lloyd* went and told him what he had seen. The body lay two days exposed, many going to see it, who went away much moved with the sight. And indeed mens spirits were so sharpned upon it, that we all looked on it as a very great happiness, that the people did not vent their fury upon the Papists about the town.

His body was found.

Oates made a new discovery.

The Session of Parliament was to be opened within three days: And it may be easily imagined in what a temper they met. The Court party were out of countenance. So the Country party were masters this session. All *Oates's* evidence was now so well believed, that it was not safe for any man to seem to doubt of any part of it. He thought he had the Nation in his hands, and was swelled up to a high pitch of vanity and insolence. And now he made a new edition of his discovery at the bar of the House of Commons. He said, the Pope had declared that *England* was his Kingdom, and that he had sent over Commissions to several persons: And had by them made Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour* Chancellour, Lord *Powis* Treasurer, Sir *William Godolphin*, then in *Spain*, Privy Seal, *Coleman* Secretary of State, *Bellasis* General, *Peters* Lieutenant General, *Ratcliffe* Major General, *Stafford* Paymaster General, and *Langhorn* Advocate General; besides many other commissions for subaltern officers. These, he said, he saw in *Langhorn's* chamber; and that he had delivered out many of them himself, and saw many more delivered by others. And he now swore, upon his own knowledge, that both *Coleman* and *Wakeman* were in the plot; that *Coleman* had given eighty Guineas to four ruffians, that went to *Windsor* last summer, to stab the King; that *Wakeman* had undertaken to poison him, for which 10000 *l.* was offered him, but that he got the price raised to 15000 *l.* He excused his not knowing them, when confronted with them; and said, that he was then so spent by a long examination, and by not sleeping for two nights, that he was not then master of himself; tho' it seemed very strange, that he should then have forgot that which he made now the main part of his evidence, and should have then objected only reports upon hear-

say

1678.

say, when he had such matter against them, as he now said, upon his own knowledge. And it seemed not very congruous, that those who went to stab the King had but twenty guineas a-piece, when *Wakeman* was to have 15000 *l.* for a safer way of killing him. Many other things in the discovery made it seem ill digested, and not credible. *Bellasis* was almost perpetually ill of the gout. *Petre* was a weak man, and had never any military command. *Ratcliffe* was a man that lived in great state in the North, and had not stirred from home all the last summer. *Oates* also swore, he delivered a commission to be a Colonel, in *May* last, to *Howard*, the Earl of *Carlile*'s brother, that had married the Duchess of *Richmond*. But a friend of mine told me, he was all that month at *Bath*, lodged in the same house with *Howard*, with whom he was every day engaged at play. He was then miserably ill of the gout, of which he died soon after. *Oates* did also charge General *Lambert*, as one engaged in the design, who was to have a great post, when set at liberty. But he had been kept in prison ever since the Restoration; and by that time had lost his memory and sense. But it was thought strange, that since *Oates* had so often said, what I once heard him say, that he had gone in among them on design to betray them, that he had not kept any one of all these commissions to be real proof in support of his evidence. He had also said to the King, that whereas others ventured their lives to serve him, he had ventured his soul to serve him: And yet he did suffer the four ruffians to go to *Windsor* to kill him, without giving him any notice of his danger. These were characters strong enough to give suspicion, if *Coleman*'s letters, and *Godfrey*'s murder, had not seemed such authentick confirmations, as left no room to doubt of any thing. *Tillotson* indeed told me, that *Langhorn*'s wife, who was still as zealous a Protestant as he was a Papist, came oft to him, and gave him notice of every thing she could discover among them; tho' she continued a faithful and dutiful wife to the last minute of her husband's life. Upon the first breaking out of the plot, before *Oates* had spoke a word of commissions, or had accused *Langhorn*, she engaged her son into some discourse upon those matters, who was a hot indiscreet Papist. He said, their designs were so well laid, it was impossible they could miscarry: And that his father would be one of the greatest men of *England*; for he had seen a commission from the Pope, constituting him Advocate General. This he told me in *Stillingfleet*'s hearing.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had got out of the Tower in the former Session, upon his submission, to which it was not easy to bring him. But when he saw an army raised, he had no mind to lie longer in prison. The matter bore a long debate, the motion he had made in the King's bench being urged much against him. But a submission always takes off a contempt. So he got out. And now the Duke of *Buckingham* and he, with the Lords *Essex* and *Hallifax*, were the governing men among the Lords. Many hard things were said against the Duke. Yet when they tried to carry an Address to be made to the King to send him away from Court, the majority was against them.

While things were thus in a ferment in *London*, *Bedlow* delivered himself to the magistrates of *Bristol*, pretending he knew the secret of *Godfrey*'s murder. So he was sent up to *London*. The King told me, that when the Secretary examined him in his presence, at his first coming he said he knew nothing of the plot; but that he had heard that 40000 men were to come over from *Spain*, who were to meet as pilgrims at St. *Jago*'s, and were to be ship'd for *England*: But he knew nothing of any fleet that was to bring them over. So this was looked on as very extravagant. But he said, he had seen *Godfrey*'s body at *Somerset* house; and that he was offered 4000 *l.* by a servant of the Lord *Bellasis*, to assist in carrying it away: but upon that he had gone out of town to *Bristol*, where he was so pursued with horrour, that it forced him to discover it. *Bedlow* had led a very vitious life. He had gone by many false names, by which he had cheated many persons. He had gone over many parts of *France* and *Spain*, as a man of quality. And he had made a shift to live on his wits, or rather by his cheats. So a tenderness of conscience did not seem to be that to which he was much subject. But the very next day after this, when he was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, he made a full discovery of his knowledge of the plot, and of the Lords in the tower: For all those against whom *Oates* had informed were now prisoners. The King was upon this convinced, that some had been with *Bedlow* after he had been before him, who had instructed him in this narration, of which he had said the night before

Bedlow's evidence.

1678. before that he knew nothing: And yet he not only confirmed the main parts of *Oates*'s diſcoveries, but added a great deal to them. And he now pretended, that his rambling over ſo many places of *Europe* was all in order to the carrying on this deſign; that he was truſted with the ſecret, and had opened many of the letters which he was employed to carry.

Other proofs that ſeemed to ſupport the diſcovery.

Here were now two witneſſes to prove the plot, as far as ſwearing could prove it. And among the papers of the Jeſuits, that were ſeized on when they were clapt up, two letters were found that ſeemed to confirm all. One from *Rome* mentioned the ſending over the patents; of which it was ſaid in the letter, that they gueſſed the contents, tho' their patrons there carried their matters ſo ſecretly, that nothing was known, but as they thought fit. The Jeſuits, when examined upon this, ſaid, there were only patents with relation to the offices in their order. Another letter was writ to a Jeſuit in the country, citing him to come to *London* by the 24th of *April*; which was the day in which *Oates* ſwore they held their conſult, and that fifty of them had ſigned the reſolution of killing the King, which was to be executed by *Grove* and *Pickering*. In the end of that letter it was added, I need not enjoin ſecrecy, for the nature of the thing requires it. When the Jeſuit was examined to this, he ſaid, it was a ſummons for a meeting according to the rule of their order: And they being to meet during the ſitting of the Parliament, that was the particular reaſon for enjoining ſecrecy. Yet, while mens minds were ſtrongly poſſeſſed, theſe anſwers did not ſatisfy, but were thought only ſhifts.

Carſtairs's practices.

At this time *Carſtairs*, of whoſe behaviour in *Scotland* mention has been made, not having met with thoſe rewards that he expected, came up to *London*, to accuſe Duke *Lauderdale*, as deſigning to keep up the oppoſition that was made to the laws in *Scotland*, even at the time that he ſeemed to proſecute Conventicles with the greateſt fury; becauſe he had often drawn the chief of their teachers into ſuch ſnares, that upon the advertiſements that he gave they might have been taken, but that Duke *Lauderdale* had neglected it: So he ſaw, he had a mind that Conventicles ſhould go on, at the ſame time that he was putting the country in ſuch a flame to puniſh them. This he undertook to prove, by thoſe witneſſes of whom on other occaſions he had made uſe. He alſo confeſſed the falſe date of that warrant upon which *Baillie* had been cenſured. He put all this in writing, and gave it to the Marquis of *Athol*; and preſſed him to carry him to Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Kincardin*, that he might beg their pardon, and be aſſured of their favour. I was againſt the making uſe of ſo vile a man, and would have nothing to do with him. He made application to Lord *Cavendiſh*, and to ſome of the Houſe of Commons, to whom I gave ſuch a character of him, that they would ſee him no more.

Staley's trial.

While he was thus looking about where he could find a lucky piece of villany, he happened to go into an eating houſe in *Covent* garden, that was over againſt the ſhop of one *Staley*, the Popiſh Banker, who had been in great credit, but was then under ſome difficulties; for all his creditors came to call for their money. *Staley* happening to be in the next room to *Carſtairs*, *Carſtairs* pretended he heard him ſay in *French*, that the King was a rogue, and perſecuted the people of God; and that he himſelf would ſtab him, if no body elſe would. The words were writ down, which he reſolved to ſwear againſt him. So next morning he and one of his witneſſes went to him, and told him what they would ſwear againſt him, and asked a ſum of money of him. He was in much anxiety, and ſaw great danger on both hands. Yet he choſe rather to leave himſelf to their malice, than be prey'd on by them. So he was ſeiz'd on: And they ſwore the words againſt him: And he was appointed to be tried within five days. When I heard who the witneſſes were, I thought I was bound to do what I could to ſtop it. So I ſent both to the Lord Chancellor, and to the Attorney General, to let them know what profligate wretches theſe witneſſes were. *Jones*, the Attorney General, took it ill of me, that I ſhould diſparage the King's evidence. The thing grew publick, and raiſed great clamour againſt me. It was ſaid, I was taking this method to get into favour at Court. I had likewiſe obſerved to ſeveral perſons of weight, how many incredible things there were in the evidence that was given: I wiſhed they would make uſe of the heat the Nation was in to ſecure us effectually from Popery: We ſaw certain evidence to carry us ſo far, as to graft that upon it: But I wiſhed they would not run too haſtily to the taking mens lives upon ſuch teſtimonies. Lord *Hollis* had more temper, than I expected from a man of his heat. Lord *Halifax* was of the ſame mind.

But

1678.

But the Earl of *Shaftsbury* could not bear the diſcourſe. He ſaid, we muſt ſupport the evidence; and that all thoſe who undermined the credit of the witneſſes were to be look'd on as publick enemies. And ſo inconſtant a thing is popularity, that I was moſt bitterly railed at by thoſe who ſeemed formerly to put ſome confidence in me. It went ſo far, that I was adviſed not to ſtir abroad for fear of publick affronts. But theſe things did not daunt me. *Staley* was brought to his trial, which did not hold long. The witneſſes gave a full evidence againſt him: And he had nothing to offer to take away their credit. He only ſhewed how improbable it was, that in a publick houſe he ſhould talk ſuch things with ſo loud a voice as to be heard in the next room, in a quarter of the town where almoſt every body underſtood *French*. He was caſt: And he prepared himſelf very ſeriouſly for death. Dr. *Lloyd* went to ſee him in priſon. He was offered his life, if he would diſcover their plots. He proteſted, he knew of none; and that he had not ſaid the words ſworn againſt him, nor any thing to that purpoſe. And he died the firſt of thoſe who ſuffered on the account of the plot. Duke *Lauderdale*, having heard how I had moved in this matter, railed at me with open mouth. He ſaid, I had ſtudied to ſave *Staley*, for the liking I had to any one that would murder the King. And he infuſed this into the King, ſo that he repeated it in the Houſe of Lords to a company that were ſtanding about him.

Yet ſo ſoon could the King turn to make uſe of a man whom he had cenſured ſo unmercifully, that two days after this he ſent the Earl of *Dunbarton*, that was a Papiſt, and had been bred in *France*, and was Duke *Hamilton*'s brother, to me, to deſire me to come to him ſecretly, for he had a mind to talk with me. He ſaid, he believed I could do him ſervice, if I had a mind to it. And the See of *Chicheſter* being then void, he ſaid, he would not diſpoſe of it, till he ſaw whether I would deſerve it, or not. I asked, if he fancied I would be a ſpy, or betray any body to him. But he undertook to me, that the King ſhould ask me no queſtion, but ſhould in all points leave me to my liberty.

The Queen was charged as in the plot.

An accident fell in, before I went to him, which took off much from *Oates*'s credit. When he was examined by the Houſe of Lords, and had made the ſame narrative to them that he had offered to the Commons, they asked him, if he had now named all the perſons whom he knew to be involved in the plot? He ſaid, there might be ſome inferiour perſons whom he had perhaps forgot, but he had named all the perſons of note. Yet, it ſeems, afterwards he bethought himſelf: And Mrs. *Elliot*, wife to *Elliot* of the bedchamber, came to the King, and told him, *Oates* had ſomewhat to ſwear againſt the Queen, if he would give way to it. The King was willing to give *Oates* line enough, as he expreſſed it to me, and ſeemed to give way to it. So he came out with a new ſtory, that the Queen had ſent for ſome Jeſuits to *Somerſet* houſe; and that he went along with them, but ſtaid at the door, when they went in; where he heard one, in a womans voice, expreſſing her reſentments of the uſage ſhe had met with, and aſſuring them ſhe would aſſiſt them in taking off the King. Upon that he was brought in, and preſented to her: And there was then no other woman in the room but ſhe. When he was bid deſcribe the room, it proved to be one of the publick rooms of that Court, which are ſo great, that the Queen, who was a woman of a low voice, could not be heard over it, unleſs ſhe had ſtrained for it. *Oates*, to excuſe his ſaying that he could not lay any thing to the charge of any beſides thoſe he had already named, pretended, that he thought then it was not lawful to accuſe the Queen. But this did not ſatisfy people. *Bedlow*, to ſupport this, ſwore, that being once at chapel in *Somerſet* houſe, he ſaw the Queen, the Duke, and ſome others very earneſt in diſcourſe in the cloſet above; and that one came down with much joy, and ſaid, the Queen had yielded at laſt; and that one explained this to him beyond ſea, and ſaid it was to kill the King. And, beſides *Bedlow*'s oath that he ſaw *Godfrey*'s body in *Somerſet* houſe, it was remembred, that at that time the Queen was for ſome days in ſo cloſe a retirement, that no perſon was admitted. Prince *Rupert* came then to wait on her, but was denied acceſs. This raiſed a ſtrange ſuſpicion of her. But the King would not ſuffer that matter to go any farther.

A law paſt for the teſt to be taken by both Houſes.

While examinations were going on, and preparation was making for the trial of the priſoners, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, requiring all members of either Houſe, and all ſuch as might come into the King's Court, or preſence, to take a teſt againſt Popery; in which, not only Tranſubſtantiation was renounced,

1678.

nounced, but the worship of the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints, as it was practised in the Church of *Rome*, was declared to be idolatrous. This passed in the House of Commons without any difficulty. But in the House of Lords, *Gunning*, Bishop of *Ely*, maintained, that the Church of *Rome* was not idolatrous. He was answered by *Barlow*, Bishop of *Lincoln*. The Lords did not much mind *Gunning*'s argument, but passed the bill. And tho' *Gunning* had said, that he could not take that test with a good conscience, yet as soon as the bill was past, he took it in the croud with the rest. The Duke got a proviso to be put in it for excepting himself. He spoke upon that occasion with great earnestness, and with tears in his eyes. He said, he was now to cast himself upon their favour in the greatest concern he could have in this world. He spoke much of his duty to the King, and of his zeal for the Nation: And solemnly protested, that, whatever his religion might be, it should only be a private thing between God and his own soul, and that no effect of it should ever appear in the government. The proviso was carried for him by a few voices. And, contrary to all mens expectations, it past in the House of Commons. There was also a proviso put in, excepting nine Ladies about the Queen. And she said, she would have all the Ladies of that religion cast lots, who should be comprehended. Only she named the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, as one whom she would not expose to the uncertainty of a lot; which was not thought very decent in her, tho' her circumstances at that time required an extraordinary submission to the King in every thing.

With a proviso for the Duke.

Coleman was brought to his trial. *Oates* and *Bedlow* swore flatly against him, as was mentioned before. He denied, that he had ever seen either the one or the other of them in his whole life: And defended himself by *Oates*'s not knowing him, when they were first confronted, nor objecting those matters to him for a great while after. He also pressed *Oates* to name the day in *August*, in which he had sent the fourscore guineas to the four ruffians. But *Oates* would fix on no day, tho' he was very punctual in matters of less moment. *Coleman* had been out of town almost that whole month. But, no day being named, that served him in no stead. He urged the improbability of his talking to two such men, whom he had by their own confession never seen before. But they said, he was told that they were trusted with the whole secret. His letters to *P. de la Chaise* was the heaviest part of the evidence. He did not deny, that there were many impertinent things in his letters: But, he said, he intended nothing in them, but the King's service and the Duke's: He never intended to bring in the Catholick religion, by rebellion, or by blood, but only by a toleration: And the aid, that was pray'd from *France*, was only meant the assistance of money, and the interposition of that Court. After a long trial, he was convicted: And sentence passed upon him to die as a traitor. He continued to his last breath denying every tittle of that which the witnesses had sworn against him. Many were sent to him from both Houses, offering to interpose for his pardon, if he would confess. He still protested his innocence, and took great care to vindicate the Duke. He said, his own heat might make him too forward: For, being perswaded of the truth of his religion, he could not but wish, that all others were not only almost, but altogether, such as he was, except in that chain; for he was then in irons: He confessed, he had mixed too much interest for raising himself in all he did; and that he had received 2500 Guineas from the *French* Ambassadour, to gain some friends to his master, but that he had kept them to himself: He had acted by order in all that he had done: And he believed the King knew of his employment, particularly that at *Brussels*. But, tho' he seemed willing to be questioned concerning the King, the Committee did not think fit to do it, nor to report what he said concerning it: Only in general they reported, that he spoke of another matter, about which they did not think fit to interrogate him, nor to mention it. *Littleton* was one of the Committee and gave me an account of all that pass'd that very night. And I found his behaviour made great impression on them all. He suffered with much composedness and devotion; and died much better than he had lived. It was given out at that time, to make the Duke more odious, that *Coleman* was kept up from making confessions, by the hopes the Duke sent him of a pardon at *Tyburn*. But he could not be so ignorant, as not to know that, at that time, it was not in the King's power to pardon him, while the tide went so high.

Coleman's trial.

And execution.

The

The Nation was now ſo much alarmed, that all people were furniſhing themſelves with arms, which heightned the jealouſy of the Court. A bill paſs'd in both Houſes for raiſing all the *Militia*, and for keeping it together for ſix weeks: A third part, if I remember right, being to ſerve a fortnight, and ſo round. I found, ſome of them hoped when that bill paſt into a law, they would be more maſters; and that the Militia would not ſeparate, till all the demands of the two Houſes ſhould be granted. The King rejected the bill, when offered to him for his aſſent. 1678.

I waited often on him all the month of *December*. He came to me to *Chiffinch's*, a Page of the back ſtairs; and kept the time he aſſigned me to a minute. He was alone, and talked much, and very freely with me. We agreed in one thing, that the greateſt part of the evidence was a contrivance. But he ſuſpected, ſome had ſet on *Oates*, and inſtructed him: And he named the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. I was of another mind. I thought the many groſs things in his narrative ſhewed, there was no abler head than *Oates*, or *Tonge*, in the framing it: And *Oates* in his firſt ſtory had covered the Duke, and the Miniſters ſo much, that from thence it ſeemed clear that Lord *Shaftsbury* had no hand in it, who hated them much more than he did Popery. He fancied, there was a deſign of a rebellion on foot. I aſſured him, I ſaw no appearances of it. I told him, there was a report breaking out, that he intended to legitimate the Duke of *Monmouth*. He anſwered quick, that, as well as he loved him, he had rather ſee him hanged. Yet he apprehended a rebellion ſo much, that he ſeemed not ill pleaſed that the party ſhould flatter themſelves with that imagination, hoping that would keep them quiet in a dependence upon himſelf: And he ſuffered the Duke of *Monmouth* to uſe all methods to make himſelf popular, reckoning that he could keep him in his own management. He was ſurpriſed, when I told him that *Coleman* had inſinuated that he knew of all their foreign negotiations; or at leaſt he ſeemed ſo to me. I preſſed him much to oblige the Duke to enter into conferences with ſome of our divines, and to be preſent at them himſelf. This would very much clear him of jealouſy, and might have a good effect on his brother: At leaſt it would give the world ſome hopes; like what *Henry* IV. of *France*, his grandfather, did, which kept a party firm to him for ſome time before he changed. He anſwered, that his brother had neither *Henry* IV.'s underſtanding, nor his conſcience: For he believed, that King was always indifferent as to thoſe matters. He would not hearken to this, which made me incline to believe a report I had heard, that the Duke had got a ſolemn promiſe of the King, that he would never ſpeak to him of religion. The King ſpoke much to me concerning *Oates*'s accuſing the Queen, and acquainted me with the whole progreſs of it. He ſaid, ſhe was a weak Woman, and had ſome diſagreeable humours, but was not capable of a wicked thing: And, conſidering his faultineſs towards her in other things, he thought it a horrid thing to abandon her. He ſaid, he looked on falſhood and cruelty as the greateſt crimes in the ſight of God: He knew, he had led a bad life; (of which he ſpoke with ſome ſenſe: But he was breaking himſelf of all his faults: And he would never do a baſe and a wicked thing. I ſpoke on all theſe ſubjects what I thought became me, which he took well. And I encouraged him much in his reſolution of not expoſing the Queen to periſh by falſe ſwearing. I told him, there was no poſſibility of laying the heat that was now raiſed, but by changing his Miniſtry. And I told him how odious the Earl of *Danby* was, and that there was a deſign againſt him: But I knew not the particulars. He ſaid, he knew that lay at bottom. The army was not yet diſbanded: And the King was in great ſtraits for money. The Houſe of Commons gave a money bill for this. Yet they would not truſt the Court with the diſbanding the Army: But ordered the money to be brought into the chamber of *London*, and named a Committee for paying off, and breaking the Army. I perceived the King thought I was reſerved to him, becauſe I would tell him no particular ſtories, nor name perſons. Upon which I told him, ſince he had that opinion of me, I ſaw I could do him no ſervice, and would trouble him no more; but he ſhould certainly hear from me, if I came to know any thing that might be of any conſequence to his Perſon or Government.

The King's thoughts of the whole matter.

This favour of mine laſted all the month of *December* 78. I acquainted him with *Carſtairs*'s practice againſt Duke *Lauderdale*, and all that I knew of that matter; which was the ground on which I had gone with relation to *Staley*. The King told Duke *Lauderdale* of it, without naming me. And he ſent for *Carſtairs*, and charged him with it. *Carſtairs* denied it all; but ſaid, that Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Kincardin* had

preſs'd

1678. preſs'd him to do it; And he went to the King, and affirmed it confidently to him. He did not name Lord *Athol*, hoping that he would be gentle to him for that reaſon. The King ſpoke of this to Duke *Hamilton*, who told him the whole ſtory as I had done. Lord *Athol* upon that ſent for *Carſtairs*, and charged him with all this foul dealing, and drew him near a cloſet, where he had put two witneſſes. *Carſtairs* ſaid, that ſomebody had diſcovered the matter to Duke *Lauderdale*, that he was now upon the point of making his fortune, and that if Duke *Lauderdale* grew to be his enemy, he was undone. He confeſſed, he had charged Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Kincardin* falſely: But he had no other way to ſave himſelf. After the Marquiſs of *Athol* had thus drawn every thing from him, he went to the King with his two witneſſes, and the paper that *Carſtairs* had formerly put in his hand. *Carſtairs* was then with the King, and was, with many imprecations, juſtifying his charge againſt the two Lords: But he was confounded, when he ſaw Lord *Athol*. And upon that his villany appeared ſo evidently, that the part I had acted in that matter was now well underſtood, and approved of. *Carſtairs* died, not long after, under great horrour; and ordered himſelf to be caſt into ſome ditch as a dog; for he ſaid he was no better. But I could never hear what he ſaid of *Staley*'s buſineſs.

Danby's letters to *Montague* are brought out.

While all matters were in this confuſion, a new incident happened that embroiled them yet more. The Earl of *Danby* had broke with *Montague*: But he knew what letters he had writ to him, and with what ſecrets he had truſted him. He apprehended *Montague* might accuſe him: So he reſolved to prevent him. *Jenkins*, who was then at *Nimeguen*, writ over, according to a direction ſent him, as was believed, that he underſtood that *Montague* had been in a ſecret correſpondence, and in dangerous practices with the Pope's Nuntio at *Paris*. This was meant of one *Con*, whom I knew well, who had been long in *Rome*: And moſt of the letters between *England* and *Rome* paſt thro' his hands: He was a crafty man, and knew news well, and loved money: So *Montague* made uſe of him, and gave him money for ſuch ſecrets as he could draw from him. Upon *Jenkins*'s letter the King ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, letting them know that he was reſolved to bring *Montague* to a trial, for being a confederate with *Rome*, and in the plot to bring in Popery: And at the ſame time he ſent to ſecure his cabinets and papers. This was a device of Lord *Danby*'s to find his own letters, and deſtroy them; and then to let the proſecution fall: For they knew they had nothing againſt *Montague*. But *Montague* underſtood the arts of a Court too well to be eaſily catched; and had put a box, in which thoſe letters were, in ſure hands out of the way. A great debate roſe upon this matter in the Houſe of Commons. It was thought a high breach of privilege to ſeize on the papers of a Member of their Houſe, when there was nothing of treaſon ſworn againſt him. After ſome hours ſpent in the debate, during which *Montague* ſat ſilent very long, at laſt, when the box was brought to him from the perſon to whom he had truſted it, he opened it, and took out two of Lord *Danby*'s letters, that contained inſtructions to him to treat with the King of *France* for 300000 *l.* a year for three years, if a peace ſucceeded, ſince it would not be convenient for the King to meet a Parliament in all that time, and he was charged to mention no part of this to the Secretary of State. *Winnington*, who from ſmall beginnings, and from as ſmall a proportion of learning in his profeſſion, in which he was rather bold and ready than able, was now come to be Sollicitor General, fell ſeverely upon thoſe letters. He ſaid, here was a Miniſter, who, going out of the affairs of his own province, was directing the King's Ambaſſadours, and excluding the Secretary of State, whoſe office it was, from the knowledge of it: Here was the faith of *England* to our Allies, and our intereſt likewiſe, ſet to ſale for *French* money, and that to keep off a ſeſſion of Parliament: This was a deſign to ſell the Nation, and to ſubvert the Government: And he concluded, that was high treaſon. Upon which he moved, that Lord *Danby* ſhould be impeached of high treaſon. The Earl of *Danby*'s party was much confounded. They could neither deny nor juſtify his letters. But they argued, that they could not be high treaſon, ſince no ſuch fact was comprehended in any of the Statutes of treaſon: The letters ſeemed to be writ by the King's order, who certainly might appoint any perſon he pleaſed to ſend his orders to his miniſters abroad: They reflected on the buſineſs of the Earl of *Strafford*, and on conſtructive treaſon, which was a device to condemn a man for a fact againſt which no law did lie. *Mainard*, an ancient and eminent lawyer, explained the words of the Statute of 25 *Edward* III. that the Courts of law could not proceed but upon one of the crimes there enumerated:

1678.

ted: But the Parliament had ſtill a power, by the clauſe in that act, to declare what they thought was treaſon: So an act paſs'd, declaring poiſoning treaſon, in King *Henry* VIII.'s time: And tho' by the Statute it was only treaſon to conſpire againſt the Prince of *Wales*; yet if one ſhould conſpire againſt the whole Royal Family, when there was no Prince of *Wales*, they would without doubt declare that to be high treaſon.

And he was impeached of high treaſon.

After a long debate it was voted by a majority of above ſeventy voices, that Lord *Danby* ſhould be impeached of high treaſon. And the impeachment was next day carried up to the Lords. The Earl of *Danby* juſtified himſelf, that he had ſerved the King faithfully, and according to his own orders. And he produced ſome of *Montague*'s letters, to ſhew that at the Court of *France* he was looked on as an enemy to their intereſt. He ſaid, they knew him well that judged ſo of him; for he was indeed an enemy to it: And, among other reaſons, he gave this for one, that he knew the *French* King held both the King's perſon and government under the laſt degree of contempt. Theſe words were thought very ſtrange with relation to both Kings. A great debate aroſe in the Houſe of Lords concerning the impeachment; whether it ought to be received as an impeachment of high treaſon, only becauſe the Commons added the word high treaſon in it. It was ſaid, the utmoſt that could be made of it, was to ſuppoſe it true: But even in that caſe they muſt needs ſay plainly, that it was not within the Statute. To this it was anſwered, that the Houſe of Commons, that brought up the impeachment, were to be heard to two points: The one was, to the nature of the crime: The other was, to the trial of it: But the Lords could not take upon them to judge of either of theſe, till they heard what the Commons could offer to ſupport the charge: They were bound therefore to receive the charge, and to proceed according to the rules of Parliament, which was to commit the perſon ſo impeached, and then give a ſhort day for his trial: So it would be ſoon over, if the Commons could not prove the matter charged to be high treaſon. The debate went on with great heat on both ſides: But the majority was againſt the commitment. Upon this, it was viſible, the Commons would have complained that the Lords denied them juſtice. So there was no hope of making up the matter. And upon that the Parliament was prorogued.

The Parliament was prorogued.

This was variouſly cenſured. The Court condemned *Montague* for revealing the King's ſecrets. Others ſaid, that, ſince Lord *Danby* had begun to fall on him, it was reaſonable and natural for him to defend himſelf. The letters did caſt a very great blemiſh, not only on Lord *Danby*, but on the King; who after he had entred into alliances, and had received great ſupplies from his people to carry on a war, was thus treating with *France* for money, which could not be asked or obtained from *France* on any other account, but that of making the Confederates accept of lower terms, than otherwiſe they would have ſtood on; which was indeed the ſelling of the Allies and of the publick faith. All that the Court ſaid in excuſe for this was, that, ſince the King ſaw a peace was reſolved on, after he had put himſelf to ſo great a charge to prepare for war, it was reaſonable for him to be reimburſed as much as he could from *France*: This was ordinary in all treaties, where the prince that deſired a peace was made to buy it. This indeed would have juſtified the King, if it had been demanded above board: But ſuch underhand dealing was mean and diſhonourable: And it was ſaid, that the States went into the peace with ſuch unreaſonable earneſtneſs upon the knowledge, or at leaſt the ſuſpicion that they had of ſuch practices. This gave a new wound to the King's credit abroad, or rather it opened the old one: For indeed after our breaking both the treaty of *Breda*, and the Triple Alliance, we had not much credit to loſe abroad. None gained ſo much by this diſcovery, as Secretary *Coventry*; ſince now it appeared, that he was not truſted with thoſe ill practices. He had been ſeverely fallen on for the fam'd ſaying of the murder of forty men. *Birch* aggravated the matter heavily; and ſaid, it ſeemed he thought the murder of forty men a very ſmall matter, ſince he would rather be guilty of it, than oppoſe an Alliance made upon ſuch treacherous views. *Coventry* anſwered, that he always ſpoke to them ſincerely, and as he thought; and that if an Angel from Heaven ſhould come and ſay otherwiſe, (at this they were very attentive to ſee how he could cloſe a period ſo ſtrangely begun,) he was ſure, he ſhould never get back to Heaven again, but would be a fallen and a lying angel. Now the matter was well underſtood, and his credit was ſet on a ſure foot.

1678. After the prorogation, the Earl of *Danby* ſaw the King's affairs, and the ſtate of the Nation required a ſpeedy Seſſion. He ſaw little hope of recovering himſelf with that Parliament, in which ſo great a majority were already ſo deeply engaged. So he entred into a treaty with ſome of the Country party for a new Parliament. He undertook to get the Duke to be ſent out of the way againſt the time of its meeting. Lord *Hollis*, *Littleton*, *Boſcawen*, and *Hambden* were ſpoke to. They were all ſo apprehenſive of the continuance of that Parliament, and that another ſet of Miniſters would be able to manage them as the Court pleaſed, that they did undertake to ſave him if he could bring theſe things about. But it was underſtood, that he muſt quit his poſt, and withdraw from affairs. Upon which they promiſed their aſſiſtance to carry off his impeachment with a mild cenſure. The Duke went into the advice of a diſſolution upon other grounds. He thought, the Houſe of Commons had engaged with ſo much heat in the matter of the plot, that they could never be brought off, or be made more gentle in the matter of religion. He thought, a new Parliament would act in a milder ſtrain, and not fly ſo high; or that they would give no money, and ſo the King and they would break: For he dreaded nothing ſo much as the bargains that were made with the preſent Parliament, in which Popery was always to be the ſacrifice. Thus both the Duke and Lord *Danby* joined in advancing a diſſolution, which was not reſolved on till the *January* following.

The trial of *F. Ireland*, and ſome others.

In *December*, *Ireland*, *Whitebread*, and *Fenwick*, three Jeſuits; and *Grove* and *Pickering*, two of the ſervants in the Queen's chapel, were brought to their trial. *Oates* and *Bedlow* ſwore home againſt *Ireland*, that in *Auguſt* laſt he had given particular orders about killing the King. *Oates* ſwore the ſame againſt the other two Jeſuits. But *Bedlow* ſwore only upon hear-ſay againſt them. So, tho' they had pleaded to their indictment, and the jury was ſworn, and the witneſſes examined; yet, when the evidence was not found full, their trial was put off to another time, and the jury was not charged with them. This looked, as if it was reſolved that they muſt not be acquitted. I complained of this to *Jones*: But he ſaid, they had precedents for it. I always thought, that a precedent againſt reaſon ſignified no more, but that the like injuſtice had been done before. And the truth is, the Crown has, or at leaſt had, ſuch advantages in trials of treaſon, that it ſeems ſtrange how any perſon was ever acquitted. *Ireland*, in his own defence, proved by many witneſſes, that he went from *London* on the ſecond of *Auguſt* to *Staffordſhire*, and did not come back till the twelfth of *September*. Yet, in oppoſition to that, a woman ſwore that ſhe ſaw him in *London* about the middle of *Auguſt*. So, ſince he might have come up poſt in one day, and gone down in another, this did not ſatisfy. *Oates* and *Bedlow* ſwore againſt *Grove* and *Pickering*, that they undertook to ſhoot the King at *Windſor*; that *Grove* was to have 1500 *l.* for it, and that *Pickering* choſe thirty thouſand maſſes, which, at a ſhilling a maſs, amounted to the ſame ſum: They attempted it three ſeveral times with a piſtol: Once the flint was looſe: At another time there was no powder in the pan: And the third time the piſtol was charged only with bullets. This was ſtrange ſtuff. But all was imputed to a ſpecial providence of God: And the whole evidence was believed. So they were convicted, condemned, and executed. But they denied to the laſt every particular that was ſworn againſt them.

Dugdale's evidence.

This began to ſhake the credit of the evidence, when a more compoſed and credible perſon came in to ſupport it. One *Dugdale*, that had been the Lord *Aſhton's* bailiff, and lived in a fair reputation in the country, was put in priſon for refuſing the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy. He did then, with many imprecations on himſelf, deny, that he knew of any plot. But afterwards he made a great diſcovery of a correſpondence that *Evers*, the Lord *Aſhton's* Jeſuit, held with the Jeſuits in *London*; who had writ to *Evers* of the deſign of killing the King, and deſired him to find out men proper for executing it, whether they were gentlemen or not. This he ſwore, was writ plain in a letter from *Whitebread*, the Provincial, directed to himſelf: But he knew it was meant for *Evers*. *Evers* and *Govan*, another Jeſuit, preſſed this *Dugdale* to undertake it: They promiſed he ſhould be canonized for it: And the Lord *Stafford* offered him 500 *l.* if he would ſet about it. He was a man of ſenſe and temper; and behaved himſelf decently; and had ſomewhat in his ayre and deportment that diſpoſed people to believe him: So that the King himſelf began to think there was ſomewhat in the Plot, tho' he had very little regard either to *Oates* or *Bedlow*. *Dugdale's* evidence was much confirmed by one circumſtance. He had talked of a Juſtice of peace in

in *Westminster* that was killed, on the *Tuesday* after *Godfrey* was miss'd: So that the news of this must have been writ from *London* on the *Saturday* night's post. He did not think it was a secret: And so he talk'd of it as news in an ale-house. The two persons, he said he spoke it to, remembred nothing of it, the one being the minister of the parish: But several others swore they had heard it. He saw this, as he swore, in a letter writ by *Harcourt* the Jesuit to *Evers*, in which *Godfrey* was named. But he added a strange story to this, which he said *Evers* told him afterwards; that the Duke had sent to *Coleman*, when he was in *Newgate*, to persuade him to discover nothing, and that he desired to know of him, whether he had ever discovered their designs to any other person; and that *Coleman* sent back answer that he had spoke of them to *Godfrey*, but to no other man: Upon which the Duke gave order to kill him. This was never made publick, till the Lord *Stafford*'s trial. And I was amazed to see such a thing break out after so long a silence. It looked like an addition to *Dugdale*'s first evidence; tho' he had been noted for having brought out all his discoveries at once. The Earl of *Essex* told me, he swore it in his first examination: But, since it was only upon hear-say from *Evers*, and so was nothing in law, and yet would heighten the fury against the Duke, the King charged *Dugdale* to say nothing of it. 1678.

At the same time a particular discovery was made of *Godfrey*'s murder. *Prance*, a goldsmith, that wrought for the Queen's chapel, had gone from his house for two or three days, the week before the murder. And one that lodged in his house, calling that to mind, upon *Bedlow*'s swearing he saw the body in *Somerset* house, fancied that this was the time in which he was from home, and that he might be concerned in that matter; tho' it appeared afterwards, that his absence was the week before. He said, he went from his own house, fearing to be put in prison, as many were, upon suspicion, or on the account of his religion. Yet upon this information he was seized on, and carried to *Westminster*. *Bedlow* accidentally pass'd by, not knowing any thing concerning him: And at first sight he charged somebody to seize on him; for he was one of those whom he saw about *Godfrey*'s body. Yet he denied every thing for some days. Afterwards he confessed he was concerned in it: And he gave this account of it: *Girald* and *Kelly*, two priests, engaged him and three others into it; who were *Green*, that belong'd to the Queen's chapel, *Hill*, that had served *Godden*, the most celebrated writer among them, and *Berry*, the porter of *Somerset* house. He said, these all, except *Berry*, had several meetings in which the priests perswaded them it was no sin, but a meritorious action, to dispatch *Godfrey*, who had been a busy man in taking depositions against them, and that the taking him off would terrify others. *Prance* named an ale-house, where they used to meet: And the people of that house did confirm this of their meeting there. After they had resolved on it, they followed him for several days. The morning before they killed him, *Hill* went to his house to see if he was yet gone out, and spoke to his maid. And, finding he was yet at home, they staid for his coming out. This was confirmed by the maid, who, upon *Hill*'s being taken, went to *Newgate*, and, in a croud of prisoners, distinguished him, and said, he was the person that asked for her master the morning before he was lost. *Prance* said, they dogged him into a place near St. *Clement*'s Church, where he was kept till night. *Prance* was appointed to be at *Somerset* house at night. And, as *Godfrey* went by the water gate, two of them pretended to be hot in a quarrel. And one run out to call a Justice of peace, and so pressed *Godfrey* to go in and part them. He was not easily prevailed on to do it. Yet he did at last. *Green* then got behind him, and pulled a cravat about his neck, and drew him down to the ground, and strangled him. Upon that *Girald* would have run him thro': But the rest diverted him from that, by representing the danger of a discovery by the blood's being seen there. Upon that they carried his body up to *Godden*'s room, of which *Hill* had the key, *Godden* being then in *France*. Two days after that they removed it to a room cross the upper court, which *Prance* could never describe particularly. And, that not being found a convenient place, they carried it back to *Godden*'s lodgings. At last it was resolved to carry it out in the night in a sedan to the remote parts of the town, and from thence to cast it into some ditch. On *Wednesday* a sedan was provided. And one of the centinels swore he saw a sedan carried in: But none saw it brought out. *Prance* said, they carried him out, and that *Green* had provided a horse, on whose back he laid him, when they were got clear of the town: And then he carried him, as he believed, to the place where his body was found. This was a consisting story, which was supported in some circumstances by collateral

Prance discovers *Godfrey*'s murder.

1678. ral proofs. He added another particular, that, ſome days after the fact, thoſe who had been concerned in it, and two others, who were in the ſecret, appointed to meet at *Bow*, where they talked much of that matter. This was confirmed by a ſervant of that houſe, who was coming in and out to them, and heard them often mention *Godfrey*'s name. Upon which he ſtood at the door out of curioſity to hearken: But one of them came out, and threatened him for it. The Prieſts were not found: But *Green*, *Hill*, and *Berry* were apprehended upon it. Yet ſome days after this, *Prance* deſired to be carried to the King, who would not ſee him, but in Council: And he denied all that he had formerly ſworn, and ſaid it was all a fiction. But as ſoon as he was carried back to priſon, he ſent the keeper of *Newgate* to the King to tell him, that all he had ſworn was true, but that the horrour and confuſion he was in put him on denying it. Yet he went off from this again, and denied every thing. Dr. *Lloyd* was upon this ſent to him to talk with him. At firſt he denied every thing to him. But Dr. *Lloyd* ſaid to me, that he was almoſt dead thro' the diſorder of his mind, and with cold in his body. But after that Dr. *Lloyd* had made a fire, and cauſed him to be put in a bed, and began to diſcourſe the matter with him, he returned to his confeſſion; which he did in ſuch a manner, that *Lloyd* ſaid to me, it was not poſſible for him to doubt of his ſincerity in it.

Some condemned for it, who died denying it.

So, he perſiſting in his firſt confeſſion, *Green*, *Hill* and *Berry* were brought to their tryal. *Bedlow* and *Prance*, with all the circumſtances formerly mentioned, were the evidence againſt them. On the other hand they brought witneſſes to prove, that they came home in a good hour on the nights, in which the fact was ſaid to be done. Thoſe that lived in *Godden*'s lodgings depoſed, that no dead body could be brought thither, for they were every day in the room that *Prance* had named. And the centinels of that night of the carrying him out ſaid, they ſaw no ſedan brought out. They were, upon a full hearing, convicted and condemned. *Green*, and *Hill*, died, as they had lived, Papiſts; and, with ſolemn proteſtations, denied the whole thing. *Berry* declared himſelf a Proteſtant; and that tho' he had changed his religion for fear of loſing his place, yet he had ſtill continued to be one in his heart. He ſaid, he looked on what had now befallen him, as a juſt judgment of God upon him for that diſſimulation. He denied the whole matter charged on him. He ſeemed to prepare himſelf ſeriouſly for death: And to the laſt minute he affirmed he was altogether innocent. Dr. *Lloyd* attended on him, and was much perſuaded of his ſincerity. *Prance* ſwore nothing againſt him, but that he aſſiſted in the fact, and in carrying about the dead body. So *Lloyd* reckoned, that, thoſe things being done in the night, *Prance* might have miſtaken him for ſome other perſon, who might be like him, conſidering the confuſion that ſo much guilt might have put him in. He therefore believed, *Prance* had ſworn raſhly with relation to him, but truly as to the main of the fact. The Papiſts took great advantage from *Berry*'s dying a Proteſtant, and yet denying all that was ſworn againſt him, tho' he might have had his life if he would have confeſſed it. They ſaid, this ſhewed it was not from the doctrine of equivocation, or from the power of abſolution, or any other of their tenets, that ſo many died, denying all that was ſworn againſt them, but from their own conviction. And indeed this matter came to be charged on Dr. *Lloyd*, as if he had been made a tool for bringing *Berry* to this ſeeming converſion, and that all was done on deſign to cover the Queen. But I ſaw him then every day, and was well aſſured that he acted nothing in it, but what became his profeſſion, with all poſſible ſincerity. *Prance* began, after this, to enlarge his diſcoveries. He ſaid, he had often heard them talk of killing the King, and of ſetting on a general maſſacre, after they had raiſed an Army. *Dugdale* alſo ſaid, he had heard them diſcourſe of a maſſacre. The memory of the *Iriſh* maſſacre was yet ſo freſh, as to raiſe a particular horrour at the very mention of this; tho' where the numbers were ſo great as in *Ireland*, that might have been executed, yet there ſeemed to be no occaſion to apprehend the like, where the numbers were in ſo great an inequality, as they were here. *Prance* did alſo ſwear, that a ſervant of the Lord *Powis* had told him that there was one in their family who had undertaken to kill the King; but that ſome days after he told him, they were now gone off from that deſign. It looked very ſtrange, and added no credit to his other evidence, that the Papiſts ſhould be thus talking of killing the King, as if it had been a common piece of news. But there are ſeaſons of believing, as well as of disbelieving: And believing was then ſo much in ſeaſon, that improbabilities or inconſiſtencies were little conſidered. Nor was it ſafe ſo much as to make reflexions on

on them. That was called the blasting of the plot, and disparaging the King's evidence: That indeed *Oates* and *Bedlow* did, by their behaviour, detract more from their own credit, than all their enemies could have done. The former talked of all persons with insufferable insolence: And the other was a scandalous libertine in his whole deportment. 1678.

The Lord Chief Justice at that time was Sir *William Scroggs*, a man more valued for a good readiness in speaking well, than either for learning in his profession, or for any moral virtue. His life had been indecently scandalous, and his fortunes were very low. He was raised by the Earl of *Danby*'s favour, first to be a Judge, and then to be the Chief Justice. And it was a melancholy thing to see so bad, so ignorant, and so poor a man raised up to that great post. Yet he, now seeing how the stream run, went into it with so much zeal and heartiness, that he was become the favourite of the people. But, when he saw the King had an ill opinion of it, he grew colder in the pursuit of it. He began to neglect and check the witnesses: Upon which, they, who behaved themselves as if they had been the Tribunes of the people, began to rail at him. Yet in all the trials he set himself, even with indecent earnestness, to get the prisoners to be always cast. *Scroggs* was then Lord Chief Justice.

Another witness came in soon after these things, *Jennison*, the younger brother of a Jesuit, and a gentleman of a family and estate. He, observing that *Ireland* had defended himself against *Oates* chiefly by this, that he was in *Staffordshire* from the beginning of *August* till the 12th of *September*, and that he had died affirming that to be true, seemed much surprised at it; and upon that turned Protestant. For he said, he saw him in *London* on the 19th of *August*, on which day he fixed upon this account, that he saw him the day before he went down in the stage coach to *York*, which was prov'd by the books of that office to be the 20th of *August*. He said, he was come to town from *Windsor*: And hearing that *Ireland* was in town, he went to see him, and found him drawing off his boots. *Ireland* asked him news, and in particular, how the King was attended at *Windsor*? And when he answered, that he walked about very carelessly with very few about him, *Ireland* seemed to wonder at it, and said, it would be easy then to take him off: To which *Jennison* answered quick, God forbid: But *Ireland* said, he did not mean that it could be lawfully done. *Jennison*, in the letter in which he writ this up to a friend in *London*, added, that he remembred an inconsiderable passage or two more, and that perhaps *Smith* (a Priest that had lived with his Father) could help him to one or two more circumstances relating to those matters: But he protested, as he desired the forgiveness of his sins, and the salvation of his soul, that he knew no more; and wished he might never see the face of God, if he knew any more. This letter was printed. And great use was made of it, to shew how little regard was to be had to those denials, with which so many had ended their lives. But this man in the summer thereafter published a long narrative of his knowledge of the plot. He said, himself had been invited to assist in killing the King. He named the four ruffians that went to *Windsor* to do it. And he thought to have reconciled this to his letter, by pretending these were the circumstances, that he had not mentioned in it. *Smith* did also change his religion; and deposed, that, when he was at *Rome*, he was told in general of the design of killing the King. He was afterwards discovered to be a vicious man. Yet he went no farther than to swear, that he was acquainted with the design in general, but not with the persons that were employed in it. By these witnesses the credit of the plot was universally established. Yet, no real proofs appearing, besides *Coleman*'s letters and *Godfrey*'s murder, the King, by a proclamation, did offer both a pardon and 200 *l.* to any one that would come in, and make further discoveries. This was thought too great a hire to purchase witnesses. Money had been offered to those who should bring in criminals. But it was said to be a new and indecent practice to offer so much money to men, that should merit it by swearing: And it might be too great an encouragement to perjury. *Jennison*'s evidence.

While the witnesses were weakning their own credit, some practices were discovered, that did very much support it. *Reading*, a lawyer of some subtilty, but of no vertue, was employed by the Lords in the Tower to solicit their affairs. He insinuated himself much into *Bedlow*'s confidence, and was much in his company: And, in the hearing of others, he was always pressing him to tell all he knew. He lent him money very freely, which the other wanted often. And he seemed at first to design only to find out somewhat that should destroy the credit of his testimony. Practices with the witnesses discovered.

1678. But he ventured on other practices; and offered him much money, if he would turn his evidence againſt the Popiſh Lords only into a hear-ſay, ſo that it ſhould not come home againſt them. *Reading* ſaid, *Bedlow* began the propoſition to him; and employed him to ſee how much money theſe Lords could give him, if he ſhould bring them off: Upon which, *Reading*, as he pretended afterwards, ſeeing that innocent blood was like to be ſhed, was willing, even by indecent means, to endeavour to prevent it. Yet he freed the Lords in the Tower. He ſaid, they would not promiſe a farthing: Only the Lord *Stafford* ſaid, he would give himſelf two or three hundred pounds, which he might diſpoſe of as he pleaſed. While *Reading* was driving the bargain, *Bedlow* was too hard for him at his own trade of craft: For, as he acquainted both Prince *Rupert*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, with the whole negotiation, from the firſt ſtep of it, ſo he placed two witneſſes ſecretly in his chamber, when *Reading* was to come to him; and drew him into thoſe diſcourſes, which diſcovered the whole practice of that corruption. *Reading* had likewiſe drawn a paper, by which he ſhewed him with how few and ſmall alterations he could ſoften his depoſition, ſo as not to affect the Lords. With theſe witneſſes, and this paper, *Bedlow* charged *Reading*. The whole matter was proved beyond contradiction. And, as this raiſed his credit, ſo it laid a heavy load on the Popiſh Lords; tho' the proofs came home only to *Reading*, and he was ſet in the pillory for it. *Bedlow* made a very ill uſe of this diſcovery, which happened in *March*, to cover his having ſworn againſt *Whitebread* and *Fenwick* only upon hear-ſay in *December*: For, being reſolved to ſwear plain matter upon his own knowledge againſt them, when they ſhould be brought again on their trial, he ſaid, *Reading* had prevailed on him to be eaſy to them, as he called it; and that he had ſaid to him that the Lords would take the ſaving of theſe Jeſuits, as an earneſt of what he would do for themſelves; tho' it was not very probable, that theſe Lords would have abandoned *Ireland*, when they took ſuch care of the other Jeſuits. The truth was, he ought to have been ſet aſide from being a witneſs any more, ſince now by his own confeſſion he had ſworn falſly in that trial: He had firſt ſworn, he knew nothing of his own knowledge againſt the two Jeſuits, and afterwards he ſwore copiouſly againſt them, and upon his own knowledge. *Wyld*, a worthy and ancient Judge, ſaid upon that to him, that he was a perjured man, and ought to come no more into Courts, but to go home, and repent. Yet all this was paſt over, as if it had been of no weight: And the Judge was turned out for his plain freedom. There was ſoon after this another practice diſcovered concerning *Oates*. Some that belonged to the Earl of *Danby* converſed much with *Oates*'s ſervants. They told them many odious things that he was daily ſpeaking of the King, which looked liker one that intended to ruin than to ſave him. One of theſe did alſo affirm, that *Oates* had made an abominable attempt upon him not fit to be named. *Oates* ſmelled this out, and got his ſervants to deny all that they had ſaid, and to faſten it upon thoſe who had been with them, as a practice of theirs: And they were upon that likewiſe ſet on the pillory. And, to put things of a ſort together, tho' they happen'd not all at once: One *Tasborough*, that belonged to the Duke's Court, entred into ſome correſpondence with *Dugdale*, who was courting a kinſwoman of his. It was propoſed, that *Dugdale* ſhould ſign a paper, retracting all that he had formerly ſworn, and ſhould upon that go beyond ſea, for which he was promiſed, in the Duke's name, a conſiderable reward. He had written the paper, as was deſired: But he was too cunning for *Tasborough*, and he proved his practices upon him. He pretended he drew the paper only to draw the other further on, that he might be able to penetrate the deeper into their deſigns. *Tasborough* was fined, and ſet in the pillory for tampering thus with the King's evidence.

Reflexions upon the whole evidence.

This was the true ſtate of the plot, and of the witneſſes that proved it; which I have open'd as fully as was poſſible for me: And I had particular occaſions to be well inſtructed in it. Here was matter enough to work on the fears and apprehenſions of the Nation: So it was not to be wondred at, if Parliaments were hot, and Juries were eaſy in this proſecution. The viſible evidences that appeared, made all people conclude there was great plotting among them. And it was generally believed, that the bulk of what was ſworn by the witneſſes was true, tho' they had by all appearance dreſſed it up with incredible circumſtances. What the men of learning knew concerning their principles, both of depoſing of Kings, and of the lawfulneſs of murdering them when ſo depoſed, made them eaſily conclude, that ſince they ſaw

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the Duke was so entirely theirs, and that the King was so little to be depended on, they might think the present conjuncture was not to be lost. And since the Duke's eldest daughter was already out of their hands, they might make the more haste to set the Duke on the throne. The tempers, as well as the morals, of the Jesuits, made it reasonable to believe, that they were not apt to neglect such advantages, nor to stick at any sort of falshood in order to their own defence. The doctrine of probability, besides many other maxims that are current among them, made many give little credit to their witnesses, or to their most solemn denials, even at their execution. Many things were brought to shew, that by the casuistical divinity taught among them, and published by them to the world, there was no practice so bad, but that the doctrines of probability, and of ordering the intention, might justify it. Yet many thought, that, what doctrines soever men might by a subtilty of speculation be carried into, the approaches of death, with the seriousness that appeared in their deportment, must needs work so much on the probity and candour which seemed rooted in human nature, that even immoral opinions, maintained in the way of argument, could not then resist it. Several of our Divines went far in this charge, against all regard to their dying speeches; of which some of our own Church complained, as inhuman and indecent. 1678.

In *January* a new Parliament was summoned. The elections were carried with great heat, and went almost every where against the Court. Lord *Danby* resolved to leave the Treasury at *Lady-day*. And in that time he made great advantage by several payments which he got the King to order, that were due upon such slight pretences, that it was believed he had a large share of them to himself: So that he left the Treasury quite empty. He persuaded the King to send the Duke beyond sea, that so there might be no colour for suspecting that the counsels were influenced by him. He endeavoured to persuade the Duke, that it was fit for him to go out of the way. If the King and the Parliament came to an agreement, he might depend on the promise that the King would make him, of recalling him immediately: And if they did not agree, no part of the blame could be cast on him; which must happen otherwise, if he staid still at Court. Yet no rhetorick would have prevailed on him to go, if the King had not told him positively, it was for both their service, and so it must be done. 1679. A new Parliament.

Before he went away, the King gave him all possible satisfaction with relation to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was become very popular, and his creatures were giving it out, that he was the King's lawful son. So the King made a solemn declaration in Council, and both signed it and took his oath on it, that he was never married, nor contracted to that Duke's mother; nor to any other woman, except to his present Queen. The Duke was sent away upon very short warning, not without many tears shed by him at parting, tho' the King shed none. He went first to *Holland*, and then to *Brussels*, where he was but coldly received. The Duke sent beyond sea.

At the opening the Parliament in *March*, the parting with an only brother, to remove all jealousy, was magnified with all the pomp of the Earl of *Nottingham*'s eloquence. Lord *Danby*'s friends were in some hopes, that the great services which he had done would make matters brought against him to be handled gently. But in the management he committed some errours, that proved very unhappy to him.

Seimour and he had fallen into some quarrellings, both being very proud and violent in their tempers. *Seimour* had in the last Session struck in with that heat against Popery, that he was become popular upon it. So he managed the matter in this new Parliament, that tho' the Court named *Meres* yet he was chosen Speaker. The nomination of the Speaker was understood to come from the King, tho' he was not named as recommending the person. Yet a Privy Counsellour named one: And it was understood to be done by order. And the person thus named was put in the chair, and was next day presented to the King, who approved the choice. When *Seimour* was next day presented as the Speaker, the King refused to confirm the election. He said, he had other occasions for him, which could not be dispensed with. Upon this, great heats arose, with a long and violent debate. It was said, the House had the choice of their Speaker in them, and that their presenting the Speaker was only a solemn-shewing him to the King, such as was the presenting the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* in the Exchequer; but that the King was bound to confirm their choice. This debate held a week, and created much anger.

1679. A temper was found at last. *Seymour*'s election was let fall: But the point was ſtruck, that the right of electing was in the Houſe, and then the confirmation was a thing of courſe. So another was choſen Speaker. And the Houſe immediately fell on Lord *Danby*. Thoſe who intended to ſerve him ſaid, the heat this diſpute had raiſed, which was imputed wholly to him, had put it out of their power to do it. But he continued other errors. He took out a pardon under the Great Seal. The Earl of *Nottingham* durſt not venture to paſs it. So the King ordered the Seal to be put to the pardon in his own preſence. And thus, according to Lord *Nottingham*'s figure when he was afterwards queſtioned about it, it did not paſs thro' the ordinary methods of production, but was an immediate effect of his Majeſty's power of creating. He alſo took out a warrant to be Marquiſs of *Caermarthen*. And the King, in a ſpeech to the Parliament, ſaid, he had done nothing but by his order; and therefore he had pardoned him; and, if there was any defect in his pardon, he would paſs it over and over again, till it ſhould be quite legal.

Danby pardoned by the King, but proſecuted by the Houſe of Commons.

Upon this a great debate was raiſed. Some queſtioned whether the King's pardon, eſpecially when paſſed in bar to an impeachment, was good in law: This would encourage ill Miniſters, who would be always ſure of a pardon, and ſo would act more boldly, if they ſaw ſo eaſy a way to be ſecured againſt the danger of impeachments. The King's pardon did indeed ſecure one againſt all proſecution at his ſuit: But, as in the caſe of murder an appeal lay, from which the King's pardon did not cover the perſon, ſince the King could no more pardon the injuries done his people, than he could forgive the debts that were owing to them; ſo from a parity of reaſon it was inferred that, ſince the offences of Miniſters of State were injuries done the publick, the King's pardon could not hinder a proſecution in Parliament, which ſeemed to be one of the chief ſecurities, and moſt eſſential parts of our conſtitution. Yet on the other hand it was ſaid, that the power of pardoning was a main article of the King's Prerogative: None had ever yet been annulled: The law had made this one of the truſts of the Government, without any limitation upon it: All arguments againſt it might be good reaſons for the limiting it for the future: But what was already paſt was good in law, and could not be broke thro'. The temper propoſed was, that, upon Lord *Danby*'s going out of the way, an Act of baniſhment ſhould paſs againſt him, like that which had paſs'd againſt the Earl of *Clarendon*. Upon that, when the Lords voted that he ſhould be committed, he withdrew. So a bill of baniſhment paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, and was ſent down to the Commons. *Winnington* fell on it there in a moſt furious manner. He ſaid, it was an act to let all Miniſters ſee what was the worſt thing that could happen to them, after they had been engaged in the blackeſt deſigns, and had got great rewards of wealth and honour: All they could ſuffer was to be obliged to live beyond ſea. This inflamed the Houſe ſo, that thoſe, who intended to have moderated that heat, found they could not ſtop it. *Littleton* ſent for me that night, to try if it was poſſible to mollify *Winnington*. We laid before him that the King ſeemed brought near a diſpoſition to grant every thing that could be deſired of him: And why muſt an attainder be brought on, which would create a breach that could not be healed? The Earl of *Danby* was reſolved to bear a baniſhment; but would come in, rather than be attainted, and plead his pardon: And thus the King was upon the matter made the party in the proſecution, which might ruin all: We knew how bad a Miniſter he had been, and had felt the ill effects of his power: But the publick was to be preferred to all other conſiderations. But *Winnington* was then ſo entirely in *Montague*'s management, and was ſo blown up with popularity, and ſo much provoked by being turned out of the place of Sollicitour General, that he could not be prevailed on. It was offered afterwards from the Court, as *Littleton* told me, both that Lord *Danby* ſhould by Act of Parliament be degraded from his Peerage, as well as baniſhed, and that an Act ſhould paſs declaring for the future no pardon ſhould be pleaded in bar to an impeachment. But the fury of the time was ſuch, that all offers were rejected. And ſo a very probable appearance of ſettling the Nation was loſt: For the bill for baniſhing Lord *Danby* was thrown out by the Commons. And inſtead of it a bill of attainder was brought in. The Treaſury was put in commiſſion. The Earl of *Eſſex* was put at the head of it. And *Hide* and *Godolphin* were two of the commiſſion. The Earl of *Sunderland* was brought over from *France*, and made Secretary of State. And Lord *Eſſex* and Lord *Sunderland* joined with the Duke of *Monmouth*, to preſs the King to change his counſels, and to turn to another method of government, and to take the men of the greateſt credit in

1679.

to his confidence. Lord *Essex* was much blamed for going in so early into the Court, before the rest were brought in. He said to me, he did it in the prospect of working the change that was afterwards effected. Lord *Sunderland* also told me, that the King was easy in the bringing in Lord *Shaftsbury*; for he thought he was only angry in revenge, because he was not employed; but that he had so ill an opinion of Lord *Halifax*, that it was not easy to get over that. The Duke of *Monmouth* told me, that he had as great difficulty in overcoming that, as ever in any thing that he studied to bring the King to.

A new council.

At last the King was prevailed on to dismiss the whole Council, which was all made up of Lord *Danby*'s creatures. And the chief men of both Houses were brought into it. This was carried with so much secrecy, that it was not so much as suspected, till the day before it was done. The King was weary of the vexation he had been long in, and desired to be set at ease. And at that time he would have done any thing to get an end put to the plot, and to the fermentation that was now over the whole Nation: So that, if the House of Commons would have let the matter of Lord *Danby*'s pardon fall, and have accepted of limitations on his brother, instead of excluding him, he was willing to have yielded in every thing else. He put likewise the Admiralty and Ordnance into commissions: Out of all which the Duke's creatures were so excluded, that they gave both him and themselves for lost. But the hatred that *Montague* bore Lord *Danby*, and Lord *Shaftsbury*'s hatred to the Duke, spoiled all this. There were also many in the House of Commons, who finding themselves forgot, while others were preferred to them, resolved to make themselves considerable. And they infused into a great many a mistrust of all that was doing. It was said, the King was still what he was before. No change appeared in him. And all this was only an artifice to lay the heat that was in the Nation, to gain so many over to him, and so to draw money from the Commons. So they resolved to give no money, till all other things should be first settled. No part of the change that was then made was more acceptable than that of the Judges: For Lord *Danby* had brought in some bad creatures to those important posts. And *Jones* had the new modelling of the Bench. And he put in very worthy men, in the room of those ignorant Judges that were now dismiss'd.

Debates concerning the exclusion.

The main point in debate was, what security the King should offer to quiet the fears of the Nation upon the account of the Duke's succession. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* proposed the excluding him simply, and making the succession to go on, as if he was dead, as the only mean that was easy and safe both for the Crown and the people: This was nothing but the disinheriting the next heir, which certainly the King and Parliament might do as well as any private man might disinherit his next heir, if he had a mind to it. The King would not consent to this. He had faithfully promised the Duke, that he never would. And he thought, if Acts of exclusion were once begun, it would not be easy to stop them; but that upon any discontent at the next heir, they would be set on: Religion was now the pretence: But other pretences would be found out, when there was need of them: This insensibly would change the nature of the *English* Monarchy: So that from being hereditary it would become elective. The Lords of *Essex* and *Hallifax* upon this proposed such limitations of the Duke's authority, when the Crown should devolve on him, as would disable him from doing any harm, either in Church or State: Such as the taking out of his hand all power in Ecclesiastical matters, the disposal of the publick money, with the power of peace and war, and the lodging these in both houses of Parliament; and that whatever Parliament was in being, or the last that had been in being at the King's death, should meet without a new summons, upon it, and assume the administration of affairs. Lord *Shaftsbury* argued against this, as much more prejudicial to the Crown than the exclusion of one heir: For this changed the whole Government, and set up a Democracy instead of a Monarchy. Lord *Hallifax*'s arguing now so much against the danger of turning the Monarchy to be elective, was the more extraordinary in him, because he had made an hereditary Monarchy the subject of his mirth; and had often said, who takes a coachman to drive him, because his father was a good coachman? Yet he was now jealous of a small slip in the succession. But at the same time he studied to infuse into some a zeal for a Commonwealth. And to these he pretended, that he preferred limitations to an exclusion: Because the one kept up the monarchy still, only passing over one person; whereas the other brought us really into a Commonwealth, as soon as we had a Popish King over us. And it was said by some of his friends,

1679. that the limitations propoſed were ſo advantageous to publick liberty, that a man might be tempted to wiſh for a Popiſh King, to come at them.

Upon this great difference of opinion, a faction was quickly formed in the new Council. The Lords *Eſſex*, *Sunderland* and *Halifax* declared for limitations, and againſt the Excluſion; while Lord *Shaftsbury* now made Preſident of the Council declared highly for it. They took much pains on him to moderate his heat: But he was become ſo intolerably vain, that he would not mix with them, unleſs he might govern. So they broke with him: And the other three were called the Triumvirate. Lord *Eſſex* applied himſelf to the buſineſs of the Treaſury, to the regulating the King's expence, and the improvement of the Revenues. His clear, tho' ſlow, ſenſe made him very acceptable to the King. Lord *Halifax* ſtudied to manage the King's ſpirit, and to gain an aſcendant there by a lively and liberthe converſation. Lord *Sunderland* managed foreign affairs, and had the greateſt credit with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*. After it was agreed on to offer the limitations, the Lord Chancellour by order from the King made the propoſition to both Houſes. The Duke was ſtruck with the news of this, when it came to him to *Bruſſels*. I ſaw a letter writ by his Dutcheſs the next poſt: In which ſhe wrote, that as for all the high things that were ſaid by their enemies they looked for them, but that ſpeech of the Lord Chancellour's was a ſurprize, and a great mortification to them. Their apprehenſions of this did not hang long upon them. The Excluſion was become the popular expedient. So after much debating, a bill was ordered for excluding the Duke of *York*. I will give you here a ſhort abſtract of all that was ſaid, both within and without doors, for and againſt the Excluſion.

Arguments uſed for and againſt the excluſion.

Thoſe who argued for it laid it down for a foundation, that every perſon, who had the whole right of any thing in him, had likewiſe the power of transferring it to whom he pleaſed. So the King and Parliament, being entirely poſſeſſed of the whole authority of the Nation, had a power to limit the ſucceſſion, and every thing elſe relating to the Nation, as they pleaſed. And by conſequence there was no ſuch thing as a fundamental law, by which the power of Parliament was bound up. For no King and Parliament in any former age had a power over the preſent King and Parliament; otherwiſe the Government was not entire, nor abſolute. A father, how much ſoever determined by nature to provide for his children, yet had certainly a power of diſinheriting them, without which, in ſome caſes, the reſpect due to him could not be preſerved. The life of the King on the throne was not ſecure, unleſs this was acknowledged. For if the next heir was a traitour, and could not be ſtruck on by an excluſion, Government was appointed for thoſe that were to be governed and not for the ſake of Governours themſelves: Therefore all things relating to it were to be meaſured by the publick intereſt, and the ſafety of the people. In none of God's appointments in the Old Teſtament regard was had to the eldeſt. *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Judah*, *Ephraim*, and more particularly *Solomon*, were preferred without any regard to the next in line. In the ſeveral Kingdoms of *Europe* the ſucceſſion went according to particular laws, and not by any general law. In *England*, *Spain* and *Sweden*, the heir general did ſucceed: Whereas it was only the heir male in *France*, and *Germany*. And whereas the oath of allegiance tied us to the King and his heirs, the word heir was a term that imported that perſon who by law ought to ſucceed: And ſo it ſtood by law to any perſon who was declared next in the ſucceſſion. In *England* the heir of the King that reigned had been ſometimes ſet aſide, and the right of ſucceſſion transferred to another perſon. *Henry* VII. ſet up his title on his poſſeſſing the Crown. *Henry* VIII. got his two daughters, while they were by acts of Parliament illegitimated, put in the ſucceſſion: And he had a power given him to deviſe it after them and their iſſue at his pleaſure. Queen *Elizabeth*, when ſhe was in danger from the practices of the Queen of *Scots*, got an Act to paſs aſſerting the power of the Parliament to limit the ſucceſſion of the Crown. It was high treaſon to deny this during her life, and was ſtill highly penal to this day. All this was laid down in general, to aſſert a power in the Parliament to exclude the next heir, if there was a juſt cauſe for it. Now, as to the preſent caſe, the Popiſh religion was ſo contrary to the whole frame and conſtitution of our Government, as well as to that dignity inherent in the Crown, of being the head of the Church, that a Papiſt ſeemed to be brought under a diſability to hold the Crown. A great part of the property of the Nation, the Abbey lands, was ſhaken by the proſpect of ſuch a ſucceſſion. The perfidy and the cruelty

1679.

cruelty of that religion made the danger more sensible. Fires and Courts of Inquisition, were that which all must reckon for, who would not redeem themselves by an early and zealous conversion. The Duke's own temper was much inlisted on. It appeared by all their letters, how much the Papists depended on him: And his own deportment shewed, there was good reason for it. He would break thro' all limitations, and call in a foreign power, rather than submit to them. Some mercenary lawyers would give it for law, that the prerogative could not be limited, and that a law limiting it was void of it self. Revenges for past injuries, when join'd to a bigotry in religion, would be probably very violent.

On the other hand, some argued against the Exclusion: That it was unlawful in it self, and against the unalterable law of succession; (which came to be the common phrase.) Monarchy was said to be by divine right: So the Law could not alter what God had settled. Yet few went at first so high. Much weight was laid on the oath of allegiance, that tied us to the King's heirs: And whoso was the heir when any man took that oath, was still the heir to him. All lawyers had great regard to fundamental laws. And it was a maxim among our lawyers, that even an Act of Parliament against *Magna Charta* was null of it self. There was no arguing from the changes in the course of the Succession. These had been the effects of prosperous rebellions. Nor from *Henry* VII.'s reigning in the right of his Queen, and yet not owning it to be so. Nor was it strange, if in so violent a reign as *Henry* VIII.'s acts were made in prejudice of the right of blood. But tho' his daughters were made bastards by two several acts, yet it was notorious they were both born in a state of marriage. And when unlawful marriages were annulled, yet such issue as descended from them *bona fide* used not to be illegitimated. But tho' that King made a will pursuant to an act of Parliament, excluding the *Scottish* line, yet such regard the Nation had to the next in blood, that, without examining the will, the *Scottish* line was receiv'd. It is true, Queen *Elizabeth*, out of her hatred to the Queen of *Scots*, got the famed act to pass, that declares the Parliament's power of limiting the succession. But since that whole matter ended so fatally, and was the great blemish of her reign, it was not reasonable to build much on it. These were the arguments of those, who thought the Parliament had not the power to enact an exclusion of the next heir; Of which opinion the Earl of *Essex* was at this time. Others did not go on these grounds: But they said, that tho' a father has indeed a power of disinheriting his son, yet he ought never to exert it but upon a just and necessary occasion. It was not yet legally certain, that the Duke was a Papist. This was a condemning him unheard. A mans conscience was not even in his own power. It seemed therefore to be an unjustifiable severity, to cut off so great a right only for a point of opinion. It is true, it might be reasonable to secure the Nation from the ill effects that opinion might have upon them, which was fully done by the limitations. But it was unjust to carry it further. The Protestants had charged the Church of *Rome* heavily for the League of *France*, in order to the excluding the House of *Bourbon* from the succession to the Crown of *France*, because of heresy: And this would make the charge return back upon us, to our shame. In the case of infancy, or lunacy, guardians were assigned: But the right was still in the true heir. A popish Prince was considered as in that state: And these limitations were like the assigning him guardians. The Crown had been for several ages limited in the power of raising money; to which it may be supposed a high spirited King did not easily submit, and yet we had long maintained this: And might it not be hoped, the limitations proposed might be maintained in one reign; chiefly considering the zeal and the number of those who were concerned to support them? Other Princes might think themselves obliged in honour and religion to assist him, if he was quite excluded: And it might be the occasion of a new Popish League, that might be fatal to the whole Protestant interest. Whereas, if the limitations past, other Princes would not so probably enter into the laws and establishment settled among us. It was said, many in the Nation thought the Exclusion unlawful: But all would joint-ly concur in the limitations: So this was the securest way, that comprehended the greatest part of the Nation. And probably *Scotland* would not go into the Exclusion, but merit at the Duke's hands by asserting his title: So here was a foundation of war round about us, as well as of great distractions among our selves: Some regard was to be had to the King's honour, who had so often declared, he would not consent to an Exclusion; but would to any limitations, how hard soever.

These

1679.

These were the chief arguments upon which all these was managed. For my own part, I did always look on it as a weak and [illegible] to deny the lawfulness of an Exclusion in any case [illegible] the deceptions of that time, [illegible] on the Exclusion would probably [illegible] made use of all the [illegible] guarding [illegible] else. Yet after [illegible] *Tillotson* and I, who, though we had [illegible] on him, to divert him from appearing [illegible] were the champions against the Exclusion, [illegible] low. And that was plainly the general Power [illegible] state. This was like either to end in a rebellion, or in [illegible] Nation to the humours of the Court. It certainly [illegible] was rebellion, tho' it turned afterwards quite the other way. The most of more experience, and who had better advantages to make a true judgement of the temper the Nation, were mistaken as well as myself. All the [illegible] that was made in a manner in the preſent Parliament was, that the bill of Exclusion was read two the House of Commons. But the Parliament was diſſolved before it came to a reading.

Danby's proſecution.

The Earl of *Danby's* proſecution was the point upon which the Parliament broken. The bill of attainder for his wilful abſence was paſſed by the Commons and ſent up to the Lords. But, when it was brought to the third reading, he diverted himſelf, and was upon that ſent to the Tower. Upon which he moved for a trial. The main of the law he depended moſt upon was *Pakington*, an honeſt, learned, but perplexed lawyer. He adviſed him poſitively to ſtand upon his pardon. It was a point of prerogative never yet pleaded againſt the Crown; and he might in that caſe depend upon the Houſe of Lords, and on the King's intereſt there. It might perhaps produce ſome Act againſt all pardons for the future. But he ſhould be ſafe, he was ſecure in his pardon. It was both wiſe, and more honourable, for the King, as well as for himſelf, to ſtand on this, than to enter into the matter of the letters, which would occaſion many indecent reflections on both. So he reſolved to do this, and pleaded his pardon at the Lords bar. To which the Commons put a reply, queſtioning the validity of the pardon, on the grounds formerly mentioned. And they demanded a trial and judgment.

Upon this a famous debate aroſe, concerning the Biſhops right of voting in a part of a trial for treaſon. It was ſaid, that, tho' the Biſhops did not vote in a final judgment, yet they had a right to vote in all preliminaries. Now the allowing or not allowing the pardon to be good, was but a preliminary. And yet the whole matter was concluded by it. The Lords *Nottingham* and *Roberts* argued for the Biſhops voting. But the Lords *Eſſex*, *Shaftesbury*, and *Halifax*, were againſt it. Many books were writ on both ſides, of which an account ſhall be given afterwards. So upon this debate it was carried by the majority, that the Biſhops had a right to vote. Upon which the Commons ſaid, they would not proceed, unleſs the Biſhops were obliged to withdraw during the whole trial. And upon that breach between the two Houſes the Parliament was prorogued: And ſoon after it was diſſolved. And the blame of this was caſt chiefly on the Biſhops. The truth was, they offered to have withdrawn, but the King would not ſuffer it. He was ſo ſet on maintaining the pardon, that he would not venture ſuch a point on the votes of the temporal Lords. And he told the Biſhops, they muſt ſtick to him, and to his prerogative, as they would expect that he ſhould ſtick to them, if they came to be put to it. By this means they were expoſed to the popular fury.

A great heat raiſed againſt the Clergy.

Hot people began every where to cenſure them, as ſet of men that for their own ends, and for every punctilio that they pretended to, would expoſe the Nation and the Proteſtant Religion to ruin. And in revenge for this, many began to declare openly in favour of the Non-conformiſts. And upon this the Non-conformiſts behaved themſelves very indecently. For, tho' many of the more moderate of the Clergy were ſaying all in advantage might be taken, from the ill [illegible] were in a heat, thoſe Churches that were among us, they on their ſide fell more fiercely upon the body of the Clergy. The act that reſtrained the preſs was to laſt only to the end of the firſt Seſſion of the next Parliament that ſhould meet after that was [illegible] ſolved.

silved. So now, upon the end of the session, the act not being revived, the press was open: And it became very licentious, both against the Court and the Clergy. And in this the Non-conformists had so great a hand, that the Bishops and Clergy, apprehending that a rebelling, and with it the pulling the Church to pieces, was designed, set themselves on the other hand to write against the late times, and to draw a parallel between the present times and them: Which was not decently enough managed by those who undertook the argument, and who were believed to be set on, and paid by the Court for it. The chief manager of all those angry writings was one Sir *Roger L'Estrange*, a man who had lived in all the late times, and was furnished with many pasquils, and an unexhausted copiousness in writing: So that for four years he published three or four sheets a week under the title of the Observator, all tending to defame the contrary party, and to make the Clergy apprehend that their ruin was designed. This had all the success he could have wished, as it drew considerable sums that were raised to acknowledge the service he did. Upon this the greater part of the Clergy, who were already much prejudiced against that party, being now both sharpned and furnished by these papers, delivered themselves up to much heat and indiscretion, which was vented both in their pulpits and common conversation, and most particularly, at the elections of parliament men: And this drew much hatred and censure upon them. They seemed now to law down all fears and apprehensions of Popery: And nothing was so common in their mouths as the year forty one, in which the late wars begun, and which seemed now to be near the being acted over again. Both City and Country were full of many indecencies that broke out on this occasion. But, as there were too many of the Clergy whom the heat of their tempers and the hope of preferment drove to such extravagancies, so there were still many worthy and eminent men among them, whose lives and labours did in a great measure rescue the Church from those reproaches that the follies of others drew upon it. Such were, besides those whom I have often named, *Tomlinson*, *Sharp*, *Patrick*, *Sherlock*, *Fowler*, *Scot*, *Calamy*, *Claget*, *Cudworth*, two *Mores*, *Williams*, and many others, whom tho' I knew not so particularly as to give all their Characters, yet they deserved a high one; and were indeed an honour, both to the Church, and to the age in which they lived.

The occasions that fomented that heat.

I return from this digression to give an account of the arguments by which that debate concerning the Bishops voting in preliminaries was maintained. It was said, the Bishops were one of Three Estates of which the Parliament was composed, and that therefore they ought to have a share in all parliamentary matters: That as the temporal Lords transmitted their honours and fees to their heirs, so the Bishops did transmit theirs to their successors: And they sat in Parliament, both as they were the Prelates of the Church and Barons of the Realm: But in the time of Popery, when they had a mind to withdraw themselves wholly from the King's Courts, and resolved to form themselves into a state apart, upon this attempt of theirs, our Kings would not dispense with their attendance: And then several regulations were made, chiefly the famed ones at *Clarendon*; not so much intended as restraints on them in the use of their rights as they were Barons, as obligations on them to perform all but those that in compliance with their desires were then excepted: The Clergy, who had a mind to be excused from all parliamentary attendance, obtained leave to withdraw in judgments of life and death, as unbecoming their profession and contrary to their Canons. Princes were the more inclinable to this, because Bishops might be more apt to lean to the merciful side: And the judgments of Parliament in that time were commonly in favour of the Crown against the Barons: So the Bishops had leave given them to withdraw from these: But they had a right to name a proxy for the Clergy, or to protest for saving their rights in all other points as Peers: So that this was rather a concession in their favour than a restraint imposed on them: And they did it on design to get out of these Courts as much as they could: At the Reformation all such practices as were contrary to the King's prerogative were condemned: So it was said, that the King having a right by his prerogative to demand justice in Parliament against such as he should accuse there, none of the Peers could be excused from that by any of the constitutions made in the time of Popery, which were all condemned at the Reformation: The protestation they made in their asking leave to withdraw shewed it was a voluntary act of theirs, and not imposed on them by the law of Parliament: The words of the article of *Clarendon* seemed to import, that they might sit during the trial, till it came to the final judgment and sentence

Arguments for and against the Bishops voting in the preliminaries in trials of treason.

1679. of life or limb; and by consequence that they might vote in the preliminaries. On the other hand it was argued, that Bishops could not judge the temporal Lords as their Peers: For if they were to be tried for high treason, they were to be judged only by a jury of Commoners: And since their honour was not hereditary, they could not be the Peers of those whose blood was dignified: And therefore, tho' they were a part of that House with relation to the legislature and judicature, yet the difference between a personal and hereditary Peerage made that they could not be the judges of the temporal Lords, as not being to be tried by them. The custom of Parliament was the law of Parliament: And since they had never judged in these cases, they could not pretend to it: Their prosecutions were only a bar to the Lords doing any thing besides the trial during the time that they were withdrawn. The words of the article of *Clarendon* must relate to the whole trial as one complicated thing, tho' it might run out into many branches: And since the final sentence did often turn upon the preliminaries, the voting in these was upon the matter the voting in the final sentence: Whatever might be the first inducements to frame those articles of the Clergy, which at this distance must be dark and uncertain, yet the laws and practice pursuant to them were still in force: By the act of *Henry* the eighth it was provided, that, till a new body of canon law should be formed, the which was then received should be still in force, unless it was contrary to the King's prerogative or the law of the land: And it was a remote and forced inference to pretend that the prerogative was concerned in this matter.

Stillingfleet wrote on this point.

Thus the point was argued on both sides. Dr. *Stillingfleet* gave upon this occasion a great proof of his being able to make himself the master of any argument which he undertook: For after the lawyers, and others conversant in Parliament records, in particular the Lord *Hollis* who undertook the argument with great eminence, had writ many books about it, he published a treatise that discovered more skill and exactness in judging those matters than all that had gone before him. And indeed he put an end to the controversy in the opinion of all impartial men. He proved the right that the Bishops had to vote in those preliminaries, beyond contradiction in my opinion, both from our records, and from our constitution. But now in the interval of Parliament other matters come to be related.

The trial of five Jesuits.

The King upon the prorogation of the Parliament became sullen and thoughtful: He saw, he had to do with a strange sort of people, that could neither be managed nor frightned: And from that time his temper was observed to change very visibly. He saw the necessity of calling another Parliament, and of preparing matters in order to it: Therefore the prosecution of the plot was still carried on. So five of the Jesuits that had been accused of it were brought to their trial: They were *Whitebread* their Provincial, *Fenwick*, *Harcourt*, *Govan*, and *Turner*. *Oates* repeated against them his former evidence: And they prepared a great defence against it; For sixteen persons came over from their House at St. *Omer*, who testified that *Oates* had staid among them all the while from *December* seventy seven till *June* seventy eight; so that he could not possibly be at *London* in the *April* between at those consultations, as he had sworn. They remembred this the more particularly, because he sat at the table by himself in the refectory, which made his being there to be the more observed; for as he was not mixed with the scholars so neither was he admitted to the Jesuits table. They said, he was among them every day, except one or two in which he was in the infirmary: They also testified, that some of those who he swore came over with him into *England* in *April* had staid all that summer in *Flanders*. In opposition to this *Oates* had found out seven or eight persons who deposed that they saw him in *England* about the beginning of *May*; and that he being known formerly to them in a Clergyman's habit, they had observed him so much the more by reason of that change of habit. With one of these he dined; and he had much discourse with him about his travels. An old Dominican Frier, who was still of that Church and Order, swore also that he saw him, and spoke frequently with him at that time: By this the credit of the St. *Omer*'s scholars was quite blasted. There was no reason to mistrust those who had no interest in the matter, and swore that they saw *Oates* about that time; whereas the evidence given by scholars bred in the Jesuits college, when it was to save some of their order, was liable to a very just suspicion. *Bedloe* now swore against them also, not upon hearsay as before, but on his own knowledge, and no regard was had to his former oath mentioned in *Ireland*'s trial. *Dugdale* did likewise swear against some of them: One part of his evidence seemed scarce credible: He swore, that *Whitebread* did

did in a letter that was directed to himself, tho' intended for *F. Evers*, and that came to him by the common post, and was signed by *Whitebread*, desire him to find out some proper way to be made use of in killing the King, of what quality soever they might be. This did not look like the cunning of Jesuits in an age, in which all people made use either of cyphers, or of some disguised cant. But the overthrowing the St. *Omer's* evidence was now such an additional load on the Jesuits, that the jury came readily to a verdict, and they were condemned. At their execution they did with the greatest solemnity, and the deepest imprecations possible, deny the whole evidence upon which they were condemned: And protested, that they held no opinions either of the lawfulness of assassinating Princes, or of the Pope's power of deposing them, and that they counted all equivocation odious and sinful. All their speeches were very full of these heads. *Gerard's* was much laboured, and too rhetorical. A very zealous Protestant, that went oft to see them in prison, told me, that they behaved themselves with great decency, and with all the appearances both of innocence and devotion.

1679.

Langhorn's trial.

Langhorn, the lawyer, was tried next. He made use of the St. *Omer's* scholars: But their evidence seemed to be so baffled, that it served him in no stead. He insisted next on some contradictions in the several depositions that *Oates* had given at several trials: But he had no other evidence of that besides the printed trials, which was no proof in law. The Judges said upon this, (that which is perhaps good in law, but yet does not satisfy a mans mind) that great difference was to be made between a narrative upon oath, and an evidence given in Court. If a man was false in any one oath, there seemed to be just reason to set him aside, as no good witness. *Langhorn* likewise urged this, that it was six weeks after *Oates's* first discovery before he named him: Whereas, if the commissions had been lodged with him, he ought to have been seized on and searched first of all. *Bedlow* swore, he saw him enter some of *Coleman's* treasonable letters in a register, in which express mention was made of killing the King. He shewed the improbability of this, that a man of his business could be set to register letters. Yet all was of no use to him; for he was cast. Great pains was taken to perswade him to discover all he knew; and his execution was delayed for some weeks, in hopes that somewhat might be drawn from him. He offered a discovery of the estates and stock that the Jesuits had in *England*, the secret of which was lodged with him: But he protested, that he could make no other discovery; and persisted in this to his death. He spent the time, in which his execution was respited, in writing some very devout and well composed meditations. He was in all respects a very extraordinary man: He was learned, and honest in his profession; but was out of measure bigotted in his religion. He died with great constancy.

And death.

These executions, with the denials of all that suffered, made great impressions on many. Several books were writ, to shew that lying for a good end was not only thought lawful among them, but had been often practised, particularly by some of those who died for the gunpowder treason, denying those very things which were afterwards not only fully proved, but confessed by the persons concerned in them: Yet the behaviour, and last words, of those who suffered made impressions which no books could carry off.

Some months after this one *Serjeant*, a secular Priest, who had been always in ill terms with the Jesuits, and was a zealous Papist in his own way, appeared before the Council upon security given him; and he averred, that *Gavan*, the Jesuit, who died protesting he had never thought it lawful to murder Kings, but had always detested it, had at his last being in *Flanders* said to a very devout person, from whom *Serjeant* had it, that he thought the Queen might lawfully take away the King's life for the injuries he had done her, but much more because he was a heretick. Upon that *Serjeant* run out into many particulars, to shew how little credit was due to the protestations made by Jesuits even at their death. This gave some credit to the tenderest part of *Oates's* evidence with relation to the Queen. It shewed, that the trying to do it by her means had been thought of by them. All this was only evidence from second hand: So it signified little. *Serjeant* was much blamed for it by all his own side. He had the reputation of a sincere and good, but of an indiscreet man. The executions were generally imputed to Lord *Shaftsbury*, who drove them on in hopes that some one or other to have saved himself would have accused the Duke. But by these the credit of the witnesses, and of the whole plot, was sinking apace. The

building

1679. building ſo much, and ſhedding ſo much blood, upon the weakeſt part of it, which was the credit of the witneſſes, raiſed a general prejudice againſt it all; and took away the force of that, which was certainly true, that the whole party had been contriving a change of religion by a foreign aſſiſtance, ſo that it made not impreſſion enough, but went off too faſt. It was like the letting blood, (as one obſerved) which abates a fever. Every execution, like a new bleeding, abated the heat that the Nation was in; and threw us into a cold deadneſs, which was like to prove fatal to us.

Wakeman's trial.

Wakeman's trial came on next. *Oates* ſwore, he ſaw him write a bill to *Aſhby* the Jeſuit, by which he knew his hand: And he ſaw another letter of his writ in the ſame hand, in which he directed *Aſhby*, who was then going to the *Bath*, to uſe a milk diet, and to be pump'd at the *Bath*; and that in that letter he mentioned his zeal in the deſign of killing the King. He next repeated all the ſtory he had ſworn againſt the Queen: Which he brought only to make it probable that *Wakeman*, who was her phyſician, was in it. To all this *Wakeman* objected, that at firſt *Oates* accuſed him only upon hearſay: And did ſolemnly proteſt he knew nothing againſt him: Which was fully made out. So he ſaid, all that *Oates* now ſwore againſt him muſt be a forgery not thought of at that time. He alſo proved by his own ſervant, and by the apothecary at the *Bath*, that *Aſhby*'s paper was not writ, but only dictated by him: For he happened to be very weary when he came for it, and his man wrote it out: And that of the milk diet was a plain indication of an ill laid forgery, ſince it was known that nothing was held more inconſiſtent with the *Bath* water than milk. *Bedlow* ſwore againſt him, that he ſaw him receive a bill of 2000 *l.* from *Harcourt* as part of a greater ſum; and that *Wakeman* told him afterwards that he had received the money; and that *Harcourt* told him for what end it was given, for they intended the King ſhould be killed, either by thoſe they ſent to *Windſor*, or by *Wakeman*'s means: And, if all other ways failed, they would take him off at *New-market*. *Bedlow* in the firſt giving his evidence depoſed, that this was ſaid by *Harcourt* when *Wakeman* was gone out of the room. But obſerving by the queſtions that were put him, that this would not affect *Wakeman*, he ſwore afterwards, that he ſaid it likewiſe in his hearing. *Wakeman* had nothing to ſet againſt all this, but that it ſeemed impoſſible that he could truſt himſelf in ſuch matters to ſuch a perſon: And if *Oates* was ſet aſide, he was but one witneſs. Three other Benedictin Prieſts were tried with *Wakeman*. *Oates* ſwore, that they were in the plot of killing the King; that one of them, being their Superiour, had engaged to give 6000 *l.* towards the carrying it on. *Bedlow* ſwore ſomewhat circumſtantial to the ſame purpoſe againſt two of them: But that did not riſe up to be treaſon: And he had nothing to charge the third with. They proved, that another perſon had been their Superiour for ſeveral years; and that *Oates* was never once ſuffered to come within their houſe, which all their ſervants depoſed. And they alſo proved, that when *Oates* came into their houſe the night after he made his diſcovery, and took *Pickering* out of his bed, and ſaw them, he ſaid he had nothing to lay to their charge. They urged many other things to deſtroy the credit of the witneſſes: And one of them made a long declamation, in a high bombaſt ſtrain to ſhew what credit was due to the ſpeeches of dying men. The eloquence was ſo forced and childiſh, that this did them more hurt than good. *Scroggs* ſummed up the evidence very favourably for the priſoners, far contrary to his former practice. The truth is, that this was looked on, as the Quen's trial, as well as *Wakeman's*. The priſoners were acquitted: And now the witneſſes ſaw they were blaſted. And they were enraged upon it; which they vented with much ſpite upon *Scroggs*. And there was in him matter enough to work on for ſuch foul mouthed people as they were. The Queen got a man of great quality to be ſent over Ambaſſadour from *Portugal*, not knowing how much ſhe might ſtand in need of ſuch a protection. He went next day with great ſtate to thank *Scroggs* for his behaviour in this trial. If he meant well in this compliment, it was very unadviſedly done: For the Chief Juſtice was expoſed to much cenſure by it. And therefore ſome thought it was a ſhew of civility done on deſign to ruin him. For, how well pleaſed ſoever the Papiſts were with the ſucceſs of this trial, and with *Scroggs*'s management, yet they could not be ſuppoſed to be ſo ſatisfied with him, as to forgive his behaviour in the former trials, which had been very indecently partial and violent.

He was acquitted.

It

1679.

It was now debated in Council whether the Parliament, now prorogued, should be dissolved, or not. The King prevailed on the Lords of *Essex* and *Halifax* to be for a dissolution, promising to call another Parliament next winter. Almost all the new Counsellors were against the dissolution. They said, the Crown had never gained any thing by dissolving a Parliament in anger: The same men would probably be chosen again, while all that were thought favourable to the Court, would be blasted, and for the most part set aside. The new men thus chosen, being heated by a dissolution, and put to the charge and trouble of a new election, they thought the next Parliament would be more uneasy to the King than this if continued. Lord *Essex* and *Halifax* on the other hand argued, that since the King was fixed in his resolutions both with relation to the Exclusion and to the Lord *Danby*'s pardon, his Parliament had engaged so far in both these, that they could not think that these would be laid by. Whereas, a new Parliament, tho' composed of the same members, not being yet engaged, might be perswaded to take other methods. The King followed this advice, which he had directed himself. Two or three days after, Lord *Halifax* was made an Earl, which was called the reward of his good counsel. And now the hatred between the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and him broke out into many violent and indecent instances. On Lord *Shaftsbury*'s side more anger appeared, and more contempt on Lord *Halifax*'s. Lord *Essex* was a softer man, and bore the censure of the party more mildly. He saw how he was cried out on for his last advice: But as he was not apt to be much heated, so all he said to me upon it was, that he knew he was on a good bottom, and that good intentions would discover themselves, and be justified by all in conclusion.

Debates about dissolving the Parliament.

I now put a stop in the further relation of affairs in *England*, to give an account of what past in *Scotland*. The party against Duke *Lauderdale* had lost all hopes, seeing how affairs were carried in the last convention of Estates; But they began to take heart upon the great turn in *England*. The Duke was sent away, and the Lord *Danby* was in the Tower, who were that Duke's chief supports: And when the new council was settled, Duke *Hamilton* and many others were encouraged to come up and accuse him. The truth was, the King found his memory was failing him; and so he resolved to let him fall gently, and bring all *Scottish* affairs into the Duke of *Monmouth*'s hands. The *Scottish* Lords were desired, not only by the King, but by the new Ministers, to put the heads of their charge against Duke *Lauderdale* in writing; and the King promised to hear lawyers on both sides, and that the Earls of *Essex* and *Halifax* should be present at the hearing. *Mackenzie* was sent for, being the King's advocate, to defend the administration; and *Lockhart* and *Cunningham* were to argue against it. The last of these had not indeed *Lockhart*'s quickness, nor his talent in speaking; but he was a learned and judicious man, and had the most universal, and indeed the most deserved reputation for integrity and vertue of any man, not only of his own profession, but of the whole Nation. The hearing came on as was promised; and it was made out beyond the possibility of an answer, that the giving commissions to an army to live on free Quarters in a quiet time was against the whole constitution, as well as the express laws of that Kingdom; and that it was never done but in an enemy's country, or to suppress a rebellion: They shewed likewise, how unjust and illegal all the other parts of his administration were. The Earls of *Essex* and *Halifax* told me every thing was made out fully; *Mackenzie* having nothing to shelter himself in, but that flourish in the act against field Conventicles, in which they were called the rendezvous of rebellion; from which he inferred, that the country where these had been frequent was in a state of rebellion. Kings naturally love to hear prerogative magnified: Yet on this occasion the King had nothing to say in defence of the administration. But when *May*, the master of the privy purse, asked him in his familiar way what he thought now of his *Lauderdale*, he answered, as *May* himself told me, that they had objected many damned things that he had done against them, but there was nothing objected that was against his service. Such are the notions that many Kings think by, by which they set up an interest for themselves in opposition to the interest of the people: And as soon as the people observe that, which they will do sooner or later, then they will naturally mind their own interest, and set it up as much in opposition to the Prince: And in this contest the people will grow always too hard for the Prince, unless he is able to subdue and govern them by an army. The Duke of *Monmouth* was beginning to form a scheme of a Ministry: But now the government in *Scotland* was so remiss, that the people apprehended they might run

The Affairs in *Scotland*.

1679.

into all ſort of confuſion. They heard that *England* was in ſuch diſtractions that they needed fear no force from thence. Duke *Lauderdale*'s party was loſing heart, and were fearing ſuch a new model there as was ſet up here in *England*. All this ſet thoſe mad people that had run about with the field Conventicles into a frenzy: They drew together in great bodies: Some parties of the troops came to diſperſe them, but found them both ſo reſolute and ſo ſtrong, that they did not think fit to engage them: Sometimes they fired on one another, and ſome were killed of both ſides.

The Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* is murdered.

When a party of furious men were riding thro' a moor near St. *Andrews*, they ſaw the Archbiſhop's coach appear: He was coming from a council day, and was driving home: He had ſent ſome of his ſervants home before him, to let them know he was coming, and others he had ſent off on compliments, ſo that there were no horſemen about the coach. They ſeeing this concluded, according to their frantick enthuſiaſtick notions, that God had now delivered up their greateſt enemy into their hands: Seven of them made up to the coach, while the reſt were as ſcouts riding all about the moor. One of them fired a piſtol at him, which burnt his coat and gown, but did not go into his body: Upon this they fancied he had a magical ſecret to ſecure him againſt a ſhot, and they drew him out of his coach, and murdered him barbarouſly, repeating their ſtrokes till they were ſure he was quite dead: And ſo they got clear off, no body happening to go croſs the moor all the while. This was the diſmal end of that unhappy man: It ſtruck all the people with horror, and ſoftned his enemies into ſome tenderneſs: So that his memory was treated with decency by thoſe who had very little reſpect for him during his life.

A rebellion in *Scotland*.

A week after that, there was a great field conventicle held within ten miles of *Glaſcow*: A body of the guards engaged with them, and they made ſuch vigorous reſiſtance, that the guards having loſt thirty of their number were forced to run for it: So the Conventicle formed it ſelf into a body and marched to *Glaſcow*: The perſon that led them had been bred by me, while I lived at *Glaſcow*, being the younger ſon of Sir *Tho. Hamilton* that had married my ſiſter, but by a former wife: He was then a lively hopeful young man: But getting into that company, and into their notions, he became a crack-brained enthuſiaſt. Duke *Lauderdale* and his party publiſhed every where that this rebellion was headed by a nephew of mine, whom I had prepared for ſuch a work while he was in my hands: Their numbers were ſo magnified, that a company or two which lay at *Glaſcow* retired in all haſte, and left the town to them, tho' they were then not above four or five hundred; and theſe were ſo ill armed, and ſo ill commanded, that a troop of horſe could have eaſily diſperſed them. The Council at *Edenburgh* ſent the Earl of *Linlithgow* againſt them with a thouſand foot, two hundred horſe, and two hundred dragoons: A force much greater than was neceſſary for making head againſt ſuch a rabble. He marched till he came within ten miles of them; and then he pretended he had intelligence that they were above eight thouſand ſtrong; ſo he marched back; for he ſaid, it was the venturing the whole force the King had upon too great an inequality: He could never prove that he had any ſuch intelligence: Some imputed this to his fear: Others thought, that being much engaged with Duke *Lauderdale*, he did this on purpoſe to give them time to encreaſe their numbers: And thought their madneſs would be the beſt juſtification of all the violences that had been committed in Duke *Lauderdale*'s adminiſtration. Thus the country was left in their hands: And if there had been any deſigns or preparations made formerly for a rebellion, now they had time enough to run together and to form themſelves: But it appeared that there had been no ſuch deſigns, by this, that none came into it but thoſe deſperate intercommoned men, who were as it were hunted from their houſes into all thoſe extravagances that men may fall in, who wander about inflaming one another, and are heated in it with falſe notions of Religion. The rebels having the country left to their diſcretion fancied that their numbers would quickly encreaſe: And they ſet out a ſort of manifeſto, complaining of the oppreſſions they lay under, aſſerting the obligation of the covenant: And they concluded it with the demand of a free Parliament. When the news of this came to Court, Duke *Lauderdale* ſaid, it was the effect of the encouragement that they had from the King's hearkning to their complaints: Whereas all indifferent men thought it was rather to be imputed to his inſolence and tyranny.

Monmouth ſent down to ſuppreſs it.

The King reſolved to loſe no time: So he ſent the Duke of *Monmouth* down poſt, with full powers to command in chief: And directions were ſent to ſome troops that lay in the north of *England* to be ready to march upon his orders. Duke *Lauderdale* appre-

apprehended that thoſe in arms would preſently ſubmit to the Duke of *Monmouth*, if there was but time given for proper inſtruments to go among them, and that then they would pretend they had been forced into that riſing by the violence of the government: So he got the King to ſend poſitive orders after him, that he ſhould not treat with them, but fall on them immediately: Yet he marched ſo ſlowly that they had time enough given them to diſpoſe them to a ſubmiſſion. They fixed at *Hamilton*, near which there is a bridge on *Clide*, which it was believed they intended to defend; but they took no care of it. They ſent ſome to treat with the Duke of *Monmouth*: He anſwered, that if they would ſubmit to the King's mercy, and lay down their arms, he would interpoſe for their pardon, but that he would not treat with them as long as they were in arms: And ſome were beginning to preſs their rendring themſelves at diſcretion: They had neither the grace to ſubmit, nor the ſenſe to march away, nor the courage to fight it out: But ſuffered the Duke of *Monmouth* to make himſelf maſter of the bridge. They were then four thouſand men: But few of them were well armed: If they had charged thoſe that came firſt over the bridge, they might have had ſome advantage: But they looked on like men that had loſt both ſenſe and courage: And upon the firſt charge they threw down their arms and ran away: There were between two or three hundred killed, and twelve hundred taken priſoners. The Duke of *Monmouth* ſtopt the execution that his men were making as ſoon as he could, and ſaved the priſoners; for ſome moved, that they ſhould be all killed upon the ſpot. Yet this was afterwards objected to him as a neglect of the King's ſervice, and as a courting the people: The Duke of *York* talked of it in that ſtrain: And the King himſelf ſaid to him, that if he had been there they ſhould not have had the trouble of priſoners: He anſwered, he could not kill men in cold blood; that was work only for butchers. Duke *Lauderdale*'s creatures preſſed the keeping the army ſometime in that country, on deſign to have eat it up: But the Duke of *Monmouth* ſent home the Militia, and put the Troops under diſcipline: So that all that Country was ſenſible, that he had preſerved them from ruin: The very fanatical party confeſſed that he treated them as gently as poſſible, conſidering their madneſs: He came back to Court as ſoon as he had ſettled matters, and moved the King to grant an indemnity for what was paſt, and a liberty to hold meetings under the King's licenſe or connivance: He ſhewed the King that all this madneſs of field Conventicles flowed only from the ſeverity againſt thoſe that were held within doors. Duke *Lauderdale* drew the indemnity in ſuch a manner that it carried in ſome clauſes of it a full pardon to himſelf and all his party; but he clogged it much with relation to thoſe for whom it was granted. All Gentlemen, Preachers and officers were excepted out of it; ſo that the favour of it was much limited. Two of their Preachers were hanged, but the other priſoners were let go upon their ſigning a bond for keeping the peace: Two hundred of them were ſent to *Virginia*, but they were all caſt away at ſea. Thus ended this tumultuary rebellion, which went by the name of *Bothwell-Bridge*, where the action was. The King ſoon after ſent down orders for allowing meeting houſes: But the Duke of *Monmouth*'s intereſt ſunk ſo ſoon after this, that theſe were ſcarce opened when they were ſhut up again: Their enemies ſaid, this looked like a rewarding them for their rebellion.

1679.

They were ſoon broken.

An accident happened ſoon after this that put the whole Nation in a fright, and produced very great effects: The King was taken ill at *Windſor* of an intermitting fever: The fits were ſo long and ſo ſevere, that the phyſicians apprehended he was in danger: Upon which he ordered the Duke to be ſent for, but very ſecretly; for it was communicated to none but to the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Eſſex* and *Hallifax*. The Duke made all poſſible haſte, and came in diſguiſe thro' *Calais*, as the quicker paſſage: But the danger was over before he came: The fits did not return after the King took *Quinquina*, called in *England* the *Jeſuits powder*: As he recovered it was moved, that the Duke ſhould be again ſent beyond ſea: He had no mind to it: But when the King was poſitive in it, he moved, that the Duke of *Monmouth* ſhould be put out of all command, and likewiſe ſent beyond ſea: The Duke of *Monmouth*'s friends adviſed him to agree to this; for he might depend on it, that as ſoon as the Parliament met an addreſs would be made to the King for bringing him back, ſince his being thus diveſted of his commiſſions, and ſent away at the Duke's deſire, would raiſe his intereſt in the Nation.

The King taken ill, and the Duke comes to Court.

At this time the party that began to be made for the Duke of *York* were endeavouring to blow matters up into a flame every where: Of which the Earl of *Eſſex* gave me the following inſtance, by which it was eaſy to judge what ſort of intelligence they

The many falſe ſtories ſpread to raiſe jealouſy.

1679. they were apt to give, and how they were poſſeſſing the King and his miniſters with ill grounded fears: He came once to *London* on ſome treaſury buſineſs the day before the common Hall was to meet in the City: So the ſpies that were employed to bring news from all corners came to him, and aſſured him that it was reſolved next day to make uſe of the noiſe of that meeting, and to ſeize on the Tower, and do all ſuch things as could be managed by a popular fury. The advertiſements came to him from ſo many hands, that he was inclined to believe there was ſomewhat in it: Some preſſed him to ſend Soldiers into the Tower and to the other parts of the City. He would not take the alarm ſo hot, but he ſent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to be on his guard: And he ordered ſome companies to be drawn up in *Covent-Garden* and in *Lincolns Inn Fields*: And he had two hundred men ready, and barges prepared to carry them to the Tower, if there ſhould have been the leaſt ſhadow of tumult: But he would not ſeem to fear a diſorder too much, leſt perhaps that might have produced one: Yet after all the affrightning ſtories that had been brought him, the next day paſſed over very calmly, it not appearing by the leaſt circumſtance that any thing was deſigned, beſides the buſineſs for which the common Hall was ſummoned. He often reflected on this matter: Thoſe mercenary ſpies are very officious, that they may deſerve their pay; and they ſhape their ſtory to the tempers of thoſe whom they ſerve: And to ſuch creatures, and to their falſe intelligence, I imputed a great deal of the jealouſy that I found the King poſſeſſed with. Both the Dukes went now beyond ſea: And that enmity which was more ſecret before, and was covered with a Court civility, did now break out open and barefaced. But it ſeemed that the Duke of *York* had prevailed with the King not to call the Parliament that winter, in hope that the heat the Nation was in would with the help of ſome time grow cooler, and that the party that began now to declare more openly for the right of ſucceſſion would gain ground. There was alſo a pretended diſcovery now ready to break out, which the Duke might be made believe would carry off the plot from the Papiſts, and caſt it on the contrary party.

A pretended plot diſcovered, called the *Meal-tub* plot.

Dangerfield, a ſubtle and dexterous man, who had gone thro' all the ſhapes and practices of roguery, and in particular was a falſe coiner, undertook now to coin a plot for the ends of the Papiſts. He was in jayl for debt, and was in an ill intrigue with one *Celliet* a Popiſh midwife, who had a great ſhare of wit, and was abandoned to leudneſs. She got him to be brought out of priſon, and carried him to the Counteſs of *Powis*, a zealous managing Papiſt. He, after he had laid matters with her, as will afterwards appear, got into all companies, and mixed with the hotteſt men of the Town, and ſtudied to engage others with himſelf to ſwear, that they had been invited to accept of commiſſions, and that a new form of government was to be ſet up, and that the King and the Royal Family were to be ſent away. He was carried with this ſtory firſt to the Duke, and then to the King, and had a weekly allowance of money, and was very kindly uſed by many of that ſide; ſo that a whiſper run about Town, that ſome extraordinary thing would quickly break out: And he having ſome correſpondence with one Colonel *Manſel*, he made up a bundle of ſeditious but ill contrived letters, and laid them in a dark corner of his room: And then ſent ſearchers were ſent from the Cuſtom Houſe to look for ſome forbidden goods, which they heard were in *Manſel*'s chamber. There were no goods found: But as it was laid they found that bundle of letters: and upon that a great noiſe was made of a diſcovery: But upon enquiry it appeared the letters were counterfeited, and the forger of them was ſuſpected; ſo they ſearched into all *Dangerfield*'s haunts, and in one of them they found a paper that contained the ſcheme of this whole fiction, which becauſe it was found in a *Meal-tub* came to be called the *Meal-tub* plot. *Dangerfield* was upon that clapt up, and he ſoon after confeſſed how the whole matter was laid and managed: In which it is very probable he mixed much of his own invention with truth, for he was a profligate liar. This was a great diſgrace to the Popiſh party, and the King ſuffered much by the countenance he had given him: The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Halifax* were ſet down in the ſcheme to be ſworn againſt with the reſt.

Great jealouſies of the King.

Upon this they preſſed the King vehemently to call a Parliament immediately. But the King thought that if a Parliament ſhould meet while all mens ſpirits were ſharpened by this new diſcovery, he would find them in worſe temper than ever: When the King could not be prevailed on to do that, Lord *Eſſex* left the treaſury. The King was very uneaſy at this. But Lord *Eſſex* was firm in his reſolution not to meddle in that poſt more ſince a Parliament was not called: Yet, at the King's earneſt deſire,

desire, he continued for some time to go to Council. Lord *Hallifax* fell ill, much from a vexation of mind: His spirits were oppressed, a deep melancholy seizing him: For a fortnight together I was once a day with him, and found then that he had deep impressions of Religion on him: Some foolish people gave it out that he was mad: But I never knew him so near a state of true wisdom as he was at that time. He was much troubled at the King's forgetting his promise to hold a Parliament that winter; and expostulated severely upon it with some that were sent to him from the King: He was offered to be made Secretary of State, but he refused it. Some gave it out that he pretended to be Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and was uneasy when that was denied him: But he said to me that it was offered him, and he had refused it. He did not love, he said, a new scene, nor to dine with sound of trumpet and thirty six dishes of meat on his table. He likewise saw that Lord *Essex* had a mind to be again there; and he was confident he was better fitted for it than he himself was. My being much with him at that time was reflected on: It was said, I had heightned his disaffection to the Court. I was with him only as a divine. 1679.

The Court went on in their own pace: Lord *Tweedale* being then at *London* moved the Earl of *Peterborough*, that it would be more honourable, and more for the Duke's interest, instead of living beyond sea to go and live in *Scotland*. Lord *Peterborough* went immediately with it to the King, who approved of it. So notice was given the Duke: And he was appointed to meet the King at *New-Market* in *October*. Lord *Tweedale* saw, that since the Duke of *Monmouth* had lost his credit with the King, Duke *Lauderdale* would again be continued in his posts; and that he would act over his former extravagances: Whereas he reckoned that this would be checked by the Duke's going to *Scotland*; and that he would study to make himself acceptable to that Nation, and bring things among them into order and temper. The Duke met the King at *New-Market* as it was ordered: But upon that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was yet President of the Council, tho' he had quite lost all his interest in the King, called a Council at *Whitehal*, and represented to them the danger the King was in by the Duke's being so near him; and pressed the Council to represent this to the King. But they did not agree to it: And upon the King's coming to *London* he was turned out, and Lord *Roberts*, made then Earl of *Radnor*, was made Lord President.

Monmouth's disgrace.

The Duke went to *Scotland* soon after: And upon that the Duke of *Monmouth* grew impatient, when he found he was still to be kept beyond sea. He begged the King's leave to return: But when he saw no hope of obtaining it, he came over without leave. The King upon that would not see him, and required him to go back; on which his friends were divided. Some advised him to comply with the King's pleasure: But he gave himself fatally up to the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s conduct, who put him on all the methods imaginable to make himself popular. He went round many parts of *England*, pretending it was for hunting and horse matches, many thousands coming together in most places to see him: So that this looked like the muttering up the force of the party: But it really weakned it: Many grew jealous of the design, and fancied here was a new civil war to be raised. Upon this they joined in with the Duke's party. Lord *Shaftsbury* set also on foot petitions for a Parliament, in order to the securing the King's person, and the Protestant Religion. These were carried about and signed in many places, notwithstanding the King set out a Proclamation against them: Upon that a set of counter petitions was promoted by the Court, expressing an abhorrence of all seditious practices, and referring the time of calling a Parliament wholly to the King. There were not such numbers that joined in the petitions for the Parliament, as had been expected: So this shewed rather the weakness than the strength of the party: And many well meaning men began to dislike those practices, and to apprehend that a change of government was designed.

Petitions for a Parliament.

Some made a reflexion on that whole method of proceeding, which may deserve well to be remembred: In the intervals of Parliament, men that complain of the government by keeping themselves in a sullen and quiet state, and avoiding cabals and publick assemblies, grow thereby the stronger and more capable to make a stand when a Parliament comes: Whereas by their forming of parties out of Parliament, unless in order to the managing of elections, they do both expose themselves to much danger, and bring an ill character on their designs over the Nation; which naturally loves parliamentary cures, but is jealous of all other methods.

1679. The King was now wholly in the Duke's intereſt, and reſolved to paſs that winter without a Parliament. Upon which the Lords *Ruſſel* and *Cavendiſh*, Sir *Henry Capel*, and Mr. *Powel*, four of the new Counſellors, deſired to be excuſed from their attendance in Council. Several of thoſe who were put in the Admiralty and in other commiſſions deſired likewiſe to be diſmiſſed: With this the King was ſo highly offended, that he became more ſullen and intractable than he had ever been before.

Great diſcontent on all ſides.

Godolphin's character.

The men that governed now were the Earl of *Sunderland*, Lord *Hide*, and *Godolphin:* The laſt of theſe was a younger brother of an ancient Family in *Cornwal*, that had been bred about the King from a page, and was now conſidered as one of the ableſt men that belonged to the Court: He was the ſilenteſt and modeſteſt man that was perhaps ever bred in a Court. He had a clear apprehenſion, and diſpatched buſineſs with great method, and with ſo much temper that he had no perſonal enemies: But his ſilence begot a jealouſy, which has hung long upon him. His notions were for the Court: But his incorrupt and ſincere way of managing the concerns of the treaſury created in all people a very high eſteem for him. He loved gaming the moſt of any man of buſineſs I ever knew: and gave one reaſon for it, becauſe it delivered him from the obligation to talk much: He had true principles of religion and vertue, and was free from all vanity, and never heaped up wealth: So that all things being laid together, he was one of the worthieſt and wiſeſt men that has been employed in our time: And he has had much of the confidence of four of our ſucceeding Princes.

1680. In the ſpring of the year eighty the Duke had leave to come to *England*; and continued about the King till next winter, that the Parliament was to ſit. Foreign affairs ſeemed to be forgot by our Court. The Prince of *Orange* had projected an alliance againſt *France:* And moſt of the *German* Princes were much diſpoſed to come into it: For the *French* had ſet up a new Court at *Metz*, in which many Princes were, under the pretence of dependencies and ſome old forgot or forged titles, judged to belong to the new *French* conqueſts. This was a mean as well as a perfidious practice, in which the Court of *France* raiſed much more jealouſy and hatred againſt themſelves than could ever be balanced by ſuch ſmall acceſſions as were adjudged by that mock Court. The Earl of *Sunderland* entred into a particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*, which he managed by his Uncle, Mr. *Sidney*, who was ſent Envoy to *Holland:* The Prince ſeemed confident, that if *England* would come heartily into it, a ſtrong confederacy might then have been formed againſt *France*. *Van Beuning* was then in *England:* And he wrote to the town of *Amſterdam*, that they could not depend on the faith or aſſiſtance of *England*. He aſſured them the Court was ſtill in the *French* intereſt: He alſo looked on the jealouſy between the Court and the Country party as then ſo high, that he did not believe it poſſible to heal matters ſo as to encourage the King to enter into any alliance that might draw on a war: For the King ſeemed to ſet that up for a maxim, that his going into a war was the putting himſelf into the hands of his Parliament; and was firmly reſolved againſt it. Yet the project of a league was formed: And the King ſeemed inclined to go into it, as ſoon as matters could be well adjuſted at home.

An alliance projected againſt *France*.

The election of the Sheriffs of *London*.

There was this year at midſummer a new practice begun in the city of *London*, that produced very ill conſequences. The city of *London* has by Charter the ſhrivalry of *Middleſex*, as well as of the city: And the two Sheriffs were to be choſen on midſummer day. But the common method had been for the Lord *Mayor* to name one of the Sheriffs by drinking to him on a publick occaſion: And that nomination was commonly confirmed by the Common Hall: And then they named the other Sheriff. The truth was, the way in which the Sheriffs lived made it a charge of about 5000 *l.* a year: So they took little care about it, but only to find men that would bear the charge; which recommended them to be choſen Aldermen upon the next vacancy, and to riſe up according to their ſtanding to the Mayoralty, which generally went in courſe to the ſenior Alderman. When a perſon was ſet up to be Sheriff that would not ſerve, he compounded the matter for 400 *l.* fine. All juries were returned by the Sheriffs: But they commonly left that wholly in the hands of their Under-Sheriffs: So it was now pretended that it was neceſſary to look a little more carefully after this matter. The Under-Sheriffs were generally Attorneys, and might be eaſily brought under the management of the Court: So it was propoſed, that the Sheriffs ſhould be choſen with more care, not ſo much that they might keep good tables,

tables, as that they ſhould return good juries: The perſon to whom the preſent Mayor had drunk was ſet aſide: And *Bethel* and *Corniſh* were choſen Sheriffs for the enſuing year. *Bethel* was a man of knowledge, and had writ a very judicious book of the intereſts of Princes: But as he was a known republican in principle; ſo he was a ſullen and wilful man; and turned from the ordinary way of a Sheriff's living into the extream of ſordidneſs, which was very unacceptable to the body of the citizens, and proved a great prejudice to the party. *Corniſh*, the other Sheriff was a plain, warm, honeſt man; and lived very nobly all his year: The Court was very jealous of this, and underſtood it to be done on deſign to pack juries: So that the party ſhould be always ſafe, whatever they might engage in. It was ſaid, that the King would not have common juſtice done him hereafter againſt any of them, how guilty ſoever. The ſetting up *Bethel* gave a great colour to this jealouſy; for it was ſaid, he had expreſſed his approving the late King's death in very indecent terms. Theſe two perſons had never before received the Sacrament in the Church, being Independents: But they did it now to qualify themſelves for this office, which gave great advantages againſt the whole party: It was ſaid, that the ſerving an end was a good reſolver of all caſes of conſcience, and purged all ſcruples. 1680.

Thus matters went on till the winter eighty, in which the King reſolved to hold a ſeſſion of Parliament: He ſent the Duke to *Scotland* a few days before their meeting: And upon that the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth* declared openly for the Excluſion; and ſo did Lord *Sunderland* and *Godolphin*. Lord *Sunderland* aſſured all people, that the King was reſolved to ſettle matters with his Parliament on any terms, ſince the intereſt of *England* and the affairs of *Europe* made a league againſt *France* indiſpenſably neceſſary at that time; which could not be done without a good underſtanding at home. Lord *Sunderland* ſent Lord *Arran* for me: I declined this new acquaintance as much as I could: But it could not be avoided: He ſeemed then very zealous for a happy ſettlement: And this I owe him in juſtice, that tho' he went off from the meaſures he was in at that time, yet he ſtill continued perſonally kind to my ſelf: Now the great point was, whether the limitations ſhould be accepted, and treated about, or the Excluſion be purſued. Lord *Hallifax* aſſured me, that any limitations whatſoever that ſhould leave the title of King to the Duke, tho' it ſhould be little more than a meer title, might be obtained of the King: But that he was poſitive and fixed againſt the Excluſion. It is true, this was in a great meaſure imputed to his management, and that he had wrought the King up to it. The bill of Excluſion again taken up.

The moſt ſpecious handle for recommending the limitations was this: The Duke declared openly againſt them: So if the King ſhould have agreed to them, it muſt have occaſioned a breach between him and the Duke: And it ſeemed to be very deſirable to have them once fall out; ſince, as ſoon as that was brought about, the King of his own accord and for his own ſecurity might be moved to promote the Excluſion. The truth is, Lord *Hallifax*'s hatred of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and his vanity in deſiring to have his own notion preferred, ſharpned him at that time to much indecency in his whole deportment: But the party depended on the hopes that Lady *Portſmouth* and Lord *Sunderland* gave them: Many meetings were appointed between Lord *Hallifax* and ſome leading men; in which as he tried to divert them from the Excluſion, ſo they ſtudied to perſuade him to it, both without effect. The majority had engaged themſelves to promote the Excluſion. Lord *Ruſſel* moved it firſt in the Houſe of Commons, and was ſeconded by *Capel*, *Montague*, and *Winnington*: *Jones* came into the Houſe a few days after this, and went with great zeal into it: *Jenkins*, now made Secretary of State in *Coventry*'s place, was the chief manager for the Court. He was a man of an exemplary life, and conſiderably learned: But he was dull and ſlow: He was ſuſpected of leaning to Popery, tho' very unjuſtly: But he was ſet on every punctilio of the Church of *England* to ſuperſtition, and was a great aſſerter of the divine right of monarchy, and was for carrying the prerogative high: He neither ſpoke nor writ well: But being ſo eminent for the moſt courtly qualifications, other matters were the more eaſily diſpenſed with. All his ſpeeches and arguments againſt the Excluſion were heard with indignation: So the bill was brought into the Houſe. It was moved by thoſe who oppoſed it, that the Duke's daughters might be named in it, as the next in the ſucceſſion: But it was ſaid, that was not neceſſary; for ſince the Duke was only perſonally diſabled, as if he had been actually dead, that carried the ſucceſſion over to his daughters: Yet this gave a jealouſy, as if it was intended to keep that matter ſtill undetermined; and Paſt by the Commons.

that

1680. that upon another occaſion it might be pretended, that the diſabling the Duke to ſucceed did likewiſe diſable him to derive that right to others, which was thus cut off in himſelf. But tho' they would not name the Duke's daughters, yet they ſent ſuch aſſurances to the Prince of *Orange*, that nothing thus propoſed could be to his prejudice, that he believed them, and declared his deſire, that the King would fully ſatisfy his Parliament: The States ſent over memorials to the King, preſſing him to conſent to the Excluſion. The Prince did not openly appear in this: But it being managed by *Fagel*, it was underſtood that he approved of it: And this created a hatred in the Duke to him, which was never to be removed. Lord *Sunderland* by *Sidney*'s means engaged the States into it: And he fancied that it might have ſome effect.

The bill of Excluſion was quickly brought up to the Lords. The Earls of *Eſſex* and *Shaftsbury* argued moſt for it: And the Earl of *Hallifax* was the champion on the other ſide: He gained great honour in the debate; and had a viſible ſuperiority to Lord *Shaftsbury* in the opinion of the whole Houſe: And that was to him triumph enough. In concluſion, the bill was thrown out upon the firſt reading: The country party brought it nearer an equality, than was imagined they could do, conſidering the King's earneſtneſs in it, and that the whole bench of the Biſhops was againſt it. The Commons were inflamed when they ſaw the fate of their bill: They voted an addreſs to the King to remove Lord *Hallifax* from his counſels and preſence for ever: Which was an unparliamentary thing; ſince it was viſible that it was for his arguing as he did in the Houſe of Lords, tho' they pretended it was for his adviſing the diſſolution of the laſt Parliament: But that was a thin diſguiſe of their anger: Yet without deſtroying the freedom of debate, they could not found their addreſs on that which was the true cauſe of it. *Ruſſel* and *Jones*, tho' formerly Lord *Hallifax*'s friends, thought it was enough not to ſpeak againſt him in the Houſe of Commons: But they ſat ſilent. Some called him a Papiſt: Others ſaid he was an Atheiſt. *Chichely*, that had married his mother, moved, that I might be ſent for to ſatisfy the Houſe as to the truth of his Religion. I wiſh, I could have ſaid as much to have perſuaded them that he was a good Chriſtian, as that he was no Papiſt: I was at that time in a very good character in that Houſe: The firſt volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation was then out; and was ſo well received, that I had the thanks of both Houſes for it, and was deſired by both to proſecute that work. The Parliament had made an addreſs to the King for a faſt day. Dr. *Sprat* and I were ordered to preach before the Houſe of Commons: My turn was in the morning: I mentioned nothing relating to the plot, but what appeared in *Coleman*'s letters: Yet I laid open the cruelties of the Church of *Rome* in many inſtances that happened in Queen *Mary*'s Reign, which were not then known: And I aggravated, tho' very truly, the danger of falling under the power of that Religion. I preſſed alſo a mutual forbearance among our ſelves in leſſer matters: But I inſiſted moſt on the impiety and vices that had worn out all ſenſe of Religion, and all regard to it among us. *Sprat* in the afternoon went further into the belief of the plot than I had done: But he inſinuated his fears of their undutifulneſs to the King in ſuch a manner, that they were highly offended at him: So the Commons did not ſend him thanks, as they did to me; which raiſed his merit at Court, as it increaſed the diſpleaſure againſt me. *Sprat* had ſtudied a polite ſtile much: But there was little ſtrength in it: He had the beginnings of learning laid well in him: But he has allowed himſelf in a courſe of ſome years in much ſloth and too many liberties.

But rejected by the Lords.

The King ſent many meſſages to the Houſe of Commons, preſſing for a ſupply, firſt for preſerving *Tangier*, he being then in a war with the King of *Fez*, which by reaſon of the diſtance put him to much charge; but chiefly, for enabling him to go into alliances neceſſary for the common preſervation.

The Houſe of Commons proceeded againſt ſome with ſeverity.

The Houſe upon that made a long repreſentation to the King of the dangers that both he and they were in; and aſſured him, they would do every thing that he could expect of them, as ſoon as they were well ſecured: By which they meant, as ſoon as the Excluſion ſhould paſs, and that bad Miniſters, and ill Judges ſhould be removed. They renewed their addreſs againſt Lord *Hallifax*; and made addreſſes both againſt the Marquis of *Worceſter*, ſoon after made Duke of *Beaufort*, and againſt Lord *Clarendon* and *Hide*, as men inclined to Popery. *Hyde* ſpoke ſo vehemently to vindicate himſelf from the ſuſpicions of Popery, that he cried in his ſpeech: And *Jones* upon the ſcore of old friendſhip got the words relating to popery to be ſtruck out

out of the addreſs againſt him. The Commons alſo impeached ſeveral of the Judges, and Mr. *Seymour*: The Judges were accuſed for ſome illegal charges and judgments; and *Seymour* for corruption and male-adminiſtration in the office of treaſurer of the Navy. They impeached *Scroggs* for high treaſon: But it was viſible that the matters objected to him were only miſdemeanours: So the Lords rejected the impeachment; which was carried chiefly by the Earl of *Danby*'s party, and in favour to him. The Commons did alſo aſſert the right of the people to petition for a Parliament: And becauſe ſome in their counter-petitions had expreſſed their abhorrence of this practice, they voted theſe abhorrers to be betrayers of the liberties of the Nation. They expelled one *Withins* out of their Houſe for ſigning one of theſe, tho' he with great humility confeſſed his fault, and begged pardon for it. The merit of this raiſed him ſoon to be a Judge; for indeed he had no other merit: They fell alſo on Sir *George Jefferies*, a furious declaimer at the bar: But he was raiſed by that, as well as by this proſecution. The Houſe did likewiſe ſend their Serjeant to many parts of *England* to bring up abhorrers as delinquents: Upon which the right that they had to impriſon any beſides their own members came to be much queſtioned, ſince they could not receive an information upon oath, nor proceed againſt ſuch as refuſed to appear before them. In many places thoſe for whom they ſent their Serjeant refuſed to come up. It was found, that ſuch practices were grounded on no law, and were no elder than Queen *Elizabeth*'s time: While the Houſe of Commons uſed that power gently, it was ſubmitted to in reſpect to it: But now it grew to be ſo much extended, that many reſolved not to ſubmit to it. The former Parliament had paſt a very ſtrict act for the due execution of the *Habeas Corpus*; which was indeed all they did: It was carried by an odd artifice in the Houſe of Lords. Lord *Grey* and Lord *Norris* were named to be the tellers: Lord *Norris*, being a man ſubject to vapours, was not at all times attentive to what he was doing: So a very fat Lord coming in, Lord *Grey* counted him for ten, as a jeſt at firſt: But ſeeing Lord *Norris* had not obſerved it, he went on with this miſreckoning of ten: So it was reported to the Houſe, and declared that they who were for the bill were the Majority, tho' it indeed went on the other ſide: And by this means the bill paſt. There was a bold forward man, *Sheredon*, a native of *Ireland*, whom the Commons committed: And he moved for his *Habeas Corpus*: Some of the Judges were afraid of the Houſe, and kept out of the way: But Baron *Weſton* had the courage to grant it. The ſeſſion went yet into a higher ſtrain; for they voted, that all anticipations on any branches of the Revenue were againſt law, and that whoſoever lent any money upon the credit of thoſe anticipations were publick enemies to the Kingdom. Upon this it was ſaid, that the Parliament would neither ſupply the King themſelves, nor ſuffer him to make uſe of his credit, which every private man might do. They ſaid on the other hand, that they looked on the Revenue as a publick treaſure, that was to be kept clear of all anticipations, and not as a private eſtate that might be mortgaged: And they thought, when all other means of ſupply except by Parliament were ſtopped, that muſt certainly bring the King to their terms. Yet the clamour raiſed on this, as if they had intended to ſtarve the King, and blaſt his credit, was a great load on them: And their vote had no effect, for the King continued to have the ſame credit that he had before. Another vote went much higher: It was for an aſſociation, copied from that in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time, for the revenging the King's death upon all Papiſts, if he ſhould happen to be killed. The precedent of that time was a ſpecious colour: But this difference was aſſigned between the two caſes: Queen *Elizabeth* was in no danger but from Papiſts: So that aſſociation ſtruck a terrour into that whole party, which did prove a real ſecurity to her; and therefore her Miniſters ſet it on. But now, it was ſaid, there were many Republicans ſtill in the Nation, and many of *Cromwell*'s Officers were yet alive, who ſeemed not to repent of what they had done: So ſome of theſe might by this means be encouraged to attempt on the King's life, preſuming that both the ſuſpicions and revenges of it would be caſt upon the Duke and the Papiſts. Great uſe was made of this to poſſeſs all people, that this aſſociation was intended to deſtroy the King, inſtead of preſerving him.

1680.

An aſſociation propoſed.

There was not much done in the houſe of Lords after they threw out the bill of Excluſion. Lord *Hallifax* indeed preſſed them to go on to limitations: And he began with one, that the Duke ſhould be obliged to live five hundred miles out of *England* during the King's life. But the Houſe was cold, and backward in all that

Expedients offered in the Houſe of Lords.

1680. matter. Thoſe that were really the Duke's friends abhorred all thoſe motions: And Lord *Shaftsbury* and his party laughed at them: They were reſolved to let all lie in confuſion, rather than hearken to any thing beſides the Excluſion. The Houſe of Commons ſeemed alſo to be ſo ſet againſt the project, that very little progreſs was made in it. Lord *Eſſex* made a motion, which was agreed to in a thin Houſe: But it put an end to all diſcourſes of that nature: He moved, that an aſſociation ſhould be entred into to maintain thoſe expedients, and that ſome cautionary Towns ſhould be put into the hands of the aſſociators during the King's life to make them good after his death. The King looked on this as a depoſing of himſelf. He had read more in *Davila* than in any other book of hiſtory: And he had a clear view into the conſequences of ſuch things, and looked on this as worſe than the excluſion. So that, as Lord *Halifax* often obſerved to me, this whole management looked like a deſign to unite the King more entirely to the Duke, inſtead of ſeparating him from him: The King came to think that he himſelf was levelled at chiefly, tho' for decency's ſake his brother was only named. The truth was, the leading men thought they were ſure of the Nation, and of all future elections, as long as Popery was in view. They fancied the King muſt have a Parliament, and money from it very ſoon, and that in concluſion he would come in to them. He was much beſet by all the hungry courtiers, who longed for a bill of money: They ſtudied to perſuade him, from his father's misfortunes, that the longer he was in yielding, the terms would grow the higher.

Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*'s conduct in this matter little underſtood.

They relied much on the Lady *Portſmouth*'s intereſt, who did openly declare herſelf for the Houſe of Commons: And they were ſo careful of her, that when one moved that an addreſs ſhould be made to the King for ſending her away, he could not be heard, tho' at another time ſuch a motion would have been better entertained. Her behaviour in this matter was unaccountable: And the Duke's behaviour to her afterwards looked liker an acknowledgment than a reſentment. Many refined upon it, and thought ſhe was ſet on as a decoy to keep the party up to the Excluſion, that they might not hearken to the limitations. The Duke was aſſured, that the King would not grant the one: And ſo ſhe was artificially managed to keep them from the other, to which the King would have conſented, and of which the Duke was moſt afraid. But this was too fine: She was hearty for the excluſion: Of which I had this particular account from *Montague*, who I believe might be the perſon that laid the bait before her. It was propoſed to her, that if ſhe could bring the King to the Excluſion, and to ſome other popular things, the Parliament would go next to prepare a bill for ſecuring the King's perſon; in which a clauſe might be carried, that the King might declare the Succeſſour to the Crown, as had been done in *Henry* VIII.'s time. This would very much raiſe the King's authority, and would be no breach with the Prince of *Orange*, but would rather oblige him to a greater dependence on the King. The Duke of *Monmouth* and his party would certainly be for this clauſe, ſince he could have no proſpect any other way; and he would pleaſe himſelf with the hopes of being preferred by the King to any other perſon. But ſince the Lady *Portſmouth* found ſhe was ſo abſolutely the miſtreſs of the King's ſpirit, ſhe might reckon, that if ſuch an act could be carried the King would be prevailed on to declare her ſon his ſucceſſour: And it was ſuggeſted to her, that in order to the ſtrengthening her Son's intereſt ſhe ought to treat for a match with the King of *France*'s natural daughter, now the Ducheſs of *Bourbon*. And thus the Duke of *Monmouth* and ſhe were brought to an agreement to carry on the Excluſion, and that other act purſuant to it: And they thought they were making tools of one another to carry on their own ends. The Nation was poſſeſſed with ſuch a diſtruſt of the King, that there was no reaſon to think they could ever be brought to ſo entire a confidence in him, as to deliver up themſelves and their poſterity ſo blindfold into his hands. *Montague* aſſured me, that ſhe not only acted heartily in this matter, but ſhe once drew the King to conſent to it, if ſhe might have had 800000 *l.* for it: And that was afterwards brought down to 600000 *l.* But the jealouſies upon the King himſelf were ſuch, that the managers in the Houſe of Commons durſt not move for giving money till the bill of excluſion ſhould paſs, leſt they ſhould have loſt their credit by ſuch a motion: And the King would not truſt them. So near was this point brought to an agreement, if *Montague* told me true.

That which reconciled the Duke to the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth* was, that the King aſſured him, ſhe did all by his order, that ſo ſhe might have credit with the party, and

and see into their designs: Upon which the Duke saw it was necessary to believe this, or at least to seem to believe it. 1680.

Stafford's trial.

The other great business of this Parliament was the trial of the Viscount of *Stafford*, who was the younger son of the old Earl of *Arundell*, and so was uncle to the Duke of *Norfolk*. He was a weak, but a fair conditioned man: He was in ill terms with his nephew's family: And had been guilty of great vices in his youth, which had almost proved fatal to him: He married the heiress of the great family of the *Staffords*. He thought the King had not rewarded him for his former services as he had deserved: So he often voted against the Court, and made great applications always to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. He was in no good terms with the Duke; for the great consideration the Court had of his nephew's family, made him to be the most neglected. When *Oates* deposed first against him, he happened to be out of the way: And he kept out a day longer. But the day after he came in, and delivered himself: Which, considering the feebleness of his temper, and the heat of that time, was thought a sign of innocence. *Oates* and *Bedlow* swore, he had a patent to be paymaster general to the army, *Dugdale* swore, that he offered him 500 *l.* to kill the King. *Bedlow* had died the summer before at *Bristol*. It was in the time of the assizes: *North*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, being there, he sent for him, and by oath confirmed all that he had sworn formerly, except that which related to the Queen, and to the Duke. He also denied upon oath, that any person had ever practised upon him, or corrupted him: His disowning some of the particulars which he had sworn had an appearance of sincerity, and gave much credit to his former depositions. I could never hear what sense he expressed of the other ill parts of his life, for he vanished soon out of all mens thoughts.

Another witness appeared against Lord *Stafford*, one *Turbervill*; who swore, that in the year seventy five, the Lord *Stafford* had taken much pains to persuade him to kill the King: He began the proposition to him at *Paris*; and sent him by the way of *Diep* over to *England*, telling him that he intended to follow by the same road: But he wrote afterwards to him that he was to go by *Calais*. But he said he never went to see him upon his coming to *England*. *Turbervill* swore the year wrong at first: But upon recollection he went and corrected that errour. This at such a distance of time seemed to be no great matter: It seemed much stranger, that after such discourses once begun, he should never go near the Lord *Stafford*; and that Lord *Stafford* should never enquire after him. But there was a much more material objection to him. *Turbervill*, upon discourse with some in St. *Martin*'s parish, seemed inclined to change his religion: They brought him to Dr. *Lloyd*, then their Minister: And he convinced him so fully that he changed upon it; And after that he came often to him, and was chiefly supported by him: For some months he was constantly at his table. *Lloyd* had pressed him to recollect all that he had heard among the Papists relating to plots and designs against the King or the Nation. He said that which all the converts at that time said often, that they had it among them that within a very little while their religion would be set up in *England*; and that some of them said, a great deal of blood would be shed before it could be brought about: But he protested that he knew no particulars. After some months dependence on *Lloyd* he withdrew entirely from him; and he saw him no more till he appeared now an evidence against Lord *Stafford*: *Lloyd* was in great difficulties upon that occasion. It had been often declared, that the most solemn denials of witnesses before they make discoveries did not at all invalidate their evidence; and that it imported no more, but that they had been so long firm to their promise of revealing nothing: So that this negative evidence against *Turbervill* could have done Lord *Stafford* no service. On the other hand, considering the load that already lay on *Lloyd* on the account of *Berry*'s business, and that his being a little before this time promoted to be Bishop of St. *Asaph* was imputed to that, it was visible that his discovering this against *Turbervill* would have aggravated those censures, and very much blasted him. In opposition to all this, here was a justice to be done, and a service to truth, towards the saving a mans life: And the question was very hard to be determined. He advised with all his friends, and with my self in particular. The much greater number were of opinion that he ought to be silent. I said, my own behaviour in *Staley*'s affair shewed what I would do if I was in that case: But his circumstances were very different: So I concurred with the rest as to him. He had another load on him: He had writ a book with very sincere intentions, but upon a very tender point: He proposed,

that

1680. that a diſcrimination ſhould be made between the regular Prieſts that were in a dependence and under directions from *Rome*, and the ſecular Prieſts that would renounce the Pope's depoſing power and his infallibility: He thought this would raiſe heats among themſelves, and draw cenſures from *Rome* on the ſeculars, which in concluſion might have very good effects. This was very plauſibly writ, and deſigned with great ſincerity: But angry men ſaid, all this was intended only to take off ſo much from the apprehenſions that the Nation had of Popery, and to give a milder idea of a great body among them: And as ſoon as it had that effect, it was probable that all the miſſionaries would have leave given them to put on that diſguiſe, and to take thoſe diſcriminating teſts till they had once prevailed: And then they would throw them off. Thus the moſt zealous man againſt Popery that I ever yet knew, and the man of the moſt entire ſincerity, was ſo heavily cenſured at this time, that it was not thought fit, nor indeed ſafe, for him to declare what he knew concerning *Turbervill*.

The trial was very auguſt: The Earl of *Nottingham* was the Lord High Steward: It continued five days. On the firſt day the Commons brought only general evidence to prove the plot: *Smith* ſwore ſome things that had been ſaid to him at *Rome* of killing the King: An *Iriſh* Prieſt that had been long in *Spain* confirmed many particulars in *Oates*'s narrative: Then the witneſſes depoſed all that related to the plot in general. To all this Lord *Stafford* ſaid little, as not being much concerned in it: Only he declared, that he was always againſt the Pope's power of depoſing Princes. He alſo obſerved a great difference between the gunpowder plot and that which was now on foot: That in the former all the chief conſpirators died confeſſing the fact; but that now all died with the ſolemneſt proteſtations of their innocence. On the ſecond day the evidence againſt himſelf was brought: He urged againſt *Oates* that he ſwore he had gone in among them on deſign to betray them: So that he had been for ſome years taking oaths and receiving ſacraments in ſo treacherous a manner, that no credit could be given to a man that was ſo black by his own confeſſion. On the third day he brought his evidence to diſcredit the witneſſes: His ſervant ſwore, that while he was at the Lord *Aſton*'s, *Dugdale* never was in his chamber but once; and that was on the account of a foot race. Some depoſed againſt *Dugdale*'s reputation: And one ſaid, that he had been practiſing on himſelf to ſwear as he ſhould direct him. The miniſter of the pariſh and another gentleman depoſed, that they heard nothing from *Dugdale* concerning the killing a Juſtice of peace in *Weſtminſter*, which, as he had ſworn, he had ſaid to them. As to *Turbervill*, who had ſaid that the Lord *Stafford* was at that time in a fit of the gout, his ſervants ſaid they never knew him in a fit of the gout: And he himſelf affirmed, he never had one in his whole life. He alſo proved that he did not intend to come to *England* by *Diep*; for he had writ for a Yatch which met him at *Calais*. He alſo proved by ſeveral witneſſes, that both *Dugdale* and *Turbervill* had often ſaid that they knew nothing of any plot; and that *Turbervill* had lately ſaid, he would ſet up for a witneſs, for none lived ſo well as witneſſes did: He inſiſted likewiſe on the miſtake of the year, and on *Turbervill*'s never coming near him after he came over to *England*. The ſtrongeſt part of his defence was, that he made it out unanſwerably, that he was not at the Lord *Aſton*'s on one of the times that *Dugdale* had fixed on; for at that time he was either at *Bath* or at *Badminton*. For *Dugdale* had once fixed on a day; tho' afterwards he ſaid it was about that time: Now that day happened to be the Marquis of *Worceſter*'s wedding day: And on that day it was fully proved that he was at *Badminton*, that Lord's houſe, not far from the *Bath*. On the fourth day proofs were brought to ſupport the credit of the witneſſes: It was made out, that *Dugdale* had ſerved the Lord *Aſton* long and with great reputation. It was now two full years ſince he began to make diſcoveries: And in all that time they had not found any one particular to blemiſh him with; tho' no doubt they had taken pains to examine into his life. His publiſhing the news of *Godfrey*'s death was well made out, tho' two perſons in the company had not minded it: Many proofs were brought that he was often in Lord *Stafford*'s company, of which many more affidavits were made after that Lord's death. Two women that were ſtill Papiſts ſwore, that upon the breaking out of the plot he ſearched into many papers and burnt them: He gave many of theſe to one of the women to fling in the fire; but finding a book of accounts he laid that aſide, ſaying, there is no treaſon here, which imported that he thought the others were treaſonable. He proved that one of the witneſſes brought againſt him was ſo infamous in all reſpects, that Lord *Stafford* himſelf was convinced of it. He ſaid, he

he had only preſſed a man, who now appeared againſt him, to diſcover all he knew. 1680.
He ſaid, at ſuch a diſtance of time he might miſtake as to time or a day, but could not be miſtaken as to the things themſelves. *Turbervill* deſcribed both the ſtreet and the room in *Paris* in which he ſaw Lord *Stafford*. He found a witneſs that ſaw him at *Dieppe* to whom he complained, that a Lord for whom he looked had failed him: And upon that he ſaid he was no good ſtaff to lean on; by which tho' he did not name the Lord, he believed he meant Lord *Stafford*. *Dugdale* and he both confeſſed they had denied long that they knew any thing of the plot, which was the effect of the reſolution they had taken, to which they adhered long, of diſcovering nothing: It was alſo proved that Lord *Stafford* was often lame, which *Turbervill* took for the gout. On the fifth day Lord *Stafford* reſumed all his evidence, and urged every particular very ſtrongly. *Jones* in the name of the Commons did on the other hand reſume the evidence againſt him with great force: He ſaid indeed nothing for ſupporting *Oates*; for the objection againſt him was not to be anſwered. He made it very clear that *Dugdale* and *Turbervill* were two good witneſſes, and were not at all diſcreted by any thing that was brought againſt them. When it came to the giving of judgment, above fifty of the Peers gave it againſt Lord *Stafford*, and above thirty acquitted him: Four of the *Howards*, his kinſmen condemned him; Lord *Arundell*, afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*, tho' in enmity with him, did acquit him. Duke *Lauderdale* condemned him: And ſo did both the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Angleſey*. Lord *Halliſax* acquitted him. Lord *Nottingham* when he gave judgment delivered it with one of the beſt ſpeeches he had ever made. But he committed one great indecency in it: For he ſaid, who can doubt any longer that *London* was burnt by Papiſts, tho' there was not one word in the whole trial relating to that matter. Lord *Stafford* behaved himſelf during the whole time, and at the receiving his ſentence, with much more conſtancy than was expected from him.

He was condemned.

Within two days after he ſent a meſſage to the Lords, deſiring that the Biſhop of *London* and I might be appointed to come to him. We waited on him: His deſign ſeemed to be only to poſſeſs us with an opinion of his innocence, of which he made very ſolemn proteſtations. He heard us ſpeak of the points in diffference beween us and the Church of *Rome* with great temper and attention. At parting he deſired me to come back to him next day; for he had a mind to be more particular with me. When I came to him, he repeated the proteſtations of his innocence; and ſaid, he was confident the villany of the witneſſes would ſoon appear: He did not doubt I ſhould ſee it in leſs than a year. I preſſed him in ſeveral points of Religion; and urged ſeveral things, which he ſaid he had never heard before. He ſaid, theſe things on another occaſion would have made ſome impreſſion upon him; but he had now little time, therefore he would loſe none in controverſy: So I let that diſcourſe fall. I talked to him of thoſe preparations for death in which all Chriſtians agree: He entertained theſe very ſeriouſly. He had a mind to live if it was poſſible: He ſaid, he could diſcover nothing with relation to the King's life, proteſting that there was not ſo much as an intimation about it that had ever paſt among them. But he added, that he could diſcover many other things, that were more material than any thing that was yet known, and for which the Duke would never forgive him. And of theſe, if that might ſave his life, he would make a full diſcovery. I ſtopt him when he was going on to particulars; for I would not be a confident in any thing in which the publick ſafety was concerned. He knew beſt the importance of thoſe ſecrets; and ſo he could only judge, whether it would be of that value as to prevail with the two houſes to interpoſe with the King for his pardon. He ſeemed to think it would be of great uſe, chiefly to ſupport what they were then driving on with relation to the Duke: He deſired me to ſpeak to Lord *Eſſex*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and Sir *William Jones*. I brought him their anſwer the next day; which was, that if he did diſcover all he knew concerning the Papiſts deſigns, and more particularly concerning the Duke, they would endeavour that it ſhould not be inſiſted on, that he muſt confeſs thoſe particulars for which he was judged. He aſked me, what if he ſhould name ſome who had now great credit, but had once engaged to ſerve their deſigns: I ſaid, nothing could be more acceptable than the diſcovering ſuch diſguiſed Papiſts, or falſe Proteſtants: Yet upon this I charged him ſolemnly not to think of redeeming his own life by accuſing any other falſly, but to tell the truth, and all the truth, as far as the common ſafety was concerned in it. As we were diſcourſing of theſe matters, the Earl of *Carliſle* came

He ſent for me, and employed me to do him ſervice.

1680. in: In his hearing, by Lord *Stafford*'s leave, I went over all that had paſſed between us, and did again ſolemnly adjure him to ſay nothing but the truth. Upon this he deſired the Earl of *Carliſle* to carry a meſſage from him to the Houſe of Lords, that whenſoever they would ſend for him he would diſcover all that he knew: Upon that he was immediately ſent for. And he began with a long relation of their firſt conſultations after the Reſtoration about the methods of bringing in their Religion, which they all agreed could be only brought about by a toleration. He told them of the Earl of *Briſtol*'s project; and went on to tell who had undertaken to procure the toleration for them: And then he named the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. When he named him he was ordered to withdraw: And the Lords would hear no more from him. It was alſo given out, that in this I was a Tool of Lord *Halifax*'s to bring him thither to blaſt Lord *Shaftsbury*. He was ſent back to the Tower: And then he compoſed himſelf in the beſt way he could to ſuffer, which he did with a conſtant and undiſturbed mind. He ſupped and ſlept well the night before his execution, and died without any ſhew of fear or diſorder. He denied all that the witneſſes had ſworn againſt him. And this was the end of the plot. I was very unjuſtly cenſured on both hands. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* railed ſo at me that I went no more near him. And the Duke was made believe, that I had perſuaded Lord *Stafford* to charge him, and to diſcover all he knew againſt him: Which was the beginning of the implacable hatred he ſhewed on many occaſions againſt me. Thus the innocenteſt and beſt meant parts of a mans life may be miſunderſtood, and highly cenſured.

His execution.

1681. The Houſe of Commons had another buſineſs before them in this ſeſſion: There was a ſevere act paſt in the end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, when ſhe was highly provoked with the ſeditious behaviour of the Puritans, by which thoſe who did not conform to the Church were required to abjure the Kingdom under the pain of death: And for ſome degrees of Non-conformity they were adjudged to die, without the favour of baniſhment. Both Houſes paſt a bill for repealing this act: It went indeed heavily in the Houſe of Lords; for many of the Biſhops, tho' they were not for putting that law in execution, which had never been done but in one ſingle inſtance, yet they thought the terrour of it was of ſome uſe, and that the repealing it might make the party more inſolent. On the day of the prorogation the bill ought to have been offered to the King, but the Clerk of the Crown, by the King's particular order, withdrew the bill. The King had no mind openly to deny it: But he had leſs mind to paſs it. So this indiſcreet method was taken, which was a high offence in the Clerk of the Crown. There was a bill of comprehenſion offered by the epiſcopal party in the Houſe of Commons, by which the Presbyterians would have been taken into the Church. But to the amazement of all people their party in the Houſe did not ſeem concerned to promote it: On the contrary they neglected it. This increaſed the jealouſy, as if they had hoped they were ſo near the carrying all before them, that they deſpiſed a comprehenſion: There was no great progreſs made in this bill. But in the morning before they were prorogued two votes were carried in the Houſe of a very extraordinary nature: The one was, that the laws made againſt recuſants ought not to be executed againſt any but thoſe of the Church of *Rome*. That was indeed the primary intention of the law: Yet all perſons who came not to Church, and did not receive the ſacrament once a year, were within the letter of the law. The other vote was, that it was the opinion of that Houſe, that the laws againſt Diſſenters ought not to be executed. This was thought a great invaſion of the Legiſlature, when one Houſe pretended to ſuſpend the execution of laws: Which was to act like dictators in the State; for they meant that Courts and Juries ſhould govern themſelves by the opinion that they now gave: Which, inſtead of being a kindneſs to the Non-conformiſts, raiſed a new ſtorm againſt them over all the Nation. When the King ſaw no hope of prevailing with the Commons on any other terms, but his granting the Excluſion, he reſolved to prorogue the Parliament. And it was diſſolved in a few days after, in *January* eighty one.

Motions in the favour of the Nonconformiſts.

The King reſolved to try a Parliament once more: But apprehending that they were encouraged, if not inflamed by the city of *London*, he ſummoned the next Parliament to meet at *Oxford*. It was ſaid, men were now very bold about *London*, by their confidence in the Juries that the Sheriffs took care to return. Several printers were indicted for ſcandalous libels that they had printed: But the Grand Juries returned an *Ignoramus* upon the bills againſt them, on this pretence, that the law only con-

The Parliament was diſſolved.

demned

demned the printing ſuch libels maliciouſly and ſeditiouſly, and that it did not appear that the Printers had any ill intentions in what they did; whereas, if it was found that they printed ſuch libels, the conſtruction of law made that to be malicious and ſeditious. The elections over *England* for the new Parliament went generally for the ſame perſons that had ſerved in the former Parliament: And in many places it was given as an inſtruction to the members to ſtick to the bill of Excluſion. 1681.

The King was now very uneaſy: He ſaw he was deſpiſed all *Europe* over, as a Prince that had neither treaſure nor power: So one attempt more was to be made, which was to be managed chiefly by *Littleton*, who was now brought into the commiſſion of the admiralty. I had once in a long diſcourſe with him argued againſt the expedients, becauſe they did really reduce us to the ſtate of a Common-wealth. I thought a much better way was, that there ſhould be a Protector declared, with whom the regal power ſhould be lodged; and that the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be the perſon. He approved the notion: But thought that the title Protectour was odious, ſince *Cromwell* had aſſumed it, and that therefore Regent would be better: We dreſſed up a ſcheme of this for near two hours: And I dreamt no more of it. But ſome days after he told me the notion took with ſome, and that both Lord *Halifax* and *Seymour* liked it: But he wondered to find Lord *Sunderland* did not go into it. He told me after the Parliament was diſſolved, but in great ſecrecy, that the King himſelf liked it. Lord *Nottingham* talked in a general and odd ſtrain about it. He gave it out, that the King was reſolved to offer one expedient, which was beyond any thing that the Parliament could have the confidence to ask. *Littleton* preſſed me to do what I could to promote it; and ſaid, that as I was the firſt that had ſuggeſted it, ſo I ſhould have the honour of it, if it proved ſo ſucceſsful as to procure the quieting of the Nation. I argued upon it with *Jones:* But I found they had laid it down for a maxim to hearken to nothing but the Excluſion. All the Duke of *Monmouth*'s party looked on this as that which muſt put an end to all his hopes. Others thought, in point of honour they muſt go on as they had done hitherto: *Jones* ſtood upon a point of law, of the unſeparableneſs of the prerogative from the perſon of the King. He ſaid, an infant or a lunatick was in a real incapacity of ſtruggling with his guardians; but that if it was not ſo, the law that conſtituted their guardians would be of no force. He ſaid, if the Duke came to be King, the prerogative would by that veſt in him; and the Prince Regent and he muſt either ſtrike up a bargain, or it muſt end in a civil war, in which he believed the force of law would give the King the better of it. It was not to be denied but that there was ſome danger in this: But in the ill circumſtances in which we were no remedies could be propoſed that were without great inconveniences, and that were not liable to much danger. In the mean while both ſides were taking all the pains they could to fortify their party: And it was very viſible, that the ſide which was for the Excluſion was like to be the ſtrongeſt.

A new expedient of a Prince Regent.

A few days before the King went to *Oxford Fitzharris*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, was taken up for framing a malicious and treaſonable libel againſt the King and his whole Family. He had met with one *Everard*, who pretended to make diſcoveries, and as was thought had mixed a great deal of falſhood with ſome truth: But he held himſelf in general terms, and did not deſcend to ſo many particulars as the witneſſes had done. *Fitzharris* and he had been acquainted in *France:* So on that confidence he ſhewed him his libel: And he made an appointment to come to *Everard*'s chamber, who thought he intended to trepan him, and ſo had placed witneſſes to over-hear all that paſt. *Fitzharris* left the libel with him, all writ in his own hand: *Everard* went with the paper and with his witneſſes and informed againſt *Fitzharris*, who upon that was committed. But ſeeing the proof againſt him was like to be full, he ſaid, the libel was drawn by *Everard*, and only copied by himſelf: But he had no ſort of proof to ſupport this. *Corniſh* the Sheriff going to ſee him, he deſired he would bring him a Juſtice of Peace; for he could make a great diſcovery of the plot, far beyond all that was yet known. *Corniſh* in the ſimplicity of his heart went and acquainted the King with this: For which he was much blamed; for it was ſaid, by this means that diſcovery might have been ſtopt: But his going firſt with it to the Court proved afterwards a great happineſs both to himſelf and to many others. The Secretaries and ſome privy Counſellors were upon that ſent to examine *Fitzharris*; to whom he gave a long relation of a practice to kill the King, in which the Duke was concerned, with many other particulars which need not be mentioned; for it was all a fiction. The Secretaries came to him a ſecond time to examine him farther: He boldly ſtood

Fitzharris was taken.

1681. to all he had ſaid: And he deſired that ſome Juſtices of the City might be brought to him. So *Clayton* and *Treby* went to him: And he made the ſame pretended diſcovery to them over again; and inſinuated, that he was glad it was now in ſafe hands that would not ſtifle it. The King was highly offended with this, ſince it plainly ſhewed a diſtruſt of his miniſters: And ſo *Fitzharris* was removed to the Tower; which the Court reſolved to make the priſon for all offenders, till there ſhould be Sheriffs choſen more at the King's devotion. Yet the depoſition made to *Clayton* and *Treby* was in all points the ſame that he had made to the Secretaries: So that there was no colour for the pretence afterward put on this, as if they had practiſed on him.

The Parliament of *Oxford* was ſoon diſſolved.

The Parliament met at *Oxford* in *March*: The King opened it with ſevere reflections on the proceedings of the former Parliament. He ſaid, he was reſolved to maintain the ſucceſſion of the Crown in the right line: But for quieting his peoples fears he was willing to put the adminiſtration of the government into Proteſtants hands. This was explained by *Ernley* and *Littleton* to be meant of a Prince Regent, with whom the regal prerogative ſhould be lodged during the Duke's life. *Jones* and *Littleton* managed the debate on the grounds formerly mentioned: But in the end the propoſition was rejected; and they reſolved to go again to the bill of Excluſion, to the great joy of the Duke's party, who declared themſelves more againſt this than againſt the Excluſion it ſelf. The Commons reſolved likewiſe to take the management of *Fitzharris*'s affair out of the hands of the Court: So they carried to the Lords bar an impeachment againſt him, which was rejected by the Lords upon a pretence with which Lord *Nottingham* furniſhed them. It was this: *Edward* the third had got ſome Commoners to be condemned by the Lords; of which when the Houſe of Commons complained, an order was made, that no ſuch thing ſhould be done for the future. Now that related only to proceedings at the King's ſuit: But it could not be meant, that an impeachment from the Commons did not lie againſt a Commoner. Judges, Secretaries of State, and the Lord Keeper were often Commoners: So if this was good law, here was a certain method offered to the Court, to be troubled no more with impeachments, by employing only Commoners. In ſhort, the Peers ſaw the deſign of this impeachment, and were reſolved not to receive it: And ſo made uſe of this colour to reject it. Upon that the Commons paſt a vote, that juſtice was denied them by the Lords: And they alſo voted, that all thoſe who concurred in any ſort in trying *Fitzharris* in any other Court were betrayers of the liberties of their Country. By theſe ſteps which they had already made the King ſaw what might be expected from them: So very ſuddenly, and not very decently, he came to the Houſe of Lords, the Crown being carried between his feet in a ſedan: And he put on his robes in haſte, without any previous notice, and called up the Commons, and diſſolved the Parliament; and went with ſuch haſte to *Windſor*, that it looked as if he was afraid of the crouds that this meeting had brought to *Oxford*.

A great change in affairs.

Immediately upon this the Court took a new ply; and things went in another channel: Of which I go next to give as impartial an account, as I have hitherto given of the plot, and all that related to it. At this time the diſtinguiſhing names of *Whig* and *Tory* came to be the denominations of the parties. I have given a full account of all errours during this time with the more exactneſs, to warn poſterity from falling into the like exceſſes, and to make it appear how mad and fatal a thing it is to run violently into a torrent, and in a heat to do thoſe things which may give a general diſguſt, and to ſet precedents to others, when times turn, to juſtify their exceſſes by ſaying they do only follow the ſteps of thoſe who went before them. The ſhedding ſo much blood upon ſuch doubtful evidence was like to have proved fatal to him who drove all thoſe things on with the greateſt fury: I mean the Earl of *Shaftsbury* himſelf. And the ſtrange change that appeared over the Nation with relation to the Duke, from ſuch an eager proſecution of the Excluſion to an indecent courting and magnifying him, not without a viſible coldneſs towards the King in compariſon of him, ſhewed how little men could build on popular heats, which have their ebbings and flowings, and their hot and cold fits, almoſt as certainly as fits or fevers have. When ſuch changes happen, thoſe who have been as to the main with the ſide that is run down will be charged with all the errours of their ſide, how much ſoever they may have oppoſed them. I who had been always in diſtruſt of the witneſſes, and diſſatisfied with the whole method of proceedings, yet came to be

fallen on not only in pamphlets and poems, but even in ſermons, as if I had been an incendiary, and a main ſtickler againſt the Court, and in particular againſt the Duke. So upon this I went into a cloſer retirement: And to keep my mind from running after news and affairs, I ſet my ſelf to the ſtudy of Philoſophy and Algebra. I diverted my ſelf with many proceſſes in Chymiſtry: And I hope I went into the beſt exerciſes, from which I had been much diverted by the buſtling of a great town in ſo hot a time. I had been much truſted on both ſides: And that is a very dangerous ſtate; for a man may come upon that to be hated and ſuſpected by both. I withdrew much from all converſation: Only I lived ſtill in a particular confidence with the Lords *Eſſex* and *Ruſſel*. 1681.

The King's declaration.

The King ſet out a declaration for ſatisfying his people. He reckoned up in it all the hard things that had been done by the three laſt Parliaments; and ſet out their undutiful behaviour to himſelf in many inſtances: Yet in concluſion he aſſured his good ſubjects, that nothing ſhould ever alter his affection to the Proteſtant Religion as eſtabliſhed by law, nor his love to Parliaments: For he would have ſtill frequent Parliaments. When this paſt in Council, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* moved that an order ſhould be added to it, requiring the Clergy to publiſh it in all the Churches of *England*: This was looked on a moſt pernicious precedent, by which the Clergy were made the heralds to publiſh the King's declarations, which in ſome inſtances might come to be not only indecent but miſchievous. An anſwer was writ to the King's declaration with great ſpirit and true judgment. It was at firſt penned by *Sidney*: But a new draught was made by *Somers*, and corrected by *Jones*. The ſpirit of that ſide was now ſpent: So that this, tho' the beſt writ paper in all that time, yet had no great effect.

Addreſſes to the King from all parts of *England*.

The declaration raiſed over *England* a humour of making addreſſes to the King, as it were in anſwer to it. The Grand Juries and the bench of Juſtices in the counties, the cities and boroughs, the franchiſes and corporations, many manours, the companies in towns, and at laſt the very apprentices ſent up addreſſes. Of theſe ſome were more modeſtly penned, and only expreſſed their joy at the aſſurances they ſaw in the King's declaration; and concluded, that they upon that dedicated their lives and fortunes to his ſervice. But the greater number, and the moſt acceptable, were thoſe who declared they would adhere to the unalterable ſucceſſion of the Crown in the lineal and legal deſcent, and condemned the bill of Excluſion. Others went higher, and arraigned the late Parliaments as guilty of ſedition and treaſon. Some reflected ſeverely on the Non-conformiſts; and thanked the King for his not repealing that act of the thirty fifth of Queen *Elizabeth*, which they prayed might be put in execution. Some of the addreſſes were very high panegyricks, in which the King's perſon and government were much magnified. Many of thoſe who brought theſe up were knighted upon it: And all were well treated at Court. Many zealous healths were drunk among them: And in their cups the old valour and the ſwaggerings of the Cavaliers ſeemed to be revived. The Miniſters ſaw thro' this, and that it was an empty noiſe, and a falſe ſhew. But it was thought neceſſary then to encourage it. Tho' Lord *Hallifax* could not reſtrain himſelf from ſhewing his contempt of it, in a ſaying that was much repeated: He ſaid, the petitioners for a Parliament ſpit in the King's face, but the addreſſes ſpit in his mouth. As the country ſent up addreſſes, ſo the town ſent down pamphlets of all ſorts, to poſſeſs the Nation much againſt the late Parliament: And the Clergy ſtruck up to a higher note, with ſuch zeal for the Duke's ſucceſſion, as if a Popiſh King had been a ſpecial bleſſing from heaven, to be much longed for by a Proteſtant Church. They likewiſe gave themſelves ſuch a looſe againſt Non-conformiſts, as if nothing was ſo formidable as that party: So that in all their ſermons Popery was quite forgot, and the force of their zeal was turned almoſt wholly againſt the Diſſenters; who were now by order from the Court to be proceeded againſt according to law. There was alſo a great change made in the commiſſions all *England* over: None were left either on the Bench, or in the Militia, that did not with zeal go into the humour of the Court. And ſuch of the Clergy as would not engage in that fury were cried out upon as the betrayers of the Church, and as ſecret favourers of the Diſſenters. The truth is, the numbers of thoſe were not great: One obſerved right, that, according to the proverb in the Goſpel, *where the carcaſe is the Eagles will be gathered together*: The ſcent of preferment will draw aſpiring men after it.

Fitzharris's trial.

Fitzharris's trial came on in *Eaſter* Term: *Scroggs* was turned out, and *Pemberton* was made Chief Juſtice. His riſe was ſo particular, that it is worth the being re-

1681. membred: In his youth he mixed with ſuch leud company that he quickly ſpent all he had; and ran ſo deep in debt that he was caſt into a jayl, where he lay many years: But he followed his ſtudies ſo cloſe in the jayl, that he became one of the ableſt men of his profeſſion. He was not wholly for the Court: He had been a Judge before, and was turned out by *Scroggs*'s means: And now he was raiſed again, and was afterwards made Chief Juſtice of the other Bench: But not being compliant enough, he was turned out a ſecond time, when the Court would be ſerved by none but by men of a thorough paced obſequiouſneſs. *Fitzharris* pleaded the impeachment in Parliament: But ſince the Lords had thrown that out it was over-ruled. He pretended he could diſcover the ſecret of *Godfrey*'s murder: He ſaid, he heard the Earl of *Danby* ſay at *Windſor*, that it muſt be done: But when the Judge told the Grand Jury, that what was ſaid at *Windſor* did not lie before them, *Fitzharris* immediately ſaid, he had heard him ſay the ſame thing at *Whitehal*. This was very groſs: Yet upon ſo ſlight an evidence they found the bill againſt the Lord *Danby*. And when they were reproached with it, they ſaid a dubious evidence was a ſufficient ground for a Grand Jury: Yet another doctrine was ſet up by the ſame ſort of men within a few months.

Plunket an *Iriſh* Biſhop condemned and executed.

Plunket, the Popiſh Primate of *Armagh*, was at this time brought to his trial. Some leud *Iriſh* Prieſts, and others of that Nation, hearing that *England* was at that time diſpoſed to hearken to good ſwearers, thought themſelves well qualified for the employment: So they came over to ſwear, that there was a great plot in *Ireland*, to bring over a *French* army, and to maſſacre all the *Engliſh*. The witneſſes were brutal and profligate men: Yet the Earl of *Shaftsbury* cheriſhed them much. They were examined by the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*: And what they ſaid was believed. Upon that encouragement it was reckoned that we ſhould have witneſſes come over in whole companies. Lord *Eſſex* told me, that this *Plunket* was a wiſe and ſober man, who was always in a different intereſt from the two *Talbots*; the one of theſe being the titular Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and the other raiſed afterwards to be Duke of *Tyrconnell*. Theſe were meddling and factious men; whereas *Plunket* was for their living quietly, and in due ſubmiſſion to the government, without engaging into intrigues of State. Some of theſe Prieſts had been cenſured by him for their leudneſs: And they drew others to ſwear as they directed them. They had appeared the winter before upon a bill offered to the Grand Jury: But as the foreman of the Jury, who was a zealous Proteſtant, told me, they contradicted one another ſo evidently, that they would not find the bill. But now they laid their ſtory better together; and ſwore againſt *Plunket*, that he had got a great bank of money to be prepared, and that he had an army liſted, and was in a correſpondence with *France* to bring over a fleet from thence. He had nothing to ſay in his own defence, but to deny all: So he was condemned; and ſuffered very decently, expreſſing himſelf in many particulars as became a Biſhop. He died denying every thing that had been ſworn againſt him.

Fitzharris was tried next: And the proof was ſo full that he was caſt. He moved in Court that I might be ordered to come to him, upon what reaſon I could never imagine: A rule was made that I might ſpeak to him in the preſence of the Lieutenant of the Tower. I went to him, and preſſed him vehemently to tell the truth, and not to deceive himſelf with falſe hopes. I charged him with the improbabilities of his diſcovery; and laid home to him the ſin of perjury, chiefly in matters of blood, ſo fully, that the Lieutenant of the Tower made a very juſt report of it to the King, as the King himſelf told me afterwards. When he ſaw there was no hope, he ſaid the Lord *Howard* was the author of the libel. *Howard* was ſo ill thought of, that, it being known that there was a familiarity between *Fitzharris* and him, it was apprehended from the beginning that he was concerned in it. I had ſeen him in Lord *Howard*'s company, and had told him how indecent it was to have ſuch a man about him: He ſaid he was in want, and was as honeſt as his Religion would ſuffer him to be. I found out afterwards, that he was a ſpy of the Lady *Portſmouth*'s: And that he had carried Lord *Howard* to her: And, as Lord *Howard* himſelf told me, ſhe brought the King to talk with him twice or thrice. The King, as he ſaid, entred into a particular ſcheme with him of the new frame of his Miniſtry in caſe of an agreement, which ſeemed to him to be very near. As ſoon as I ſaw the libel I was ſatisfied that Lord *Howard* was not concerned in it: It was ſo ill drawn, and ſo little diſguiſed in the treaſonable part, that none but a man of the loweſt form could be capable of making it. The report of Lord *Howard*'s being

charged

charged with this was over the whole Town a day before any warrant was ſent out againſt him; which made it appear, that the Court had a mind to give him time to go out of the way. He came to me, and ſolemnly vowed he was not at all concerned in that matter: So I adviſed him not to ſtir from home. He was committed that night: I had no liking to the mans temper: Yet he inſinuated himſelf ſo into me, that without being rude to him it was not poſſible to avoid him. He was a man of a pleaſant converſation: But he railed ſo indecently both at the King and the Clergy, that I was very uneaſy in his company: Yet now, during his impriſonment, I did him all the ſervice I could. But *Algernoon Sidney* took his concerns and his family ſo to heart, and managed every thing relating to him with that zeal, and that care, that none but a monſter of ingratitude could have made him the return that he did afterwards. When the bill againſt Lord *Howard* was brought to the Grand Jury, *Fitzharris*'s wife and maid were the two witneſſes againſt him: But they did ſo evidently forſwear themſelves, that the Attorney General withdrew it. Lord *Howard* lay in the Tower till the Michaelmas term; and came out by the *Habeas Corpus*. I went no more to *Fitzharris*: But *Hawkins* the Miniſter of the Tower took him into his management; and prevailed with him not only to deny all his former diſcovery, but to lay it on *Clayton*, *Treby*, and the Sheriffs, as a ſubornation of theirs, tho' it was evident that was impoſſible to be true. Yet at the ſame time he writ letters to his wife, who was not then admitted to him, which I ſaw and read, in which he told her, how he was practiſed upon with the hopes of life. He charged her to ſwear falſly againſt none: One of theſe was writ that very morning in which he ſuffered: And yet before he was led out he ſigned a new paper containing the former charge of ſubornation, and put it in *Hawkins*'s hands. And at *Tyburn* he referred all he had to ſay to that paper, which was immediately publiſhed: But the falſhood of it was ſo very notorious, that it ſhewed what a ſort of man *Hawkins* was: Yet he was ſoon after rewarded for this with the Deanry of *Chicheſter*. But when the Court heard what letters *Fitzharris* had writ to his wife they were confounded: And all farther diſcourſe about him was ſtifled. But the Court practiſed on her by the promiſe of a penſion ſo far, that ſhe delivered up her husband's letters to them. But ſo many had ſeen them before that, that this baſe practice turned much to the reproach of all their proceedings. 1681.

Practices upon *Fitzharris* at his death.

Soon after this *Dugdale*, *Turbervill*, *Smith*, and the *Iriſh* witneſſes came under another management; and they diſcovered a plot laid againſt the King to be executed at *Oxford*. The King was to be killed, and the government was to be changed. One *Colledge*, a Joyner by trade, was an active and hot man, and came to be known by the name of the Proteſtant Joyner. He was firſt ſeized on: And the witneſſes ſwore many treaſonable ſpeeches againſt him: He was believed to have ſpoken oft with great indecency of the King, and with a ſort of threatning, that they would make him paſs the bill of Excluſion. But a deſign to ſeize on the King was ſo notorious a falſhood, that notwithſtanding all that the witneſſes ſwore the Grand Jury returned *Ignoramus* upon the bill. Upon this the Court cried out againſt the Juries now returned, that they would not do the King juſtice, tho' the matter of the bill was ſworn by witneſſes whoſe teſtimony was well believed a few months before: It was commonly ſaid, theſe Juries would believe every thing one way, and nothing the other. If they had found the bill, ſo that *Colledge* had been tried upon it, he would have been certainly ſaved: But ſince the witneſſes ſwore that he went to *Oxford* on that deſign, he was triable there. *North* went to *Oxford*, *Colledge* being carried thither: And he tried him there. *North*'s behaviour in that whole matter was ſuch, that probably, if he had lived to ſee an impeaching Parliament, he might have felt the ill effects of it. The witneſſes ſwore ſeveral treaſonable words againſt *Colledge*, and that his coming to *Oxford* was in order to the executing theſe: So here was an over-act. *Colledge* was upon a negative: So he had nothing to ſay for himſelf, but to ſhew how little credit was due to the witneſſes. He was condemned, and ſuffered with great conſtancy, and with appearances of devotion. He denied all the treaſonable matter that had been ſworn againſt him, or that he knew of any plot againſt the King. He confeſſed, that a great heat of temper had carried him to many undutiful expreſſions of the King: But he proteſted he was in no deſign againſt him. And now the Court intended to ſet the witneſſes to ſwear againſt all the hot party; which was plainly murder in them, who believed them falſe witneſſes, and yet made uſe of them to deſtroy others. One paſſage happened at *Colledge*'s trial, which quite

A Proteſtant plot.

Colledge condemned, and died upon it.

1681. quite ſunk *Dugdale*'s credit: It was objected to him by *Colledge*, to take away his credit, that, when by his leudneſs he had got the *French Pox*, he to cover that gave it out that he was poiſoned by Papiſts: Upon which he, being then in Court, proteſted ſolemnly that he never had that diſeaſe; and ſaid, that if it could be proved by any phyſician that he ever had it, he was content that all the evidence he had ever given ſhould be diſcredited for ever. And he was taken at his word: For *Lower*, who was then the moſt celebrated phyſician in *London*, proved at the Council board that he had been under cure in his hands for that diſeaſe; which was made out both by his bills, and by the Apothecary that ſerved them. So he was never more heard of.

Shaftsbury ſent to the Tower.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* was committed next, and ſent to the Tower upon the evidence of the *Iriſh* witneſſes. His papers were at the ſame time ſeized on and ſearched: Nothing material was found among them, but a draught of an aſſociation, by which the King, if it had taken place, would have reigned only at the diſcretion of the party. This was neither writ, nor marked in any place with his hand: But, when there was a talk of an aſſociation, ſome had formed this paper, and brought it to him; of which he always profeſſed, after the matter was over, that he remembred nothing at all. So it is probable, that, as is ordinary when any great buſineſs is before the Parliament that zealous men are at the doors with their ſeveral draughts, this was one of theſe caſt careleſly by, and not thought on by him when he had ſent his more valuable papers out of the way. There was likewiſe but one witneſs that could ſwear to its being found there: And that was the Clerk of the Council, who had peruſed thoſe papers without marking them in the preſence of any witneſs, as taken among Lord *Shaftsbury*'s papers.

Practices upon witneſſes.

There was all this ſummer ſtrange practiſing with witneſſes to find more matter againſt him: *Wilkinſon*, a priſoner for debt that had been often with him, was dealt with to accuſe him. The Court had found out two ſollicitors to manage ſuch matters, *Burton* and *Graham*, who were indeed fitter men to have ſerved in a court of inquiſition than in a legal government. It was known, that Lord *Shaftsbury* was apt to talk very freely, and without diſcretion: So the two ſollicitors ſought out all that had frequented his company; and tried what they could draw from them, not by a barefaced ſubornation, but by telling them, they knew well that Lord *Shaftsbury* had talked ſuch and ſuch things, which they named, that were plainly treaſonable; and they required them to atteſt it, if they did ever hear ſuch things from him: And they made them great promiſes upon their telling the truth. So that they gave hints and made promiſes to ſuch as by ſwearing boldly would deſerve them, and yet kept themſelves out of danger of ſubornation, having witneſſes in ſome corner of their chambers that over-heard all their diſcourſe. This was their common practice, of which I had a particular account from ſome whom they examined with relation to my ſelf. In all this foul dealing the King himſelf was believed to be the chief director: And Lord *Hallifax* was thought deep in it, tho' he always expreſſed an abhorrence of ſuch practices to me.

I was then offered preferment.

His reſentments wrought ſo violently on him, that he ſeemed to be gone off from all his former notions. He preſſed me vehemently to accept of preferment at Court; and ſaid, if I would give him leave to make promiſes in my name, he could obtain for me any preferment I pleaſed. But I would enter into no engagements. I was contented with the condition I was in, which was above neceſſity, tho' below envy. The maſterſhip of the Temple was like to fall, and I liked that better than any thing elſe. So both Lord *Hallifax* and Lord *Clarendon* moved the King in it. He promiſed I ſhould have it. Upon which Lord *Hallifax* carried me to the King. I had reaſon to believe, that he was highly diſpleaſed with me for what I had done a year before. Mrs. *Roberts*, whom he had kept for ſome time, ſent for me when ſhe was a dying: I ſaw her often for ſome weeks, and among other things I deſired her to write a letter to the King, expreſſing the ſenſe ſhe had of her paſt life: And at her deſire I drew ſuch a letter, as might be fit for her to write: But ſhe never had ſtrength enough to write it: So upon that I reſolved to write a very plain letter to the King: I ſet before him his paſt life, and the effects it had on the Nation, with the judgments of God that lay on him, which was but a ſmall part of the puniſhment that he might look for: I preſſed him upon that earneſtly to change the whole courſe of his life: I carried this letter to *Chiffinch*'s on the twenty ninth of *January*, and told the King in the letter, that I hoped the reflexions on what had befallen his

his Father on the thirtieth of *January* might move him to conſider theſe things more carefully. Lord *Arran* happened to be then in waiting: And he came to me next day, and told me, he was ſure the King had a long letter from me; for he held the candle to him while he read it: He knew at all that diſtance that it was my hand: The King read it twice over, and then threw it into the fire: And not long after Lord *Arran* took occaſion to name me: And the King ſpoke of me with great ſharpneſs: So he perceived that he was not pleaſed with my letter. Nor was the King pleaſed with my being ſent for by *Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*, when he died: He fancied, that he had told me many things, of which I might make an ill uſe: Yet he had read the book that I writ concerning him, and ſpoke well of it. In this ſtate I was in the King's thoughts, when Lord *Halliſax* carried me to him, and introduced me with a very extraordinary compliment, that he did not bring me to the King to put me in his good opinion ſo much as to put the King in my good opinion: And added, he hoped that the King would not only take me into his favour, but into his heart. The King had a peculiar faculty of ſaying obliging things with a very good grace: Among other things he ſaid, he knew that, if I pleaſed, I could ſerve him very conſiderably; and that he deſired no ſervice from me longer than he continued true to the Church and to the Law. Lord *Halliſax* upon that added, that the King knew he ſerved him on the ſame terms, and was to make his ſtops. The King and he fell into ſome diſcourſe about Religion. Lord *Halliſax* ſaid to the King, that he was the head of his Church: To which the King anſwered, that he did not deſire to be the head of nothing; for indeed he was of no Church. From that the King run out into much diſcourſe about Lord *Shaftsbury*, who was ſhortly to be tried: He complained with great ſcorn of the imputation of ſubornation that was caſt on himſelf. He ſaid, he did not wonder that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was ſo guilty of thoſe practices, ſhould faſten them on others. The diſcourſe laſted half an hour very hearty and free: So I was in favour again. But I could not hold it. I was told I kept ill company: The perſons Lord *Halliſax* named to me were the Earl of *Eſſex*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and *Jones*. But I ſaid, I would upon no conſideration give over converſing with my friends: So I was where I was before.

1681.

Halliſax carried me to the King.

A bill of indictment was preſented to the Grand Jury againſt Lord *Shaftsbury*. The Jury was compoſed of many of the chief citizens of *London*. The witneſſes were examined in open Court, contrary to the uſual cuſtom: The witneſſes ſwore many incredible things againſt him, mixed with other things that looked very like his extravagant way of talking. The draught of the aſſociation was alſo brought as a proof of his treaſon, tho' it was not laid in the indictment, and was proved only by one witneſs. The Jury returned *Ignoramus* upon the bill. Upon this the Court did declaim with open mouth againſt theſe Juries; in which they ſaid the ſpirit of the party did appear, ſince men even upon oath ſhewed they were reſolved to find bills or *Ignoramus*, as they pleaſed, without regarding the evidence. And upon this a new ſet of addreſſes went round the Kingdom, in which they expreſſed their abhorrence of that aſſociation found in Lord *Shaftsbury*'s cabinet; and complained, that Juſtice was denied the King; which were ſet off with all the fulſom rhetorick that the penners could varniſh them with. It was upon this occaſion ſaid, that the Grand Jury ought to find bills even upon dubious evidence, much more when plain treaſon was ſworn; ſince all they did in finding a bill was only to bring the perſon to his trial, and then the falſhood of the witneſſes was to be detected. But in defence of theſe *Ignoramus* Juries it was ſaid, that by the expreſs words of their oath they were bound to make true preſentments of what ſhould appear true to them: And therefore, if they did not believe the evidence, they could not find a bill, tho' ſworn to. A book was writ to ſupport that, in which both law and reaſon were brought to confirm it: It paſt as writ by Lord *Eſſex*, tho' I underſtood afterwards it was writ by *Somers*, who was much eſteemed and often viſited by Lord *Eſſex*, and who truſted himſelf to him, and writ the beſt papers that came out in that time. It is true, by the practice that had generally prevailed, Grand Juries were eaſy in finding bills upon a ſlight and probable evidence. But it was made out, that the words of their oath, and the reaſon of the law ſeemed to oblige them to make no preſentments but ſuch as they believed to be true. On the other hand a private ill opinion of a witneſs, or the looking on a matter as incredible, did not ſeem to warrant the return of an *Ignoramus*: That ſeemed to belong to the Jury of life and death. The chief complaint that was made in the addreſſes was grounded on

Shaftsbury was acquitted by the Grand Jury.

1681. their not finding the bill on the account of the draught of the aſſociation: And this was in many reſpects very unreaſonable. For as that was not laid in the bill, ſo there was but one witneſs to prove it; nor did the matter of the paper riſe up to the charge of high treaſon. And now *Dugdale* and *Turbervill*, who had been the witneſſes upon whoſe evidence Lord *Stafford* was condemned, being within a year detected, or at leaſt ſuſpected of this villany, I could not but reflect on what he ſaid to me, that he was confident I ſhould ſee within a year that the witneſſes would be found to be rogues.

1682. As to *Turbervill*, what happened ſoon after this will perhaps mitigate the cenſure: He was taken with the ſmall pox in a few days after Lord *Shaftsbury*'s trial. The ſymptoms were ſo bad, that the phyſician told him he had no hope of his recovery. Upon which he compoſed himſelf to die as became a Chriſtian, and ſent for Mr. *Hewes* the Curate of St. *Martins*, who was a very worthy man, and from whom I had this account of him. *Turbervill* looked on himſelf as a dead man at the firſt time he came to him: But his diſeaſe did no way affect his underſtanding or his memory. He ſeemed to have a real ſenſe of another ſtate, and of the account that he was to give to God for his paſt life. *Hewes* charged him to examine himſelf; and if he had ſworn falſly againſt any man, to confeſs his ſin and glorify God, tho' to his own ſhame. *Turbervill*, both in diſcourſe and when he received the ſacrament, proteſted that he had ſworn nothing but the truth, in what he depoſed both againſt Lord *Stafford* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and renounced the mercies of God, and the benefit of the death of *Chriſt*, if he did not ſpeak the plain and naked truth without any reſervation: And he continued in the ſame mind to his death. So here were the laſt words of dying men, againſt the laſt words of thoſe that ſuffered. To this may well be added, that one who died of ſickneſs, and under a great depreſſion in his ſpirits, was leſs able to ſtifle his conſcience, and reſiſt the impreſſions that it might then make on him, than a man who ſuffers on a ſcaffold, where the ſtrength of the natural ſpirits is entire, or rather exalted by the ſenſe of the cauſe he ſuffers for. And we know that confeſſion and abſolution in the Church of *Rome* give a quiet, to which we do not pretend, where theſe things are ſaid to be only miniſterial, and not authoritative. About a year before this *Tonge* had died, who firſt brought out *Oates*. They quarrelled afterwards: And *Tonge* came to have a very bad opinion of *Oates*, upon what reaſon I know not. He died with expreſſions of a very high devotion: And he proteſted to all who came to ſee him, that he knew of no ſubornation in all that matter, and that he was guilty of none himſelf. Theſe things put a man quite in the dark: And in this miſt matters muſt be left till the great revelation of all ſecrets. And there I leave it: And from the affairs of *England* turn to give an account of what paſt in *Scotland* during this diſorder among us here.

Turbervill's death.

The affairs in *Scotland*.

The Duke behaved himſelf upon his firſt going to *Scotland* in ſo obliging a manner, that the Nobility and Gentry, who had been ſo long trodden on by Duke *Lauderdale* and his party, found a very ſenſible change: So that he gained much on them all. He continued ſtill to ſupport that ſide: Yet things were ſo gently carried, that there was no cauſe of complaint. It was viſibly his intereſt to make that Nation ſure to him, and to give them ſuch an eſſay of his government, as might diſſipate all the hard thoughts of him with which the world was poſſeſſed: And he purſued this for ſome time with great temper and as great ſucceſs. He adviſed the Biſhops to proceed moderately, and to take no notice of Conventicles in houſes; and that would put an end to thoſe in the fields. In matters of juſtice he ſhewed an impartial temper, and encouraged all propoſitions relating to trade: And ſo, conſidering how much that Nation was ſet againſt his Religion, he made a greater progreſs in gaining upon them than was expected. He was adviſed to hold a Parliament there in ſummer eighty one, and to take the character of the King's Commiſſioner upon himſelf.

A ſtrange ſpirit of fury had broke looſe on ſome of the Presbyterians, called *Cargillites* from one *Cargill* that had been one of the Miniſters of *Glaſgow* in the former times, and was then very little conſidered, but now was much followed to the great reproach of the Nation. Theſe held that the King had loſt the right of the Crown by his breaking the Covenant, which he had ſworn at his Coronation: So they ſaid, he was their King no more: And by a formal declaration they renounced all allegiance to him, which a party of them affixed to the croſs of *Dunfrieze*, a Town near the weſt border. The guards fell upon a party of them, whom they found in arms, where

where *Cameron* one of their furious teachers (from whom they were alſo called *Cameronians*) was killed: But *Hackſton*, that was one of the Archbiſhop's murderers, and *Cargill* were taken. *Hackſton*, when brought before the Council would not own their authority, nor make any anſwer to their queſtions. He was ſo low by reaſon of his wounds, that it was thought he would die in the queſtion if tortured: So he was in a very ſummary way condemned to have both his hands cut off, and then to be hanged. All this he ſuffered with a conſtancy that amazed all people; He ſeemed to be all the while as in an enthuſiaſtical rapture, and inſenſible of what was done to him. When his hands were cut off, he asked, like one unconcerned, if his feet muſt be cut off likewiſe: And he had ſo ſtrong a heart, that notwithſtanding all the loſs of blood by his wounds, and the cutting off his hands, yet when he was hanged up, and his heart cut out, it continued to palpitate ſome time after it was on the Hangman's knife, as ſome Eye-witneſſes aſſured me. *Cargill* and many others of that mad ſect, both men and women, ſuffered with an obſtinacy that was ſo particular, that tho' the Duke ſent the offer of pardon to them on the Scaffold, if they would only ſay, God bleſs the King, it was refuſed with great neglect: One of them, a woman, ſaid very calmly, ſhe was ſure God would not bleſs him, and that therefore ſhe would not take God's name in vain: Another ſaid more ſullenly, that ſhe would not worſhip that idol, nor acknowledge any other King but *Chriſt*: And ſo both were hanged. About fifteen or ſixteen died under this deluſion, which ſeemed to be a ſort of madneſs: For they never attempted any thing againſt any perſon: Only they ſeemed glad to ſuffer for their opinions. The Duke ſtopt that proſecution, and appointed them to be put in a houſe of correction, and to be kept at hard labour. Great uſe was made of this by prophane people to diſparage the ſuffering of the Martyrs for the Chriſtian faith, from the unſhaken conſtancy which theſe frantick people expreſſed. But this is undeniable, that men who die maintaining any opinion, ſhew that they are firmly perſuaded of it: So from this the Martyrs of the firſt age, who died for aſſerting a matter of fact, ſuch as the reſurrection of *Chriſt*, or the miracles that they had ſeen, ſhewed that they were well perſuaded of the truth of thoſe facts. And that is all the uſe that is to be made of this argument. 1682.

A Parliament in *Scotland*.

Now the time of the ſitting of the Parliament drew on. The Duke ſeeing how great a man the Earl of *Argile* was in *Scotland*, concluded it was neceſſary for him either to gain him or to ruin him. Lord *Argile* gave him all poſſible aſſurances that he would adhere to his intereſt in every thing, except in the matters of Religion: But added, that if he went to meddle with theſe, he owned to him freely that he would oppoſe him all he could. This was well enough taken in ſhew: But Lord *Argile* ſaid, he obſerved ever after that ſuch a viſible coldneſs and diſtruſt, that he ſaw what he might expect from him. Some moved the excepting againſt the Duke's Commiſſion to repreſent the King in Parliament, ſince by law no man could execute any office without taking the oaths: And above forty members of Parliament promiſed to ſtick to Duke *Hamilton* if he would inſiſt on that. But *Lockhart* and *Cunningham*, the two lawyers on whoſe opinion they depended chiefly, ſaid, that a Commiſſion to repreſent the King's perſon fell not under the notion of an office: And ſince it was not expreſly named in the acts of Parliament, they thought it did not fall within the general words of *all places and offices of truſt*. So this was laid aſide: And many who were offended at it complained of Duke *Hamilton*'s cowardiſe. He ſaid for himſelf, he had been in a ſtorm of ſeven years continuance by his oppoſing Duke *Lauderdale*, and that he would not engage in a new one with a ſtronger party, unleſs he was ſure of the majority: And they were far from pretending to be able to bring matters to near an equality. The firſt act that paſs'd was one of three lines, confirming all the laws formerly made againſt Popery: The Duke thought it would give a good grace to all that ſhould be done afterwards, to begin with ſuch a general and cold confirmation of all former laws. Some moved, that a Committee might be appointed to examine all the former laws, (ſince ſome of them ſeemed unreaſonably ſevere, as paſt in the firſt heat of the Reformation,) that ſo they might draw out of them all ſuch as might be fit not only to be confirmed, but to be executed by better and properer methods than thoſe preſcribed in the former ſtatutes, which had been all eluded. But it was not intended that this new confirmation ſhould have any effect: And therefore this motion was not hearkned to. But the act was hurried on, and paſs'd.

The next act was for the unalterableneſs of the ſucceſſion of the Crown. It was declared high treaſon ever to move for any alterations in it. Lord *Argile* ran into this, with

1682. with zeal: So did Duke *Hamilton*. And all others that intended to merit by it made harangues about it. Lord *Tweedale* was the only man that ventured to move, that the act might be made as ſtrict as was poſſible with relation to the Duke: But he thought it not neceſſary to carry it further; ſince the Queen of *Spain* ſtood ſo near the ſucceſſion, and it was no amiable thing to be a province to *Spain*. Many were ſo ignorant as not to underſtand the relation of the Queen of *Spain* to the King, tho' ſhe was his niece, and thought it an extravagant motion. He was not ſeconded: And the act paſt without one contradictory vote. There was an additional revenue given for ſome years for keeping up more troops. Some complaints were alſo made of the Lords of regalities, who have all the forfeitures and the power of life and death within their regalities. It was upon that promiſed, that there ſhould be a regulation of theſe Courts, as there was indeed great cauſe for it, theſe Lords being ſo many tyrants up and down the country: So it was intended to ſubject theſe juriſdictions to the ſupream Judicatories. But the act was penned in ſuch words, as imported that the whole courſe of juſtice all over the Kingdom was made ſubject to the King's will and pleaſure: So that inſtead of appeals to the ſupream Courts, all was made to end in a perſonal appeal to the King: And by this means he was made maſter of the whole juſtice and property of the Kingdom. There was not much time given to conſider things: For the Duke, finding that he was maſter of a clear majority, drove on every thing faſt, and put bills on a very ſhort debate to the vote, which went always as he had a mind to it. An accident happened that begot in many a particular zeal to merit at his hands: Lord *Rothes*, who had much of his confidence, and was chiefly truſted by him, and was made a Duke by his means, died the day before the opening of the Parliament: So upon the hopes of ſucceeding him, as there were many pretenders, they tried who could deſerve it beſt by the moſt compliant ſubmiſſion, and the moſt active zeal.

Several accuſations of perjury ſtifled by the Duke.

As they were going on in publick buſineſs, one ſtood up in Parliament and accuſed Lord *Halton*, Duke *Lauderdale*'s brother of perjury, on the account of *Mitchell*'s buſineſs: He had in his hands the two letters that Lord *Halton* had writ to the Earl of *Kincardin*, mentioning the promiſe of life that was made him: And, as was told formerly, Lord *Halton* ſwore at his trial that no promiſe was made. The Lord *Kincardin* was dead a year before this: But his Lady had delivered thoſe letters to be made uſe of againſt Lord *Halton*. Upon reading them the matter appeared plain. The Duke was not ill pleaſed to have both Duke *Lauderdale* and him thus at mercy: Yet he would not ſuffer the matter to be determined in a parliamentary way: So he moved, that the whole thing might be referred to the King; which was immediately agreed to. So that infamous buſineſs was made publick, and yet ſtifled at the ſame time: And no cenſure was ever put on that baſe action. Another diſcovery was made of as wicked a conſpiracy, tho' it had not ſuch bad effects, becauſe the tools employed in it could not be wrought up to ſuch a determined pitch of wickedneſs. The Lord *Bargeny*, who was nephew to Duke *Hamilton*, had been clapt up in priſon, as concerned in the rebellion of *Bothwell-Bridge*. Several days were fixed on for his trial: But it was always put off. And at laſt he was let out without having any one thing ever objected to him. When he was at liberty he uſed all poſſible endeavours to find out on what grounds he had been committed. At laſt he diſcovered a conſpiracy, in which *Halton*, and ſome others of that party were concerned: They had practiſed on ſome who had been in that rebellion, to ſwear that he and ſeveral others were engaged in it, and that they had ſent them out to join in it. They promiſed theſe witneſſes a large ſhare of the confiſcated eſtates, if they went thro' in the buſineſs. Depoſitions were prepared for them: And they promiſed to ſwear them: Upon which a day was fixed for their trial. But the hearts of thoſe witneſſes failed them, or their conſciences roſe upon them: So that when the day came on, they could not bring themſelves to ſwear againſt an innocent man; and plainly refuſed to do it: Yet, upon new practices and new hopes, they again reſolved to ſwear boldly: Upon which new days had been ſet twice or thrice: And, their hearts turning againſt it, they were ſtill put off. Lord *Bargeny* had full proofs of all this ready to be offered: But the Duke prevailed to have this likewiſe referred to the King: And it was never more heard of. This ſhewed what Duke *Lauderdale*'s party were capable of. It likewiſe gave an ill character of the Duke's zeal for juſtice, and againſt falſe ſwearing; tho' that had been the chief topick of diſcourſe with him for above three years. He was angry at a ſuppoſed practice with witneſſes, when it fell upon his own party: But now that there were

were evident proofs of perjury and ſubornation, he ſtopt proceedings under pretence of referring it to the King; who was never made acquainted with it, or at leaſt never enquired after the proof of theſe allegations, nor ordered any proceedings upon them. 1682.

The main buſineſs of this Parliament was the act concerning the new teſt that was propoſed. It had been promiſed in the beginning of the ſeſſion, that as ſoon as an act for maintaining the ſucceſſion ſhould paſs they ſhould have all the ſecurity that they could deſire for the Proteſtant Religion. So, many zealous men began to call for ſome more effectual ſecurity for their Religion: Upon which a teſt was propoſed for all that ſhould be capable of any office in Church or State, or of electing or being elected members of Parliament, that they ſhould adhere firmly to the Proteſtant Religion; to which the Court party added, the condemning of all reſiſtance in any ſort, or under any pretence, the renouncing the Covenant, and an obligation to defend all the King's rights and prerogatives, and that they ſhould never meet to treat of any matter civil or eccleſiaſtical but by the King's permiſſion, and never endeavour any alteration in the government in Church or State: And they were to ſwear all this according to the literal ſenſe of the words. The teſt was thus loaded at firſt to make the other ſide grow weary of the motion and let it fall, which they would willingly have done. But the Duke was made to apprehend, that he would find ſuch a teſt as this prove much for his ſervice: So it ſeems, that article of the Proteſtant Religion was forgiven for the ſervice that was expected from the other parts of the teſt. There was a hot debate upon the impoſing it on all that might elect or be elected members of Parliament: It was ſaid, that was the moſt eſſential of all the privileges of the ſubjects, therefore they ought not be limited in it. The Biſhops were earneſt for this, which they thought would ſecure them for ever from a Presbyterian Parliament. It was carried in the vote: And that made many of the Court more zealous than ever for carrying thro' the act. Some propoſed that there ſhould be two teſts: One for Papiſts with higher incapacities: And another for Preſbyterians with milder cenſures. But that was rejected with much ſcorn, ſome making their Court by ſaying, they were more in danger from the Presbyterians than from the Papiſts: And it was reported that *Paterſon*, then Biſhop of *Edenburgh*, ſaid to the Duke, that he thought the two Religions, Popiſh and Proteſtant, were ſo equally ſtated in his mind, that a few grains of loyalty, in which the Proteſtants had the better of the Papiſts, turned the balance with him. Another clauſe in the bill was liable to great objections: All the Royal Family were excepted out of it. Lord *Argile* ſpoke zealouſly againſt this: He ſaid, the only danger we could apprehend as to Popery was, if any of the Royal Family ſhould happen to be perverted: Therefore he thought it was better to have no act at all than ſuch a clauſe in it. Some few ſeconded him: But it was carried without any conſiderable oppoſition. The niceſt point of all was, what definition or ſtandard ſhould be made for fixing the ſenſe of ſo general a term, as the Proteſtant Religion. *Dalrymple* propoſed the confeſſion of faith agreed on in the year one thouſand five hundred fifty nine, and enacted in Parliament in one thouſand five hundred ſixty ſeven, which was the only confeſſion of faith that had then the ſanction of a law. That was a book ſo worn out of uſe, that ſcarce any one in the whole Parliament had ever read it: None of the Biſhops had, as appeared afterwards. For theſe laſt thirty years the only confeſſion of faith that was read in *Scotland*, was that which the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter Anno* 1648 had ſet out, which the *Scottiſh* Kirk had ſet up inſtead of the old one: And the Biſhops had left it in poſſeſſion, tho' the authority that enacted it was annulled. So here a book was made the matter of an oath, (for they were to ſwear that they would adhere to the Proteſtant Religion, as it was declared in the confeſſion of faith enacted in the year 1567, that contained a large ſyſtem of Religion, that was not ſo much as known to thoſe who enacted it: Yet the Biſhops went all into it. *Dalrymple*, who had read it, thought there were propoſitions in it, which being conſidered better of would make the teſt be let fall: For in it the repreſſing of tyranny is reckoned a duty incumbent on good ſubjects. And the confeſſion being made after the *Scots* had depoſed the Queen Regent, and it being ratified in Parliament after they had forced their Queen *Mary* to reſign, it was very plain what they who made and enacted this confeſſion meant by the repreſſing of tyranny. But the Duke and his party ſet it on ſo earneſtly, that upon one day's debate the act paſt, tho' only by a majority of ſeven voices. There was ſome appearance of ſecurity to the Pro-

A teſt enacted in Parliament.

1682. teſtant Religion by this teſt: But the prerogative of the Crown in eccleſiaſtical matters had been raiſed ſo high by Duke *Lauderdale*'s act, that the obliging all people to maintain that with the reſt of the prerogative, might have made way for every thing. All eccleſiaſtical Courts ſubſiſted now by this teſt only upon the King's permiſſion, and at his diſcretion.

The Parliament of *Scotland* was diſſolved ſoon after this act paſt: And *Hyde* was ſent down from the King to the Duke immediately upon it. It was given out, that he was ſent by the King to preſs the Duke upon this victory to ſhew, that what ill uſage could not extort from him he would now do of his own accord, and return to the Church of *England*. I was aſſured, that Lord *Hallifax* had prevailed with the King to write to him to that purpoſe: The letter was writ, but was not ſent: But Lord *Hyde* had it in charge to manage it as a meſſage. How much of this is true I cannot tell: One thing is certain, that if it was true it had no effect.

As ſoon as the teſt with the confeſſion of faith was printed, there was a univerſal murmuring among the beſt of the Clergy. Many were againſt the ſwearing to a ſyſtem made up of ſo many propoſitions, of which ſome were at leaſt doubtful; tho' it was found to be much more moderate in many points, than could have been well expected conſidering the heat of that time. There was a limitation put on the duty of ſubjects in the article, by which they were required not to reſiſt any whom God had placed in authority in theſe words, *while they paſs not the bounds of their office*: And in another they condemned thoſe who reſiſt the ſupream power *doing that thing which appertaineth to his charge*. Theſe were propoſitions now of a very ill ſound: They were alſo highly offended at the great extent of the prerogative in the point of ſupremacy, by which the King turned Biſhops out at pleaſure by a letter. It was hard enough to bear this: But it ſeemed intolerable to oblige men by oath to maintain it. The King might by a Proclamation put down even Epiſcopacy it ſelf, as the law then ſtood: And by this oath they would be bound to maintain that. All meeting in Synods, or for Ordinations, were hereafter to be held only by permiſſion: So that all the viſible ways of preſerving Religion depended now wholly on the King's good pleaſure: And they ſaw that this would be a very feeble tenure under a Popiſh King. The being tied to all this by oath ſeemed very hard. And when a Church was yet in ſo imperfect a ſtate without liturgy or diſcipline, it was a ſtrange impoſition to make people ſwear never to endeavour any alteration either in Church or State. Some or all of theſe exceptions did run ſo generally thro' the whole body of the Clergy, that they were all ſhaking in their reſolutions. To prevent this, an explanation was drawn by Biſhop *Paterſon*, and paſt in Council. It was by it declared, that it was not meant that thoſe who took the teſt ſhould be bound to every article in the confeſſion of faith, but only in ſo far as it contained the doctrine upon which the Proteſtant Churches had ſettled the reformation: And that the teſt did not cut off thoſe rights, which were acknowledged to have been in the primitive Church for the firſt three hundred years after *Chriſt*: And an aſſurance was given, that the King intended never to change the government of the Church. By this it was pretended that the greateſt difficulties were now removed. But to this it was anſwered, that they were to ſwear they took the oath in the literal ſenſe of the words. So that, if this explanation was not conform to the literal ſenſe, they would be perjured who took it upon this explanation. The impoſers of an oath could only declare the ſenſe of it: But that could not be done by any other, much leſs by a lower authority, ſuch as the privy Council was confeſſed to be. Yet when men are to be undone if they do not ſubmit to a hard law, they willingly catch at any thing that ſeems to reſolve their doubts.

Objections made to the teſt.

About eighty of the moſt learned and pious of their Clergy left all rather than comply with the terms of this law: And theſe were noted to be the beſt preachers, and the moſt zealous enemies to Popery, that belonged to that Church. The Biſhops, who thought their refuſing the teſt was a reproach to thoſe who took it, treated them with much contempt, and put them to many hardſhips. About twenty of them came up to *England*: I found them men of excellent tempers, pious and learned, and I eſteemed it no ſmall happineſs that I had then ſo much credit by the ill opinion they had of me at Court, that by this means I got moſt of them to be well ſettled in *England*; where they have behaved themſelves ſo worthily, that I have great reaſon to rejoice in being made an inſtrument to get ſo many good men, who ſuffer-

Many turned out for not taking it.

red for their conſciences, to be again well employed, and well provided for. Moſt of them were formed by *Charteris*, who had been always a great enemy to the impoſing of books and ſyſtems as teſts that muſt be ſigned and ſworn by ſuch as are admitted to ſerve in the Church. He had been for ſome years Divinity Profeſſor at *Edenburgh*, where he had formed the minds of many of the young Clergy both to an excellent temper and to a ſet of very good principles. He upon this retired, and lived private for ſome years: He writ to me, and gave me an account of this breach, that was like to be in the Church; and deſired, that I would try by all the methods I could think of to ſtop the proceedings upon the teſt. But the King had put the affairs of *Scotland* ſo entirely in the Duke's hands, and the Biſhops here were ſo pleaſed with thoſe clauſes in the teſt that renounced the covenant and all endeavours for any alteration in Church and State, that I ſaw it was in vain to make any attempt at Court. 1682.

Upon this matter an incident of great importance happened: The Earl of *Argile* was a privy Counſellour, and one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury: So when the time limited was near lapſing he was forced to declare himſelf. He had once reſolved to retire from all employments, but his engagements with Duke *Lauderdale*'s party, and the entanglements of his own affairs overcame that. His main objection lay to that part which obliged them to endeavour no alteration in the Government in Church or State, which he thought was a limitation of the Legiſlature. He deſired leave to explain himſelf in that point: And he continued always to affirm, that the Duke was ſatisfied with that which he propoſed: So being called on the next day at the Council table to take the teſt, he ſaid, he did not think that the Parliament did intend an oath that ſhould have any contradictions in one part of it to another; therefore he took the teſt, as it was conſiſtent with it ſelf: (This related to the abſolute loyalty in the teſt, and the limitations that were on it in the confeſſion:) And he added, that he did not intend to bind himſelf up by it from doing any thing in his ſtation for the mending of any thing in Church and State, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the Proteſtant Religion and the duty of a good ſubject: And he took that as a part of his oath. The thing paſt, and he ſat that day in Council; and went next day to the Treaſury chamber, where he repeated the ſame words. Some officious people upon this came, and ſuggeſted to the Duke, that great advantage might be taken againſt him from theſe words. So at the Treaſury chamber he was deſired to write them down, and give them to the Clark, which he did, and was immediately made a priſoner in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* upon it. It was ſaid, this was high treaſon, and the aſſuming to himſelf the legiſlative power, in his giving a ſenſe of an act of Parliament, and making that a part of his oath. It was alſo ſaid, that his ſaying that he did not think the Parliament intended an oath that did contradict it ſelf, was a tacit way of ſaying that he did think it, and was a defaming and a ſpreading lies of the proceedings of Parliament, which was capital. The liberty that he reſerved to himſelf was likewiſe called treaſonable, in aſſuming a power to act againſt law: Theſe were ſuch apparent ſtretches, that for ſome days it was believed all this was done only to affright him to a more abſolute ſubmiſſion, and to ſurrender up ſome of thoſe great juriſdictions over the *Highlands* that were in his family. He deſired he might be admitted to ſpeak with the Duke in private: But that was refuſed. He had let his old correſpondence with me fall for ſome years: But I thought it became me in this extremity to ſerve him all I could. And I prevailed with Lord *Halifax* to ſpeak ſo oft to the King about it, that it came to be known: And Lord *Argile* writ me ſome letters of thanks upon it. Duke *Lauderdale* was ſtill in a firm friendſhip with him, and tried his whole ſtrength with the King to preſerve him: But he was ſinking both in body and mind, and was like to be caſt off in his old age. Upon which I alſo prevailed with Lord *Halifax* to offer him his ſervice, for which Duke *Lauderdale* ſent me very kind meſſages. I thought theſe were the only returns that I ought to make him for all the injuries he had done me, thus to ſerve him and his friends in diſtreſs. But the Duke of *York* took this, as he did every thing from me, by the worſt handle poſſible. He ſaid, I would reconcile my ſelf to the greateſt enemies I had in oppoſition to him. Upon this it was not thought fit upon many accounts that I ſhould go and ſee Duke *Lauderdale*, which I had intended to do. It was well known I had done him acts of friendſhip: So the ſcandal of being in enmity with him was over: For a Chriſtian is no mans enemy: And he will always ſtudy to overcome evil with good.

Argile's explanation.

He was committed upon it.

Lord

1682.

Argile is tried and condemned.

Lord *Argile* was brought to a trial for the words he had ſpoke. The Fact was certain: So the debate lay in a point of law, what guilt could be made out of his words. *Lockhart* pleaded three hours for him, and ſhewed ſo manifeſtly that his words had no ſort of criminouſneſs, much leſs of treaſon in them, that, if his cauſe had not been judged before his trial, no harm could have come to him. The Court that was to judge the point of law (or the relevancy of the libel as 'tis called in *Scotland*) conſiſted of a Juſtice General, the Juſtice Clerk, and of five Judges. The Juſtice General does not vote, unleſs the Court is equally divided. One of the Judges was deaf, and ſo old that he could not ſit all the while the trial laſted, but went home and to bed. The other four were equally divided: So the old Judge was ſent for: And he turned it againſt Lord *Argile*. The Jury was only to find the fact proved: But yet they were officious, and found it treaſon: And, to make a ſhew of impartiality, whereas in the libel he was charged with perjury for taking the oath falſly, they acquitted him of the perjury. No ſentence in our age was more univerſally cried out on than this. All people ſpoke of it, and of the Duke who drove it on, with horrour: All that was ſaid to leſſen that was, that Duke *Lauderdale* had reſtored the family with ſuch an extended juriſdiction that he was really the maſter of all the *Highlands*: So that it was fit to attaint him, that by a new reſtoring him theſe grants might be better limited. This, as the Duke wrote to the King, was all he intended by it, as Lord *Halifax* aſſured me. But Lord *Argile* was made believe, that the Duke intended to proceed to execution. Some more of the guards were ordered to come to *Edenburgh*. Rooms were alſo fitted for him in the common jayl, to which Peers uſe to be removed a few days before their execution. And a perſon of Quality, whom Lord *Argile* never named, affirmed to him on his honour, that he heard one who was in great favour ſay to the Duke, The thing muſt be done, and that it would be eaſier to ſatisfy the King about it after it was done, than to obtain his leave for doing it. It is certain, many of the *Scottiſh* Nobility did believe that it was intended he ſhould die.

He made his eſcape.

Upon theſe reaſons Lord *Argile* made his eſcape out of the Caſtle in a diſguiſe. Others ſuſpected theſe ſtories were ſent to him on purpoſe to frighten him to make his eſcape; as that which would juſtify further ſeverities againſt him. He came to *London*, and lurked for ſome months there. It was thought I was in his ſecret. But tho' I knew one that knew it, and ſaw many papers that he then writ, giving an account of all that matter, yet I abhorred lying: And it was not eaſy to have kept out of the danger of that, if I had ſeen him, or known where he was: So I avoided it by not ſeeing him. One that ſaw him knew him, and went and told the King of it: But he would have no ſearch made for him, and retained ſtill very good thoughts of him. In one of Lord *Argile*'s papers he writ, that, if ever he was admitted to ſpeak with the King, he could convince him how much he merited at his hands by that which had drawn the Duke's indignation on him. He that ſhewed me this explained it, that at the Duke's firſt being in *Scotland*, when he apprehended that the King might have conſented to the Excluſion, he tried to engage Lord *Argile* to ſtick to him in that caſe; who told him he would always be true to the King, and likewiſe to him when it ſhould come to his turn to be King, but that he would go no farther, nor engage himſelf in caſe the King and he ſhould quarrel.

I had lived many years in great friendſhip with the Earl of *Perth*: I lived with him as a father with a ſon for above twelve years: And he had really the ſubmiſſions of a child to me. So, he having been on Lord *Argile*'s Jury, I writ him a letter about it with the freedom that I thought became me: He, to merit at the Duke's hands, ſhewed it to him, as he himſelf confeſſed to me. I could very eaſily forgive him, but could not eſteem him much after ſo unworthy an action. He was then aſpiring to great preferment, and ſo ſacrificed me to obtain favour: But he made greater ſacrifices afterwards. The Duke now ſeemed to triumph in *Scotland*. All ſtooped to him. The Presbyterian party was much depreſſed. The beſt of the Clergy were turned out. Yet, with all this, he was now more hated there than ever. Lord *Argile*'s buſineſs made him be looked on as one that would prove a terrible maſter when all ſhould come into his hands. He had promiſed to redreſs all the merchants grievances with relation to trade, that ſo he might gain their concurrence in Parliament: But, as ſoon as that was over, all his promiſes were forgotten. The accuſations of perjury were ſtifled by him. And all the complaints of the great abuſe Lord *Halifax* was guilty of in the matter of the coin ended in turning him out of all his employments, and obliging him to compound for his pardon by paying 20000 *l.* to two of the

the Duke's creatures: So that all the reparation the Kingdom had for the oppreſſion of ſo many years, and ſo many acts of injuſtice, was, that two new oppreſſors had a ſhare of the ſpoils, who went into the ſame tract, or rather invented new methods of oppreſſion. All theſe things, together with a load of age and of a vaſt bulk, ſunk Duke *Lauderdale* ſo that he died that ſummer. His heart ſeemed quite ſpent: There was not left above the bigneſs of a walnut of firm ſubſtance: The reſt was ſpungy, liker the lungs than the heart. 1682.

The Duke had leave given him to come to the King at *Newmarket*: And there he prevailed for leave to come up, and live again at Court. As he was going back to bring the Ducheſs, the *Gloceſter* frigat that carried him ſtruck on a bank of ſand. The Duke got into a boat: And took care of his dogs, and ſome unknown perſons who were taken from that earneſt care of his to be his Prieſts: The long-boat went off with very few in her, tho' ſhe might have carried off above eighty more than ſhe did. One hundred and fifty perſons periſhed: Some of them men of great Quality. But the Duke took no notice of this cruel neglect, which was laid chiefly to *Leg*'s charge. The Duke comes to Court.

In *Scotland* the Duke declared the new miniſters: *Gordon*, now Earl of *Aberdeen*, was made Chancellour: And *Queensbury* was made Treaſurer: And the care of all affairs was committed to them. The Duke at parting recommended to the Council to preſerve the publick peace, to ſupport the Church, and to oblige all men to live regularly in obedience to the laws. The Biſhops made their court to him with ſo much zeal, that they wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be communicated to the reſt of the *Engliſh* Biſhops, ſetting forth in a very high ſtrain his affection to the Church, and his care of it: And, leſt this piece of merit ſhould have been ſtifled by *Sancroft*, they ſent a copy of it to the preſs; which was a greater reproach to them than a ſervice to the Duke, who could not but deſpiſe ſuch abject and indecent flattery. The proceedings againſt Conventicles were now like to be ſeverer than ever: All the fines, that were ſet ſo high by law that they were never before levied but on ſome particular inſtances, were now ordered to be levied without exception. All people upon that ſaw, they muſt either conform or be quite undone. The Chancellour laid down a method for proceeding againſt all offenders punctually: And the Treaſurer was as rigorous in ordering all the fines to be levied. A new miniſtry in *Scotland*.

When the people ſaw this, they came all to Church again: And that in ſome places where all ſermons had been diſcontinued for many years. But they came in ſo aukward a manner, that it was viſible they did not mean to worſhip God, but only to ſtay ſome time within the Church walls: And they were either talking or ſleeping all the while. Yet moſt of the Clergy ſeemed to be tranſported with this change of their condition, and ſent up many panegyricks of the glorious ſervices that the Duke had done their Church. The enemies of Religion obſerved the ill nature of the one ſide, and the cowardlineſs of the other, and pleaſed themſelves in cenſuring them both. And by this means an impious and atheiſtical leaven began to corrupt moſt of the younger ſort. This has ſince that time made a great progreſs in that Kingdom, which was before the freeſt from it of any Nation in Chriſtendom. The beginnings of it were reckoned from the Duke's ſtay among them, and from his Court, which have been cultivated ſince with much care and but too much ſucceſs. They proceeded with great ſeverity.

About the end of the year two trials gave all people ſad apprehenſions of what they were to look for. One *Home* was charged by a kinſman of his own for having been at *Bothwell-Bridge*. All Gentlemen of eſtates were excepted out of the indemnity: So he having an eſtate could have no benefit by that. One ſwore, he ſaw him go into a village, and ſeize on ſome arms: Another ſwore, he ſaw him ride towards the body of the rebels: But none did ſwear that they ſaw him there. He was indeed among them: But there was no proof of it. And he proved, that he was not in the company where the ſingle witneſs ſwore he ſaw him ſeize on arms, and did evidently diſcredit him: Yet he was convicted and condemned on that ſingle evidence, that was ſo manifeſtly proved to be infamous. Many were ſenſible of the miſchievouſneſs of ſuch a precedent: And great applications were made to the Duke for ſaving his life: But he was not born under a pardoning planet. Lord *Aberdeen* the Chancellour proſecuted *Home* with the more rigour, becauſe his own grandfather had ſuffered in the late times for bearing arms on the King's ſide, and *Home*'s father was one of the Jury that caſt him. The day of his execution was ſet to be on the ſame day of the year on which Lord *Stafford* had ſuffered; which was thought done in compliment to the

1682. Duke, as a retaliation for his blood. Yet *Home*'s infamous kinſman, who had ſo baſely ſworn againſt him, lived not to ſee his execution; for he died before it full of horrour for what he had done. Another trial went much deeper; and the conſequences of it ſtruck a terrour into the whole country.

One *Weir* of *Blakewood*, that managed the Marquis of *Douglaſs*'s concerns, was accuſed of treaſon for having kept company with one that had been in the buſineſs of *Bothwell-Bridge*. *Blakewood* pleaded for himſelf, that the perſon, on whoſe account he was now proſecuted as an abettor of traitors, had never been marked out by the government by proceſs or proclamation. It did not ſo much as appear that he had ever ſuſpected him upon that account. He had lived in his own houſe quietly for ſome years after that rebellion before he employed him: And if the government ſeemed to forget his crime, it was no wonder if others entred into common dealings with him. All the lawyers were of opinion, that nothing could be made of this proſecution: So that *Blakewood* made uſe of no ſecret application, thinking he was in no danger. But the Court came to a ſtrange ſentence in this matter, by theſe ſteps: They judged, that all men who ſuſpected any to have been in the rebellion were bound to diſcover ſuch their ſuſpicion, and to give no harbour to ſuch perſons: That the bare ſuſpicion made it treaſon to harbour the perſon ſuſpected, whether he was guilty or not: That if any perſon was under ſuch a ſuſpicion, it was to be preſumed that all the neighbourhood knew it: So that there was no need of proving that againſt any particular perſon, ſince the preſumption of law did prove it: And it being proved that the perſon with whom *Blakewood* had converſed lay under that ſuſpicion, *Blakewood* was upon that condemned as guilty of high treaſon. This was ſuch a conſtructive treaſon, that went upon ſo many unreaſonable ſuppoſitions, that it ſhewed the ſhameleſſneſs of a ſort of men who had been for forty years declaiming againſt a parliamentary attainder for a conſtructive treaſon in the caſe of the Earl of *Strafford*, and did now in a common Court of Juſtice condemn a man upon a train of ſo many inferences that it was not poſſible to make it look even like a conſtructive treaſon. The day of his execution was ſet: And tho' the Marquis of *Douglas* writ earneſtly to the Duke for his pardon, that was denied. He only obtained two months reprieve for making up his accounts. The reprieve was renewed once or twice: So *Blakewood* was not executed. This put all the Gentry in a great fright: Many knew they were as obnoxious, as *Blakewood* was: And none could have the comfort to know that he was ſafe. This revived among them a deſign that *Lockhart* had ſet on foot ten years before, of carrying over a Plantation to *Carolina*. All the Presbyterian party ſaw they were now diſinherited of a main part of their birth-right, of chooſing their repreſentatives in Parliament: And upon that they ſaid, they would now ſeek a country where they might live undiſturbed, as freemen, and as Chriſtians. The Duke encouraged the motion: He was glad to have many untoward people ſent far away, who he reckoned would be ready upon the firſt favourable conjuncture to break out into a new rebellion. Some Gentlemen were ſent up to treat with the Patentees of *Carolina*: They did not like the government of thoſe *Palatinates*, as they were called: Yet the proſpect of ſo great a Colony obtained to them all the conditions they propoſed. I was made acquainted with all the ſteps they made; for thoſe who were ſent up were particularly recommended to me. In the negotiation this year there was no mixing with the male-contents in *England*: Only they who were ſent up went among them, and informed them of the oppreſſions they lay under; in particular of the terrour with which this ſentence againſt *Blakewood* had ſtruck them all. The Court reſolved to proſecute that farther: For a Proclamation was iſſued out in the beginning of the year eighty three, by which the King ordered circuit Courts to be ſent round the *Weſtern* and *Southern* Counties, to enquire after all who had been guilty of harbouring or converſing with thoſe who had been in rebellion, even tho' there had been neither proceſs nor proclamation iſſued out againſt them. He alſo ordered, that all who were found guilty of ſuch converſe with them ſhould be proſecuted as traitors. This inquiſition was to laſt three years: And at the end of that time all was to conclude in a full indemnity to ſuch as ſhould not be then under proſecution. But the indemnity was to take place immediately to all ſuch as ſhould take the Teſt. This was perhaps ſuch a proclamation as the world had not ſeen ſince the days of the Duke of *Alva*. Upon it great numbers run in to take the teſt, declaring at the ſame time that they took it againſt their conſciences: But they would do any thing to be ſafe. Such as reſolved not to take it were trying how to ſettle or ſell their eſtates;

and

and resolved to leave the country, which was now in a very oppressed and desperate state. 1682.

But I must next turn again to the affairs of *England*. The Court was every where triumphant. The Duke was highly complimented by all, and seemed to have overcome all difficulties. The Court, not content with all their victories, resolved to free themselves from the fears of troublesome Parliaments for the future. The Cities and Boroughs of *England* were invited, and prevailed on, to demonstrate their loyalty, by surrendring up their Charters, and taking new ones modelled as the Court thought fit. It was much questioned, whether those surrenders were good in law or not: It was said, that those who were in the government in Corporations, and had their Charters and Seals trusted to their keeping, were not the proprietors nor masters of those rights: They could not extinguish those Corporations, nor part with any of their privileges. Others said, that whatever might be objected to the reason and equity of the thing, yet when the Seal of a Corporation was put to any deed, such a deed was good in law. The matter goes beyond my skill in law to determine it: This is certain, that whatsoever may be said in law, there is no sort of theft or perfidy more criminal than for a body of men, whom their neighbours have trusted with their concerns, to steal away their charters, and affix their Seals to such a deed, betraying in that their trust and their oaths. In former ages Corporations were jealous of their privileges and customs to excess and superstition: So that it looked like a strange degeneracy, when all these were now delivered up; and this on design to pack a Parliament that might make way for a Popish King. So that instead of securing us from Popery under such a Prince, these persons were now contriving ways to make all easy to him. Popery at all times has looked odious and cruel: Yet what the Emperour had lately done in *Hungary*, and what the King of *France* was then doing against Protestants in that Kingdom, shewed that their Religion was as perfidious and as cruel in this age as it had been in the last: And by the Duke's government of *Scotland* all men did see what was to be expected from him. All this laid together, the whole looked like an extravagant fit of madness: Yet no part of it was so unaccountable, as the high strains to which the Universities and most of the Clergy were carried. The Non-conformists were now prosecuted with much eagerness. This was visibly set on by the Papists: And it was wisely done of them; for they knew how much the Non-conformists were set against them; and therefore they made use of the indiscreet heat of some angry Clergymen to ruin them; This they knew would render the Clergy odious, and give the Papists great advantages against them, if ever they should strike up into an opposition to their designs.

Affairs in *England*.

All Charters of Towns were surrendred to the King.

At Midsummer a new contest discovered how little the Court resolved to regard either justice or decency. The Court had carried the election of Sir *John Moore* to be Mayor of the city of *London* at Michaelmas eighty one. He was the Alderman on whom the election fell in course. Yet some who knew him well were for setting him aside, as one whom the Court would easily manage. He had been a Non-conformist himself, till he grew so rich that he had a mind to go thro' the dignities of the City: But tho' he conformed to the Church, yet he was still looked on as one that in his heart favoured the Sectaries: And upon this occasion he persuaded some of their preachers to go among their congregations to get votes for him. Others, who knew him to be a flexible and faint-hearted man, opposed his election: Yet it was carried for him. The opposition that was made to his election had sharpned him so much, that he became in all things compliant to the Court, in particular to Secretary *Jenkins*, who took him into his own management. When the day came in which the Mayor used to drink to one, and to mark him out for Sheriff, he drank to *North*, a merchant that was brother to the Chief Justice. Upon that it was pretended, that this ceremony was not a bare nomination, which the common Hall might receive or refuse as they had a mind to it, but that this made the Sheriff, and that the common Hall was bound to receive and confirm him in course, as the King did the Mayor. On the other hand it was said, that the right was to be determined by the Charter, which granted the election of the Sheriffs to the citizens of *London*; and that, whatever customs had crept in among them, the right still lay where the Charter had lodged it among the citizens. But the Court was resolved to carry this point: And they found orders that had been made in the City concerning this particular, which gave some colour to this pretension of the Mayor's. So he claimed it on Midsummer day; and said, the common Hall were to go and elect one Sheriff, and

The dispute concerning the Sheriffs of *London*.

to

1682. to confirm the other that had been declared by him. The Hall on the other hand ſaid, that the right of chooſing both was in them. The old Sheriffs put it according to cuſtom to a poll: And it was viſible, the much greater number was againſt the Lord Mayor. The Sheriffs were always underſtood to be the officers of that Court: So the adjourning it belonged to them: Yet the Mayor adjourned the Court, which they ſaid he had no power to do, and ſo went on with the poll. There was no diſorder in the whole progreſs of the matter, if that was not to be called one, that they proceeded after the Mayor had adjourned the poll. But tho' the Mayor's party carried themſelves with great inſolence towards the other party, yet they ſhewed on this occaſion more temper than could have been expected from ſo great a body, who thought their rights were now invaded. The Mayor upon this reſolved to take another poll, to which none ſhould be admitted but thoſe who were contented to vote only for one, and to approve his nomination for the other. And it was reſolved that his poll ſhould be that by which the buſineſs ſhould be ſettled: And tho' the Sheriffs poll exceeded his by many hundreds, yet order was given to return thoſe on the Mayor's poll, and that they ſhould be ſworn; and ſo thoſe of the Sheriffs poll ſhould be left to ſeek their remedy by law, where they could find it. *Box*, who was choſen by the Mayor's party and joined to *North*, had no mind to ſerve upon ſo doubtful an election, where ſo many actions would lie if it was judged againſt them at law: And he could not be perſuaded to hold it. So it was neceſſary to call a new common Hall, and to proceed to a new election: And then, without any proclamation made as was uſual, one in a corner near the Mayor named *Rich*, and about thirty more applauded it, thoſe in the Hall, that was full of people and of noiſe, hearing nothing of it. Upon this it was ſaid, that *Rich* was choſen without any contradiction; And ſo *North* and *Rich* were returned, and ſworn Sheriffs for the enſuing year. The violence and the injuſtice with which this matter was managed ſhewed, that the Court was reſolved to carry that point at any rate: And this gave great occaſions of jealouſy, that ſome wicked deſign was on foot, for which it was neceſſary in the firſt place to be ſure of favourable Juries.

Carried by the Court.

Lord *Shaftsbury* upon this, knowing how obnoxious he was, went out of *England*. His voyage was fatal to him: He juſt got to *Amſterdam* to die in it. Of the laſt parts of his life I ſhall have ſome occaſion to make mention afterwards. When Michaelmas day came, thoſe who found how much they had been deceived in *Moor* reſolved to chooſe a Mayor that might be depended on. The poll was cloſed when the Court thought they had the majority: But upon caſting it up it appeared they had loſt it: So they fell to canvaſs it: And they made ſuch exceptions to thoſe of the other ſide, that they diſcounted as many voices as gave them the majority. This was alſo managed in ſo groſs a manner, that it was viſible the Court was reſolved by fair or foul means to have the government of the City in their own hands. But becauſe they would not be at this trouble, nor run this hazard every year, it was reſolved that the Charter of the City muſt either be given up, or be adjudged to the King. The former was much the eaſier way: So great pains was taken to manage the next election of the Common Council, ſo as that they might be tractable in this point. There was much injuſtice complained of in many of the wards of the City, both in the poll and in the returns that were made. In order to the diſabling all the diſſenters from having a vote in that election, the Biſhop and Clergy of *London* were preſſed by the Court to proſecute them in the Church Courts, that ſo they might excommunicate them; which ſome lawyers thought would render them incapable to vote, tho' other lawyers were very poſitively of another opinion. It is certain it gave at leaſt a colour to deny them votes. The Biſhop of *London* began to apprehend, that things were running too faſt, and was backward in the matter. The Clergy of the City refuſed to make preſentments: The law laid that on the Church-wardens: And ſo they would not meddle officiouſly. The King was diſpleaſed with them for their remiſſneſs: But after all the practices of the Court, in the returns of the common Council of the City, they could not bring it near an equality for delivering up their Charter. *Jenkins* managed the whole buſineſs of the City with ſo many indirect practices, that the reputation he had for probity was much blemiſhed by it: He ſeemed to think it was neceſſary to bring the City to a dependence on the Court in the faireſt methods he could fall on; and, if theſe did not ſucceed, that then he was to take the moſt effectual ones, hoping that a good intention would excuſe bad practices.

The

The Earl of *Sunderland* had been disgraced after the Exclusion Parliaments, as they were now called, were dissolved: But the King had so entire a confidence in him, and Lady *Portsmouth* was so much in his interests, that upon great submissions made to the Duke he was again restored to be Secretary this winter. Lord *Hyde* was the person that disposed the Duke to it: Upon that Lord *Hallifax* and he fell to be in ill terms; for he hated Lord *Sunderland* beyond expression, tho' he had married his sister. From Lord *Sunderland*'s returning to his post all men concluded, that his declaring as he did for the Exclusion was certainly done by direction from the King, who naturally loved craft and a double game, that so he might have proper instruments to work by which way soever he had turned himself in that affair. The King was the more desirous to have Lord *Sunderland* again near him, that he might have some body about him who understood foreign affairs. *Jenkins* understood nothing: But he had so much credit with the high Church party, that he was of great use to the Court. Lord *Conway* was brought in to be the other Secretary, who was so very ignorant of foreign affairs, that his province being the *North*, when one of the foreign ministers talked to him of the Circles of *Germany*, it amazed him: He could not imagine what Circles had to do with affairs of state. He was now dismissed. Lord *Hallifax* and Lord *Hyde* fell to be in an open war, and were both much hated. Lord *Hallifax* charged *Hyde*, who was at this time made Earl of *Rochester*, of bribery, for having farmed a branch of the revenue much lower than had been proffered for it. Lord *Hallifax* acquainted the King first with it: And, as he told me, he desired Lord *Rochester* himself to examine into it, he being inclined to think it was rather an abuse put on him than corruption in himself. But he saw Lord *Rochester* was cold in the matter, and instead of prosecuting any for it protected all concerned in it. He laid the complaint before the King in Council: And to convince the King how ill a bargain he had made, the complainers offered, if he would break the bargain, to give him 40000 *l.* more than he was to have from the farmers. He looked also into the other branches of the revenue, and found cause to suspect much corruption in every one of them: And he got undertakers to offer at a farm of the whole revenue. In this he had all the Court on his side: For the King being now resolved to live on his revenue, without putting himself on a Parliament, he was forced on a great reduction of expence: So that many payments run in arrear: And the whole Court was so ill paid, that the offering any thing that would raise the revenue, and blemish the management of the treasury, was very acceptable to all in it. Lord *Rochester* was also much hated: But the Duke and the Lady *Portsmouth* both protected the Earl of *Rochester* so powerfully, that even propositions to the King's advantage, which blemished him, were not hearkened to. This touched in too tender a place to admit of a reconciliation: The Duke forgot all Lord *Hallifax*'s service in the point of the Exclusion: And the dearness that was between them was now turned upon this to a coldness, and afterwards to a most violent enmity. Upon this occasion Lord *Hallifax* sent for me, (for I went no more near any that belonged to the Court,) and he told me the whole matter. I asked him how he stood with the King: He answered, that neither he nor I had the making of the King: God had made him of a particular composition. He said, he knew what the King said to himself: I asked him, if he knew likewise what he said to others; for he was apt to say to his several Ministers whatsoever he thought would please them, as long as he intended to make use of them. By the death of the Earl of *Nottingham* the Seals were given to *North*, who was made Lord *Guilford*. He had not the vertues of his predecessor: But he had parts far beyond him: They were turned to craft: So that whereas the former seemed to mean well even when he did ill, this man was believed to mean ill even when he did well. The Court finding that the City of *London* could not be wrought on to surrender their Charter, resolved to have it condemned by a judgment in the King's bench. *Jones* had died in *May*: So now *Pollexphen* and *Treby* were chiefly relied on by the City in this matter. *Sawyer* was the Attorney General, a dull hot man, and forward to serve all the designs of the Court. He undertook by the advice of *Sanders*, a learned but a very immoral man, to overthrow the Charter.

1682.

Changes in the ministry, and quarrels among them.

The two points upon which they rested the cause were, that the Common Council had petitioned the King upon a prorogation of Parliament that it might meet on the day to which it was prorogued, and had taxed the prorogation as that which occasioned a delay of justice: This was construed to be the raising sedition, and the

The arguments for and against the Charter of *London*.

1682. poſſeſſing the people with an ill opinion of the King and his government. The other point was, that the City had impoſed new taxes on their wharfs and markets, which was an invaſion of the liberty of the ſubject, and contrary to law. It was ſaid, that all that the Crown gave was forfeitable back to the Crown again upon a male-verſation of the body; and that as the Common Council was the body of the City, choſen by all the citizens, ſo they were all involved in what the Common Council did: And they inferred, that ſince they had both ſcandalized the King's government, and oppreſſed their fellow ſubjects, they had thereupon forfeited their liberties: Many precedents were brought of the ſeizing on the liberties of Towns and other Corporations, and of extinguiſhing them.

The arguments againſt this were made by *Treby*, then the Recorder of *London*, and *Pollexphen*, who argued about three hours apiece. They laid it down for a foundation, that trading Corporations were immortal bodies for the breeding a ſucceſſion of trading men, and for perpetuating a fund of publick chambers for the eſtates of orphans and truſts and for all pious endowments: That crimes committed by perſons entruſted in the government of them were perſonal things, which were only chargeable on thoſe who committed them, but could not affect the whole body: The treaſon of a Biſhop, or a Clerk, only forfeited his title, but did not diſſolve the Biſhoprick, or Benefice: So the magiſtrates only were to be puniſhed for their own crimes: An entailed eſtate, when a tenant for life was attainted, was not forfeited to the King, but went to the next in remainder upon his death. The government of a city, which was a temporary adminiſtration, veſted no property in the magiſtrates: And therefore they had nothing to forfeit, but what belonged to themſelves: There were alſo expreſs acts of Parliament made in favour of the City, that it ſhould not be puniſhed for the miſdemeanours of thoſe who bore office in it: They anſwered the great objection that was brought from the forfeitures of ſome Abbeys on the attainder of their Abbots in King *Henry* the eighth's time, that there were peculiar laws made at that time, upon which thoſe forfeitures were grounded, which had been repealed ſince that time: All thoſe forfeitures were confirmed in Parliament: And that purged all defects: The Common Council was a ſelected body, choſen for particular ends: And if they went beyond theſe, they were liable to be puniſhed for it: If the petition they offered the King, was ſeditious, the King might proceed againſt every man that was concerned it it: And thoſe upon whom thoſe taxes had been levied, might bring their actions againſt thoſe who had levied them: But it ſeemed very ſtrange, that when none of the petitioners were proceeded againſt for any thing contained in that petition, and when no actions were brought on the account of thoſe taxes, that the whole body ſhould ſuffer in common for that, which none of thoſe who were immediately concerned in it had been ſo much as brought in queſtion for in any Court of law: If the Common Council petitioned more earneſtly than was fitting for the ſitting of the Parliament, that ought to be aſcribed to their zeal for the King's ſafety, and for the eſtabliſhed Religion: And it ought not to be ſtrained to any other ſenſe than to that which they profeſs in the body of their petition, much leſs to be carried ſo far as to diſſolve the whole body on that account: And as for the tolls and taxes, theſe were things practiſed in all the Corporations of *England*, and ſeemed to be exactly according to law: The City ſince the fire had at a vaſt charge made their wharfs and markets much more noble and convenient than they were before: And therefore they might well deny the benefit of them to thoſe who would not pay a new rate, that they ſet on them for the payment of the debt contracted in building them: This was not the impoſing a tax, but the raiſing a rent out of a piece of ground, which the City might as well do, as a man who rebuilds his houſe may raiſe the rent of it: All the precedents that were brought were examined and anſwered: Some Corporations were deſerted, and ſo upon the matter diſſolved themſelves: Judgments in ſuch caſes did not fit this in hand: The ſeizing on the liberties of a Corporation did not diſſolve the body; for when a Biſhop dies the King ſeizes the temporalities; but the Corporation ſtill ſubſiſts; and they are reſtored to the next incumbent. There were indeed ſome very ſtrange precedents made in *Richard* the ſecond's time: But they were followed by as ſtrange a reverſe: The Judges were hanged for the judgments they gave: They alſo inſiſted on the effects that would follow on the forfeiting the Charter: The cuſtom of *London* was thereby broken: All the publick endowments, and charities lodged with the City muſt revert to the heirs of the donors. This is the ſubſtance of the argument, as I had it from *Pollexphen*.

lexphen. As for the more intricate points of law, I meddle not with them, but leave them to the learned men of that profeſſion. When the matter was brought near judgment, *Sanders*, who had laid the whole thing, was made Chief Juſtice. *Pemberton*, who was not ſatisfied in the point, being removed to the Common Pleas upon *North*'s advancement. *Dolben*, a Judge of the King's bench, was found not to be clear: So he was turned out, and *Withins* came in his room. When ſentence was to be given, *Sanders* was ſtruck with an apoplexy: So he could not come into Court: But he ſent his judgment in writing, and died a few days after. The ſentence was given without the ſolemnity that was uſual upon great occaſions: The Judges were wont formerly in delivering their opinions to make long arguments, in which they ſet forth the grounds of law on which they went, which were great inſtructions to the ſtudents and barriſters: But that had been laid aſide ever ſince *Hale*'s time. 1682. Judgment given in the matter.

The judgment now given was, that a city might forfeit its Charter; that the male-verſations of the Common Council were the acts of the whole City, and that the two points ſet forth in the pleadings were juſt grounds for the forfeiting of a Charter. Upon which premiſes the proper concluſion ſeemed to be, that therefore the City of *London* had forfeited their Charter: But the conſequences of that were ſo much apprehended, that they did not think fit to venture on it: So they judged, that the King might ſeize the liberties of the City. The Attorney General moved, contrary to what is uſual in ſuch caſes, that the judgment might not be recorded. And upon that new endeavours were uſed to bring the Common Council to deliver up their Charter: Yet that could not be compaſſed, tho' it was brought much nearer in the numbers of the voices than was imagined could ever be done.

There were other very ſevere proceedings at this time with relation to particular perſons. *Pilkinton* was Sheriff of *London* the former year; an honeſt but an indiſcreet man, that gave himſelf great liberties in diſcourſe. He being deſired to go along with the Mayor and Aldermen to compliment the Duke upon his return from *Scotland* declined going, and reflected on him as one concerned in the burning of the City. Two Aldermen ſaid they heard that, and ſwore it againſt him. Sir *Patience Ward*, the Mayor of the former year, ſeeing him go in to that diſcourſe had diverted him from it, but heard not the words which the others ſwore to: And he depoſed, that to the beſt of his remembrance he ſaid not thoſe words. *Pilkinton* was caſt in an 100000 *l.* damages, the moſt exceſſive that had ever been given. But the matter did not ſtop there: *Ward* was indicted of perjury, it being ſaid, that ſince he ſwore that the words were not ſpoken, and that the Jury had given a verdict upon the evidence that they were ſpoken, by conſequence he was guilty of perjury. It was ſaid on the other ſide, that when two ſwear one way, and a third ſwears another way, a Jury may believe the two better than the one: But it is not certain from thence that he is perjured: If that were law, no man would be a witneſs; if, becauſe they of the other ſide were believed, he ſhould be therefore convicted of perjury. A mans ſwearing to a negative, that ſuch words were not ſpoken, did only amount to this, that he did not hear them: And it would be hard to prove that he who ſwore ſo had heard them. But *Ward* proved by him that took the trial in ſhort hand, as he had done ſome others with great approbation, that he had ſaid, *to the beſt of his remembrance theſe words were not ſpoken by Pilkinton:* Upon which *Jefferies* had ſaid, that his invention was better than his memory: And the Attorney General in ſumming up the evidence to the Jury had ſaid, they ought to have no regard to *Ward*'s evidence, ſince he had only depoſed upon his memory. Yet that Jury returned *Ward* guilty of perjury: And it was intended, if he had not gone out of the way, to have ſet him on the pillory. The truth is, Juries became at that time the ſhame of the nation, as well as a reproach to religion: For they were packt, and prepared to bring in verdicts as they were directed and not as matters appeared on the evidence. Some other ſevere judgments.

Thus affairs were going on all the year 82, and to the beginning of 83. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had been for making uſe of the heat the City was in during the conteſt about the Sheriffs; and thought they might have created a great diſturbance, and made themſelves maſters of the Tower: And he believed, the firſt appearance of the leaſt diſorder would have prevailed on the King to yield every thing. The Duke of *Monmouth*, who underſtood what a rabble was and what troops were, looked on this as a mad expoſing of themſelves and of their friends. The Lords *Eſſex* and *Ruſſel* were of 1683. All people poſſeſſed with great fears.

1683. of the ſame mind. So Lord *Shaftsbury*, ſeeing they could not be engaged into action, flew out againſt them. He ſaid, the Duke of *Monmouth* was ſent into the party by the King for this end, to keep all things quiet till the Court had gained its point: He ſaid, Lord *Eſſex* had alſo made his bargain, and was to go to *Ireland*; and that among them Lord *Ruſſel* was deceived. With this he endeavoured to blaſt them in the City: They ſtudied to prevent the ill effects that thoſe jealouſies which he was infuſing into the citizens might have among them. So the Duke of *Monmouth* gave an appointment to Lord *Shaftsbury* or ſome of his friends to meet him, and ſome others that he ſhould bring along with him, at *Shepherd*'s a wine merchant in whom they had an entire confidence. The night before this appointment Lord *Ruſſel* came to town on the account of his uncle's illneſs. The Duke of *Monmouth* went to him, and told him of the appointment, and deſired he would go thither with him: He conſented, the rather becauſe he intended to taſte ſome of that merchant's wine. At night they went with Lord *Grey* and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*. When they came, they found none there but *Rumſey* and *Ferguſon*, two of Lord *Shaftsbury*'s tools that he employed: Upon which, they ſeeing no better company reſolved immediately to go back. But Lord *Ruſſel* called for a taſte of the wines, and while they were bringing it him up, *Rumſey* and *Armſtrong* fell into a diſcourſe of ſurprizing the guards. *Rumſey* fancied it might have been eaſily done: *Armſtrong*, that had commanded them, ſhewed him his miſtakes. This was no conſultation about what was to be done, but only about what might have been done. Lord *Ruſſel* ſpoke nothing upon the ſubject: But as ſoon as he had taſted his wines they went away. It may ſeem, that this is too light a paſſage to be told ſo copiouſly: But much depends on it. Lord *Shaftsbury* had one meeting with the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Salisbury* before he went out of *England*. Fear, anger, and diſappointment, had wrought ſo much on him, that Lord *Eſſex* told me he was much broken in his thoughts: His notions were wild and impracticable: And he was glad that he was gone out of *England*: But ſaid, that he had done them already a great deal of miſchief, and would have done more if he had ſtayed. As ſoon as he was gone, the Lords and all the chief men of the party ſaw their danger from forward Sheriffs, willing Juries, mercenary Judges, and bold witneſſes. So they reſolved to go home, and be ſilent, to ſpeak and to meddle as little as might be in publick buſineſs, and to let the preſent ill temper the Nation was fallen into wear out: For they did not doubt but the Court, eſpecially as it was now managed by the Duke, would ſoon bring the Nation again into its wits by their ill conduct and proceedings. All that was to be done was, to keep up as much as they could a good ſpirit with relation to elections of Parliament, if one ſhould be called.

Monmouth and *Ruſſel* at *Shepherd*'s.

Monmouth and ſome others meet often together.

The Duke of *Monmouth* reſolved to be adviſed chiefly by Lord *Eſſex*. He would not be alone in that, but named Lord *Ruſſel*, againſt whom no objection could lie: And next to him he named *Algernoon Sidney*, brother to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, a man of moſt extraordinary courage, a ſteady man, even to obſtinacy, ſincere, but of a rough and boiſterous temper that could not bear contradiction. He ſeemed to be a Chriſtian, but in a particular form of his own: He thought, it was to be like a Divine Philoſophy in the mind: But he was againſt all publick worſhip, and every thing that looked like a Church. He was ſtiff to all republican principles; and ſuch an enemy to every thing that looked like monarchy, that he ſet himſelf in a high oppoſition againſt *Cromwell* when he was made Protector. He had ſtudied the hiſtory of government in all its branches beyond any man I ever knew. He was Ambaſſadour in *Denmark* at the time of the reſtoration, but did not come back till the year ſeventy eight, when the Parliament was preſſing the King into a war. The Court of *France* obtained leave for him to return. He did all he could to divert people from that war: So that ſome took him for a penſioner of *France*: But to thoſe to whom he durſt ſpeak freely he ſaid, he knew it was all a juggle; that our Court was in an entire confidence with *France*, and had no other deſign in this ſhew of a war but to raiſe an army, and keep it beyond ſea till it was trained and modelled. *Sidney* had a particular way of inſinuating himſelf into people that would hearken to his notions, and not contradict him. He tried me: But I was not ſo ſubmiſſive a hearer: So we lived afterwards at a great diſtance. He wrought himſelf into Lord *Eſſex*'s confidence to ſuch a degree, that he became the maſter of his ſpirit. He had a great kindneſs for Lord *Howard*, as was formerly told: For that Lord hated both the King and monarchy as much as he himſelf did. He prevailed on Lord *Eſſex*

Essex to take Lord *Howard* into their secrets, tho' Lord *Essex* had expressed such an ill opinion of him a little before to me, as to say he wondred how any man would trust himself alone with him. Lord *Russel*, tho' his cousin german, had the same ill opinion of him. Yet *Sidney* overcame both their aversions. Lord *Howard* had made the Duke of *Monmouth* enter into confidence with *Sidney*, who used to speak very slightly of him, and to say, it was all one to him whether *James* Duke of *York* or *James* Duke of *Monmouth* was to succeed. Yet Lord *Howard* perhaps put a notion into him, which he offered often to me, that a Prince who knew there was a flaw in his title would always govern well, and consider himself as at the mercy of the right heir if he was not in all things in the interests and hearts of his people, which was often neglected by Princes that relied on an undoubted title. Lord *Howard* by a trick put both on the Duke of *Monmouth* and *Sidney*, brought them to be acquainted. He told *Sidney* that the Duke of *Monmouth* was resolved to come some day alone and dine with him: And he made the Duke of *Monmouth* believe that *Sidney* desired this, that so he might not seem to come and court the Duke of *Monmouth*: And said that some regard was to be had to his temper and age. *Hamden* was also taken into their secret: He was the grandson of him that had pleaded the cause of *England* in the point of the ship money with King *Charles* the first. His father was a very eminent man, and had been zealous in the Exclusion: He was a young man of great parts, one of the learnedest Gentlemen I have ever known, for he was a critick both in *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew*: He was a man of great heat and vivacity, but too unequal in his temper: He had once great principles of religion: But he was much corrupted by *P. Simon*'s conversation at *Paris*. 1683.

They treat with some of the *Scottish* Nation.

With these men the Duke of *Monmouth* met often. His interest in *Scotland*, both by the dependence that his wife's great estate brought him, but chiefly by the knowledge he had of their affairs while he was among them, and by the confidence he knew they had all in him, made him turn his thoughts much towards that Kingdom as the properest scene of action. He had met often with Lord *Argile* while he was in *London*, and had many conferences with him of the state of that Kingdom, and of what might be done there: And he thought the business of *Carolina* was a very proper blind to bring up some of the *Scotch* Gentlemen under the appearance of treating about that. They upon this agreed to send one *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland*, to desire that some men of absolute confidence might be sent up for that end. So when the Proclamation that was formerly mentioned was published, it spread such an universal apprehension thro' all the suspected counties, that they looked on themselves as marked out to destruction: And it is very natural for people under such impressions to set themselves to look out for remedies as soon as they can.

In the beginning of *April* some of them came up. The person that was most entirely trusted, and to whom the journey proved fatal, was *Baillie*, of whose unjust treatment upon *Carstairs*'s information an account was formerly given. He was my cousin german: So I knew him well. He was in the presbyterian principles, but was a man of great piety and virtue, learned in the law, in mathematicks, and in languages: I went to him, as soon as I heard he was come, in great simplicity of heart, thinking of nothing but of *Carolina*. I was only afraid they might go too much into the company of the *English*, and give true representations of the state of affairs in *Scotland*: This might be reported about by men that would name them: And that might bring them into trouble. But a few weeks after I found they came not to me as they were wont to do: And I heard they were often with Lord *Russel*. I was apprehensive of this: And Lord *Essex* being in the country, I went to him, to warn him of the danger I feared Lord *Russel* might be brought into by this conversation with my countrymen. He diverted me from all my apprehensions; and told me, I might depend on it, Lord *Russel* would be in nothing without acquainting him: And he seemed to agree entirely with me, that a rising in the state in which things were then would be fatal. I always said, that when the root of the constitution was struck at to be overturned, then I thought subjects might defend themselves: But I thought jealousies and fears, and particular acts of injustice, could not warrant this. He did agree with me in this: He thought the obligation between Prince and subject was so equally mutual, that upon a breach on the one side the other was free: But tho' he thought the late injustice in *London*, and the end that was driven at by it, did set them at liberty to look to themselves, yet he confessed things were not ripe enough yet, and that an ill laid and an ill managed rising would be our ruin. I was then newly

1683. come from writing my history of the Reformation; and did so evidently see, that the struggle for Lady *Jean Grey*, and *Wyat*'s rising, was that which threw the nation so quickly into Popery after King *Edward*'s days, (for such as had rendred themselves obnoxious in those matters saw no other way to secure themselves, and found their turning was a sure one,) that I was now very apprehensive of this; besides that I thought it was yet unlawful. What past between the *Scots* and the *English* Lords I know not; only that Lord *Argile*, who was then in *Holland*, asked at first 20000*l.* for buying a stock of arms and ammunition, which he afterwards brought down to 8000*l.* and a thousand horse to be sent into *Scotland*. Upon which he undertook the conduct of that matter. I know no further than general hints of their matters: For tho' *Hamden* offered frequently to give me a particular account of it all; knowing that I was writing the history of that time, yet I told him, that till by an indemnity that whole matter was buried I would know none of those secrets, which I might be obliged to reveal, or to lie and deny my knowledge of them: So to avoid that I put it off at that time. And when I returned to *England* at the Revolution, we appointed often to meet, in order to a full relation of it all. But by several accidents it went off, as a thing is apt to do which one can recover at any time. And so his unhappy end came on before I had it from him. I know this, that no money was raised. But the thing had got some vent; for my own brother a zealous Presbyterian, who was come from *Scotland*, it not being safe for him to live any longer in that Kingdom knowing that he had conversed with many that had been in the rebellion, told me, there was certainly somewhat in agitation among them, about which some of their teachers had let out somewhat very freely to himself: How far that matter went, and how the scheme was laid, I cannot tell; and so must leave it in the dark. Their contract for the project of *Carolina* seemed to go on apace: They had sent some thither the former year, who were now come back, and brought them a particular account of every thing: They likewise, to cover their negotiations with Lord *Argile*, sent some over to him; but with the blind of instructions for buying ships in *Holland*, and other things necessary for their transportation.

Other Conspirators meet at the same time on designs of assassinating the King.

While this matter was thus in a close management among them, there was another company of Lord *Shaftsbury*'s creatures that met in the Temple in the chambers of one *West*, a witty and active man, full of talk, and believed to be a determined Atheist. *Rumsey* and *Ferguson* came constantly thither. The former of these was an officer in *Cromwell*'s army, who went into *Portugal* with the forces that served there under *Schomberg*. He did a brave action in that service: And *Schomberg* writ a particular letter to the King setting it out: Upon which he got a place: And he had applied himself to Lord *Shaftsbury* as his patron. He was much trusted by him, and sent often about on messages. Once or twice he came to Lord *Russel*, but it was upon indifferent things. Lord *Russel* said to me, that at that very time he felt such a secret aversion to him, that he was in no danger of trusting him much. He was one of the bold talkers, and kept chiefly among Lord *Shaftsbury*'s creatures. He was upon all the secret of his going beyond sea; which seemed to shew, that he was not then a spy of the Court's, which some suspected he was all along. *Ferguson* was a hot and a bold man, whose spirit was naturally turned to plotting: He was always unquiet, and setting people on to some mischief: I knew a private thing of him, by which it appeared he was a profligate knave, and could cheat those that trusted him entirely: So tho' he, being a *Scottish* man, took all the ways he could to be admitted into some acquaintance with me, I would never see him, or speak with him: And I did not know his face till the Revolution: He was cast out by the Presbyterians; and then went among the Independents, where his boldness raised him to some figure, tho' he was at bottom a very empty man: He had the management of a secret press, and of a purse that maintained it: And he gave about most of the pamphlets writ of that side: And with some he past for the author of them: And such was his vanity, because this made him more considerable, that he was not ill pleased to have that believed tho' it only exposed him so much the more. With these *Goodenough*, who had been Under-Sheriff of *London* in *Bethel*'s year, and one *Halloway* of *Bristol* met often, and had a great deal of rambling discourse, to shew how easy a thing it was of the sudden to raise four thousand men in the City. *Goodenough* by reason of his office knew the City well, and pretended he knew many men of so much credit in every corner of it, and on whom they might depend, as could raise that number, which he

he reckoned would quickly grow much ſtronger: And it is probable this was the ſcheme with which Lord *Shaftsbury* was ſo poſſeſſed, that he thought it might be depended on. They had many diſcourſes of the heads of a declaration proper for ſuch a riſing, and diſputed of theſe with much ſubtilty as they thought: And they intended to ſend *Halloway* to *Briſtol*, to try what could be done there at the ſame time. But all this was only talk, and went no further than to a few of their own confidents. *Rumſey*, *Ferguſon*, and *Weſt* were often talking of the danger of executing this, and that the ſhorter and ſurer way was to kill the two brothers. One *Rumbold*, who had ſerved in *Cromwell*'s army, came twice among them; and while they were in that wicked diſcourſe, which they expreſſed by the term *lopping*. He upon that told them, he had a farm near *Hodſden* in the way to *New-Market*: And there was a moat caſt round his houſe, thro' which the King ſometimes paſt in his way thither. He ſaid, once the coach went thro' quite alone, without any of the guards about it; and that, if he had laid any thing a croſs the way to have ſtopt the coach but a minute, he could have ſhot them both, and have rode away thro' grounds that he knew ſo well that it ſhould not have been poſſible to have followed him. Upon which they ran into much wicked talk about the way of executing that. But nothing was ever fixed on: All was but talk. At one time Lord *Howard* was among them: And they talked over their ſeveral ſchemes of lopping. One of them was to be executed in the Play-Houſe. Lord *Howard* ſaid, he liked that beſt, for then they would die in their calling. This was ſo like his way of talk, that it was eaſily believed, tho' he always denied it. *Walcot*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman that had been of *Cromwell*'s army, was now in *London*, and got into that company: And he was made believe, that the thing was ſo well laid, that many both in City and Country were engaged in it. He liked the project of a riſing, but declared he would not meddle in their lopping. So this wicked knot of men continued their caballings from the time that the Earl of *Shafisbury* went away: And theſe were the ſubjects of their diſcourſes. The King went conſtantly to *New-Market* for about a Month both in *April* and *October*. In *April* while he was there a fire broke out, and burnt a part of the town: Upon which the King came back a week ſooner than he intended. 1683.

A plot is diſcovered.

While all theſe things were thus going on, there was one *Keeling*, an Anabaptiſt in *London*, who was ſinking in his buſineſs, and began to think that of a witneſs would be the better trade. *Goodenough* had employed him often to try their ſtrength in the City, and to count on whom they could depend for a ſudden riſing: He had alſo talked to him of the deſign of killing the two brothers: So he went and diſcovered all he could to *Leg*, at that time made Lord *Dartmouth*. *Leg* made no great account of it, but ſent him to *Jenkins*. *Jenkins* took his depoſitions, but told him he could not proceed in it without more witneſſes: So he went to his brother, who was a man of heat in his way, but of probity, who did not incline to ill deſigns, and leſs to diſcover them. *Keeling* carried his brother to *Goodenough*, and aſſured him he might be depended on. So *Goodenough* run out into a rambling diſcourſe of what they both could and would do: And he alſo ſpoke of killing the King and the Duke, which would make their work eaſy. When they left him the diſcoverer preſſed his brother to go along with him to *Weſtminſter*, where he pretended buſineſs, but ſtopt at *Whitehal*. The other was uneaſy, longing to get out of his company, to go to ſome friends for advice upon what had happened. But he drew him on: And at laſt, he not knowing whither he was going he drew him into *Jenkins*'s office; and there told the Secretary he had brought another witneſs, who had heard the ſubſtance of the plot from *Goodenough*'s own mouth juſt then. His brother was deeply ſtruck with this cheat and ſurprize, but could not avoid the making oath to *Jenkins* of all he had heard. The Secretary, whoſe phlegmatick head was not turned for ſuch a work, let them both go, and ſent out no warrants, till he had communicated the matter to the reſt of the Miniſtry, the King being then at *Windſor*. So *Keeling*, who had been thus drawn into the ſnare by his brother, ſent advertiſements to *Goodenough*, and all the other perſons whom he had named, to go out of the way.

A forged ſtory laid by *Rumſey* and *Weſt*.

Rumſey and *Weſt* were at this time perpetually together: And apprehending that they had truſted themſelves to too many perſons, who might diſcover them, they laid a ſtory, in which they reſolved to agree it ſo well together, that they ſhould not contradict one another. They framed their ſtory thus: That they had laid the deſign of their riſing to be executed on the ſeventeenth of *November*, the day of Queen *Elizabeth*'s coming to the Crown, on which the citizens uſed to run together, and carry about

1683. about Popes in procession, and burn them: So that day seemed proper to cover their running together, till they met in a body. Others, they said, thought it best to do nothing on that day, the rout being usually at night, but to lay their rising for the next Sunday at the hour of people's being at Church. This was laid to shew how near the matter was to the being executed. But the part of their story that was the best laid, (for this looked ridiculous, since they could not name any one person of any condition that was to head this rising) was, that they pretended that *Rumbold* had offered them his house in the Heath for executing the design. It was called *Rye*: And from thence this was called the *Rye-Plot*. He asked forty men, well armed and mounted, whom *Ramsey* and *Walcot* were to command in two parties: The one was to engage the guards, if they should be near the coach: And the other was to stop the coach, and to murder the King and the Duke. *Ramsey* took the wicked part on himself, saying, that *Walcot* had made a scruple of killing the King, but none of engaging the guards: So *Ramsey* was to do the execution. And they said, they were divided in their minds what to do next: Some were for defending the moat till night and then to have gone off: Others were for riding thro' grounds in a shorter way towards the *Thames*: Of these forty they could name but eight. But it was pretended that *Walcot*, *Goodenough*, and *Rumbold* had undertaken to find both the rest of the men, and the horses: For, tho' upon such an occasion men would have taken care to have had sure and well tried horses, this also was said to be trusted to others. As for arms, *West* had bought some, as on a commission for a plantation: And these were said to be some of the arms with which they were to be furnished; tho' when they were seen they seemed very improper for such a service. I saw all *West's* narrative, which was put in Lord *Rochester's* hands: And a friend of mine borrowed it of him, and lent it me. They were so wise at Court that they would not suffer it to be printed, for then it would have appeared too gross to be believed.

But the part of it all that seemed the most amazing was, that it was to have been executed on the day in which the King had intended to return from *New-Market*: But the happy fire that sent him away a week sooner had quite defeated the whole plot, while it was within a week of its execution, and neither horses, men, nor arms yet provided. This seemed to be so eminent a Providence, that the whole nation was struck with it: And both preachers and poets had a noble subject to enlarge on, and to shew how much the King and the Duke were under the watchful care of Providence.

Within three days after *Keeling's* discovery the plot broke out, and became the whole discourse of the Town. Many examinations were taken, and several persons were clapt up upon it. Among these *Wildman* was one, who had been an agitator in *Cromwell's* army, and had opposed his Protectorship. After the Restoration he being looked on as a high republican was kept long in prison; where he had studied law and physick so much, that he past as a man very knowing in those matters. He had a way of creating in others a great opinion of his sagacity, and had great credit with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and was now very active under *Sidney's* conduct. He was seized on, and his house was searched: In his cellars there happened to be two small field-pieces that belonged to the Duke of *Buckingham*, that lay in York-House when that was sold, and was to be pulled down: *Wildman* carried those two pieces, which were finely wrought, but of little use, into his cellars, where they were laid on ordinary wooden carriages, and no way fitted for any service: Yet these were carried to *Whitehall*, and exposed to view, as an undeniable proof of a rebellion designed, since here was their cannon.

Several persons came to me from Court, assuring me that there was full proof made of a plot. Lord *Howard* coming soon after them to see me talked of the whole matter in his spiteful way with so much scorn, that I really thought he knew of nothing, and by consequence I believed there was no truth in all these discoveries. He said, the Court knew they were sure of Juries, and they would furnish themselves quickly with witnesses: And he spoke of the Duke as of one that would be worse, not only than Queen *Mary*, but than *Nero*: And with eyes and hands lifted to heaven he vowed to me, that he knew of no plot, and that he believed nothing of it.

Two days after, a Proclamation came out for seizing on some who could not be found: And among these *Ramsey* and *West* were named. The next day *West* delivered himself: And *Ramsey* came in a day after him. These two brought out their story, which, how incredible soever it was, past so for certain, that any man that seemed

ſeemed to doubt it was concluded to be in it. That of defending themſelves within mud walls and a moat looked like the invention of a lawyer, who could not lay a military contrivance with any ſort of probability. Nor did it appear where the forty horſe were to be lodged, and how they were to be brought together. All theſe were thought objections that could be made by none but thoſe who either were of it, or wiſhed well to it. Theſe new witneſſes had alſo heard of the conferences that the Duke of *Monmouth* and the other Lords had with thoſe who were come from *Scotland*, but knew nothing of it themſelves. *Rumſey* did likewiſe remember the diſcourſe at *Shepherd*'s.

Ruſſel and ſome others were put in priſon upon it.

When the Council found the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Ruſſel* were named, they writ to the King to come to *London*: They would not venture to go further without his preſence and leave. A meſſenger of the Council was ſent the morning before the King came to wait at Lord *Ruſſel*'s gate, to have ſtopt him if he had offered to go out. This was obſerved, for he walked many hours there: And it was looked on as done on purpoſe to frighten him away; for his back gate was not watched: So for ſeveral hours he might have gone away if he had intended it. He heard that *Rumſey* had named him: But he knew he had not truſted him, and he never reflected on the diſcourſe at *Shepherd*'s. He ſent his wife among his friends for advice. They were of different minds: But ſince he ſaid he apprehended nothing from any thing he had ſaid to *Rumſey*, they thought his going out of the way would give the Court too great an advantage, and would look like a confeſſing of guilt. So this agreeing with his own mind, he ſtayed at home till the King was come: And then a meſſenger was ſent to carry him before the Council. He received it very compoſedly, and went thither. *Rumſey* had alſo ſaid, that at *Shepherd*'s there was ſome diſcourſe of *Trenchard*'s undertaking to raiſe a body out of *Taunton*, and of his failing in it: So Lord *Ruſſel* was examined upon that, the King telling him, that no body ſuſpected him of any deſign againſt his perſon, but that he had good evidence of his being in deſigns againſt his government. Lord *Ruſſel* proteſted, he had heard nothing relating to *Trenchard*: And ſaid to the laſt, that either it was a fiction of *Rumſey*'s, or it had paſt between him and *Armſtrong*, while he was walking about the room, or taſting the wines at *Shepherd*'s; for he had not heard a word of it. Upon all this he was ſent a cloſe priſoner to the Tower.

Sidney was brought next before the Council. But his examination laſted not long. He ſaid, he muſt make the beſt defence he could, if they had any proof againſt him: But he would not fortify their evidence by any thing he ſhould ſay. And indeed that was the wiſeſt courſe; for the anſwering queſtions upon ſuch examinations is a very dangerous thing: Every word that is ſaid is laid hold on, that can be turned againſt a mans ſelf or his friends, and no regard is had to what he might ſay in favour of them: And it had been happy for the reſt, eſpecially for *Baillie*, if they had all held to this maxim. There was at that time no ſort of evidence againſt *Sidney*, ſo that his commitment was againſt law. *Trenchard* was alſo examined: He denied every thing. But one point of his guilt was well known: He was the firſt man that had moved the Excluſion in the Houſe of Commons: So he was reckoned a loſt man.

Baillie and two other Gentlemen of *Scotland*, both *Campbells*, had changed their lodgings while the Town was in this fermentation: And upon that they were ſeized on as ſuſpected perſons, and brought before the King. He himſelf examined them, and firſt queſtioned them about the deſign againſt his perſon, which they very frankly anſwered, and denied they knew any thing about it. Then he asked them, if they had been in any conſultations with Lords or others in *England*, in order to an inſurrection in *Scotland*. *Baillie* faultred at this: For his conſcience reſtrained him from lying. He ſaid, he did not know the importance of thoſe queſtions, nor what uſe might be made of his anſwers: He deſired to ſee them in writing, and then he would conſider how to anſwer them. Both the King and the Duke threatned him upon this: And he ſeemed to neglect that with ſo much of the air of a Philoſopher, that it provoked them out of meaſure againſt him. The other two were ſo lately come from *Scotland*, that they had ſeen no body, and knew nothing. *Baillie* was loaded by a ſpecial direction with very heavy irons: ſo that for ſome weeks his life was a burden to him. *Cockran*, another of thoſe who had been concerned in this Treaty, was complained of, as having talked very freely of the Duke's government of *Scotland*. Upon which the *Scottiſh* Secretary ſent a note to him deſiring him to come to

 him;

1683. him; for it was intended only to give him a reprimand, and to have ordered him to go to *Scotland*. But he knew his own ſecret: So he left his lodgings, and got beyond ſea. This ſhewed the Court had not yet got full evidence: Otherwiſe he would have been taken up, as well as others were.

Monmouth and others eſcaped.

As ſoon as the Council roſe, the King went to the Ducheſs of *Monmouth*'s, and ſeemed ſo much concerned for the Duke of *Monmouth*, that he wept as he ſpoke to her. That Duke told a ſtrange paſſage relating to that viſit to the Lord *Cutts*, from whom I had it. The King told his Lady, that ſome were to come and ſearch her lodgings: But he had given order that no ſearch ſhould be made in her appartments: So ſhe might conceal him ſafely in them. But the Duke of *Monmouth* added, that he knew him too well to truſt him: So he went out of his lodgings. And it ſeems he judged right: For the place that was firſt ſearched for him was her rooms: But he was gone. And he gave that for the reaſon why he could never truſt the King after that. It is not likely the King meant to proceed to extremities with him, but that he intended to have him in his own hands, and in his power.

An order was ſent to bring up the Lord *Grey*, which met him coming up. He was brought before the Council, where he behaved himſelf with great preſence of mind. He was ſent to the Tower. But the gates were ſhut: So he ſtaid in the meſſenger's hands all night, whom he furniſhed ſo liberally with wine, that he was dead drunk. Next morning he went with him to the Tower gate, the meſſenger being again faſt aſleep. He himſelf called at the Tower gate, to bring the Lieutenant of the Tower to receive a priſoner. But he began to think he might be in danger: He found *Rumſey* was one witneſs: And if another ſhould come in he was gone: So he called for a pair of oars, and went away, leaving the drunken meſſenger faſt aſleep. Warrants were ſent for ſeveral other perſons: Some went out of the way, and others were diſmiſſed after ſome months impriſonment. The King ſhewed ſome appearance of ſincerity in examining the witneſſes: He told them, he would not have a growing evidence: And ſo he charged them to tell out at once all that they knew: He led them into no accuſations by asking them any queſtions: He only asked them, if *Oates* was in their ſecret: They anſwered, that they all looked on him as ſuch a rogue, that they would not truſt him. The King alſo ſaid, he found Lord *Howard* was not among them, and he believed that was upon the ſame account. There were many more perſons named, and more particulars ſet down in *Weſt*'s narrative, than the Court thought fit to make uſe of: For they had no appearance of truth in them.

Lord *Ruſſel* from the time of his impriſonment looked upon himſelf as a dead man, and turned his thoughts wholly to another world. He read much in the Scriptures, particularly in the Pſalms, and read *Baxter's* dying thoughts. He was as ſerene and calm as if he had been in no danger at all. A Committee of Council came to examine him upon the deſign of ſeizing on the guards, and about his treating with the *Scots*. He anſwered them civilly; and ſaid, that he was now preparing for his trial, where he did not doubt but he ſhould anſwer every thing that could be objected to him. From him they went to *Sidney*, who treated them more roughly: He ſaid, it ſeemed they wanted evidence, and therefore they were come to draw it from his own mouth; but they ſhould have nothing from him. Upon this examination of Lord *Ruſſel*, in which his treating with the *Scots* was ſo poſitively charged on him, as a thing of which they were well aſſured, his Lady deſired me to ſee who this could be, that had ſo charged him: But this appeared to be only an artifice, to draw a confeſſion from him. *Cochran* was gone: And *Baillie* was a cloſe priſoner, and was very ill uſed: None were admitted to him. I ſent to the keeper of the priſon to let him want for nothing, and that I ſhould ſee him paid. I alſo at his deſire ſent him books for his entertainment, for which I was threatned with a priſon. I ſaid, I was his neareſt kinſman in the place, and this was only to do as I would be done by. From what I found among the *Scots* I quieted the fears of Lord *Ruſſel*'s friends.

Lord *Howard* was ſtill going about, and proteſting to every perſon he ſaw that there was no plot, and that he knew of none: Yet he ſeemed to be under a conſternation all the while. Lord *Ruſſel* told me, he was with him when the news was brought that *Weſt* had delivered himſelf, upon which he ſaw him change colour: And he asked him, if he apprehended any thing from him? He confeſſed, he had been as free with him as with any man. *Hamden* ſaw him afterwards under great fears: And upon that he wiſhed him to go out of the way, if he thought there was mat-

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ter againſt him, and if he had not a ſtrength of mind to ſuffer any thing that might happen to him. The King ſpoke of him with ſuch contempt, that it was not probable that he was all this while in correſpondence with the Court.

Howard's confeſſion.

At laſt, four days before Lord *Ruſſel's* trial, he was taken in his own houſe after a long ſearch; and was found ſtanding up within a chimney. As ſoon as he was taken he fell a crying: And at his firſt examination he told, as he ſaid, all that he knew. *Weſt* and *Rumſey* had reſolved only to charge ſome of the lower ſort; but had not laid every thing ſo well together, but that they were found contradicting one another. So *Rumſey* charged *Weſt* for concealing ſome things: Upon which he was laid in irons, and was threatned with being hanged: For three days he would eat nothing, and ſeemed reſolved to ſtarve himſelf: But nature overcame his reſolutions: And then he told all he knew, and perhaps more than he knew; for I believe it was at this time that he wrote his narrative. And in that he told a new ſtory of Lord *Howard*, which was not very credible, that he thought the beſt way of killing the King and the Duke, was for the Duke of *Monmouth* to fall into *New-Market* with a body of three or four hundred horſe when they were all aſleep, and ſo to take them all: As if it had been an eaſy matter to get ſuch a body together, and to carry them thither inviſibly upon ſo deſperate a ſervice. Upon Lord *Howard's* examination, he told a long ſtory of Lord *Shaftsbury's* deſign of raiſing the City: He affirmed, that the Duke of *Monmouth* had told him, how *Trenchard* had undertaken to bring a body of men from *Taunton*, but had failed in it: He confirmed that of a riſing intended in the City on the ſeventeenth or the nineteenth of *November* laſt: But he knew of no body that was to be at the head of it. So this was looked on as only talk. But that which came more home was, that he owned there was a Council of ſix ſettled, of which he himſelf was one; and that they had had ſeveral debates among them concerning an inſurrection, and where it ſhould begin, whether in the City or in the Country; but that they reſolved to be firſt well informed concerning the ſtate *Scotland* was in; and that *Sidney* had ſent *Aaron Smith* to *Scotland*, to bring him a ſure information from thence, and that he gave him ſixty guineas for his journey: More of that matter he did not know; for he had gone out of Town to the *Bath*, and to his eſtate in the Country. During his abſence the Lords began to apprehend their error in truſting him: And upon it Lord *Eſſex* ſaid to Lord *Ruſſel*, as the laſt told me in priſon, that the putting themſelves in the power of ſuch a man would be their reproach, as well as their ruin, for truſting a man of ſo ill a character: So they reſolved to talk no more to him: But at his next coming to Town they told him, they ſaw it was neceſſary at preſent to give over all conſultations, and to be quiet: And after that they ſaw him very little. *Hamden* was upon Lord *Howard's* diſcovery ſeized on: He, when examined, deſired not to be preſſed with Queſtions: So he was ſent to the Tower.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was ſent to the Tower.

A party of horſe was ſent to bring up Lord *Eſſex*, who had ſtaid all this while at his houſe in the Country; and ſeemed ſo little apprehenſive of danger that his own Lady did not imagine he had any concern on his mind. He was offered to be conveyed away very ſafely: But he would not ſtir. His tenderneſs for Lord *Ruſſel* was the cauſe of this: For he thought his going out of the way might incline the Jury to believe the evidence the more for his abſconding. He ſeemed reſolved, as ſoon as he ſaw how that went, to take care of himſelf. When the party came to bring him up, he was at firſt in ſome diſorder, yet he recovered himſelf. But when he came before the Council, he was in much confuſion. He was ſent to the Tower: And there he fell under a great depreſſion of ſpirit: He could not ſleep at all. He had fallen before that twice under great fits of the ſpleen, which returned now upon him with more violence. He ſent by a ſervant, whom he had long truſted, and who was ſuffered to come to him, a very melancholy meſſage to his wife; That what he was charged with was true: He was ſorry he had ruined her and her children: But he had ſent for the Earl of *Clarendon* to talk freely to him, who had married his ſiſter. She immediately ſent back the ſervant, to beg of him that he would not think of her or her children, but only ſtudy to ſupport his own ſpirits; and deſired him to ſay nothing to Lord *Clarendon*, nor to any body elſe, till ſhe ſhould come to him, which ſhe was in hope to obtain leave to do in a day or two. Lord *Clarendon* came to him upon his meſſage: But he turned the matter ſo well to him, as if he had been only to explain ſomewhat that he had miſtaken himſelf in when he was before the Council: But as to that for which he was clapt up, he ſaid there

1683. there was nothing in it, and it would appear how innocent he was. So Lord *Clarendon* went away in a great meaſure ſatisfied, as he himſelf told me. His Lady had another meſſage from him, that he was much calmer; eſpecially when he found how ſhe took his condition to heart, without ſeeming concerned for her own ſhare in it. He ordered many things to be ſent to him: And among other things he called ſeveral times for a penknife, with which he uſed to pare his nails very nicely: So this was thought intended for an amuſement. But it was not brought from his houſe in the Country, tho' ſent for. And when it did not come, he called for a razor, and ſaid, that would do as well. The King and the Duke came to the Tower that morning, as was given out, to ſee ſome invention about the ordnance. As they were going into their barge, the cry came after them of what had happened to Lord *Eſſex*: For his man, thinking he ſtaid longer than ordinary in his cloſet, ſaid, he looked thro' the key hole, and there ſaw him lying dead: Upon which the door being broke open, he was found dead; his throat cut, ſo that both the jugulars and the gullet were cut a little above the *Aſpera Arteria*. I ſhall afterwards give an account of the further enquiry into this matter, which paſt then univerſally as done by himſelf. The Coroners Jury found it ſelf-murder. And when his body was brought home to his own houſe, and the wound was examined by his own Surgeons, he ſaid to me, it was impoſſible the wound could be as it was, if given by any hand but his own: For except he had caſt his head back, and ſtretched up his neck all he could, the *Aſpera Arteria* muſt have been cut. But to go on with this tragical day, in which I loſt the two beſt friends I had in the world:

The Lord *Ruſſel*'s trial.

The Lord *Ruſſel*'s trial was fixed for that day. A Jury was returned that conſiſted of citizens of *London* who were not freeholders. So the firſt point argued in law was, whether this could be a legal Jury. The ſtatute was expreſs: And the reaſon was, that none but men of certain eſtates might try a man upon his life. It was anſwered, that the practice of the City was to the contrary, upon the very reaſon of the law. For the richeſt men of the city were often no freeholders, but merchants whoſe wealth lay in their trade and ſtock. So this was over-ruled, and the Jury was ſworn. They were pickt out with great care, being men of fair reputation in other reſpects, but ſo engaged in the party for the Court, that they were eaſy to believe any thing on that ſide. *Rumſey*, *Shepherd*, and Lord *Howard* were the witneſſes who depoſed according to what was formerly related. *Shepherd* ſwore, Lord *Ruſſel* was twice at his houſe, tho' he was never there but once. And when Lord *Ruſſel* ſent him word after his ſentence, that he forgave him all he had ſworn againſt him, but that he muſt remember that he was never within his doors but one ſingle time: To which all the anſwer *Shepherd* made was, that all the while he was in Court during the trial he was under ſuch a confuſion, that he ſcarce knew what he ſaid. Both *Rumſey* and he ſwore, that Lord *Ruſſel* had expreſſed his conſent to the ſeizing on the guards, tho' they did not ſwear any one word that he ſpoke which imported it: So that here a man was convicted of treaſon, for being preſent by accident, or for ſome innocent purpoſe, where treaſonable matter was diſcourſed, without bearing a part in that diſcourſe, or giving any aſſent by words or otherwiſe to what was ſo diſcourſed; which at the moſt amounts to miſpriſion, or concealment of treaſon only. As Lord *Howard* began his evidence the news of the Earl of *Eſſex*'s death came to the Court. Upon which Lord *Howard* ſtopped, and ſaid, he could not go on till he gave vent to his grief in ſome tears. He ſoon recovered himſelf and told all his ſtory. Lord *Ruſſel* defended himſelf by many compurgators, who ſpoke very fully of his great worth, and that it was not likely he would engage in ill deſigns. Some others beſides my ſelf teſtified how ſolemnly Lord *Howard* had denied his knowledge of any plot upon its firſt breaking out. *Finch*, the Sollicitour General, ſaid, no regard was to be had to that, for all witneſſes denied at firſt. It was anſwered, if theſe denials had been only to a magiſtrate, or at an examination, it might be thought of leſs moment: But ſuch ſolemn denials, with aſſeverations, to friends, and officiouſly offered, ſhewed that ſuch a witneſs was ſo bad a man, that no credit was due to his teſtimony. It was alſo urged, that it was not ſworn by any of the witneſſes, that Lord *Ruſſel* had ſpoken any ſuch words, or words to that effect: And without ſome ſuch indication, it could not be known that he hearkened to the diſcourſe, or conſented to it. Lord *Ruſſel* alſo asked upon what ſtatute he was tried: If upon the old ſtatute of the twenty fifth of *Edward* III. or if upon the ſtatute made declaring what ſhall be held treaſon during the

the King's reign? They could not rely on the laſt, becauſe of the limitation of time in it: Six months, and ſomething more, were paſſed ſince the time of theſe diſcourſes: So they relied on the old ſtatute. Upon which he asked, where was the overt-act? For none appeared. It was alſo ſaid, that by that ſtatute the very imagining the King's death, when proved by an overt-act, was treaſon: But it was only the levying war, and not the imagining to levy war againſt the King, that was treaſon by that ſtatute. *Cook* and *Hale* were of this opinion, and gave their reaſons for it. And it ſeemed, that the Parliament that paſt the act of treaſon during the preſent Reign were of that mind; for they enumerated conſultations to raiſe War among thoſe things which were declared to be treaſon during that Reign: This ſhewed, that they did not look on them as comprehended within the old ſtatute. The King's Counſel pretended, that conſultations to ſeize on the guards were an overt-act of a deſign againſt the King's perſon. But thoſe forces, that have got the deſignation of guards appropriated to them, are not the King's guards in law: They are not ſo much as allowed of by law: For even the lately diſſolved long Parliament, that was ſo careful of the King, and ſo kind to him, would never take notice of the King's forces, much leſs call them his guards. The guards were only a company of men in the King's pay: So that a deſign to ſeize on them amounted to no more, than to a deſign to ſeize on a part of the King's army. But the word guards ſounded ſo like a ſecurity to the King's perſon, that the deſign againſt them was conſtructed a deſign againſt his life: And yet none of the Witneſſes ſpoke of any deſign againſt the King's perſon. Lord *Howard* ſwore poſitively, that they had no ſuch deſign. Yet the one was conſtructed to be the natural conſequence of the other. So that after all the declaiming againſt a conſtructive treaſon in the caſe of Lord *Strafford*, the Court was always running into it, when they had a mind to deſtroy any that ſtood in their way. Lord *Ruſſel* deſired, that his Counſel might be heard to this point of ſeizing the guards: But that was denied, unleſs he would confeſs the fact: And he would not do that, becauſe, as the Witneſſes had ſworn it, it was falſe: He once intended to have related the whole fact, juſt as it was: But his Counſel adviſed him againſt it. Some of his friends were for it, who thought that it could amount to no more than a concealment and miſpriſion of treaſon. Yet the Counſel diſtinguiſhed between a bare knowledge, and a concealing that, and a joining deſignedly in council with men that did deſign treaſon: For, in that caſe, tho' a man ſhould differ in opinion from a treaſonable propoſition, yet his mixing in council with ſuch men will in law make him a traitour. Lord *Ruſſel* ſpoke but little: Yet in few words he touched on all the material points of law that had been ſuggeſted to him. *Finch* ſummed up the evidence againſt him: But in that and in ſeveral other trials afterwards, he ſhewed more of a vicious eloquence, in turning matters with ſome ſubtlety againſt the priſoners, than of ſolid or ſincere reaſoning. *Jefferies* would ſhew his zeal, and ſpeak after him: But it was only an inſolent declamation, ſuch as all his were, full of fury and indecent invectives. *Pemberton* was the head of the Court, the other Bench not being yet filled. He ſummed up the evidence at firſt very fairly: But in concluſion he told the Jury, that a deſign to ſeize the guards was ſurely a deſign againſt the King's life. But tho' he ſtruck upon this, which was the main point, yet it was thought that his ſtating the whole matter with ſo little eagerneſs againſt Lord *Ruſſel*, was that which loſt him his place: For he was turned out ſoon after. Lord *Ruſſel*'s behaviour during the trial was decent and compoſed: So that he ſeemed very little concerned in the iſſue of the matter. He was a man of ſo much candour, that he ſpoke little as to the fact: For ſince he was adviſed not to tell the whole truth, he could not ſpeak againſt that which he knew to be true, tho' in ſome particulars it had been carried beyond the truth. But he was not allowed to make the difference: So he left that wholly to the Jury, who brought in their verdict againſt him, upon which he received ſentence.

1683.

He was condemned.

He then compoſed himſelf to die with great ſeriouſneſs. He ſaid, he was ſure the day of his trial was more uneaſy to him, than that of his execution would be. All poſſible methods were uſed to have ſaved his life: Money was offered to the Lady *Portſmouth*, and to all that had credit, and that without meaſure. He was preſſed to ſend petitions and ſubmiſſions to the King, and to the Duke: But he left it to his friends to conſider how far theſe might go, and how they were to be worded. All he was brought to was, to offer to live beyond ſea in any place that

1683. the King ſhould name, and never to meddle any more in *Engliſh* affairs. But all was in vain: Both King and Duke were fixed in their reſolutions; but with this difference, as Lord *Rocheſter* afterwards told me, that the Duke ſuffered ſome, among whom he was one, to argue the point with him, but the King could not bear the diſcourſe. Some have ſaid, that the Duke moved that he might be executed in *Southampton* ſquare before his own houſe, but that the King rejected that as indecent. So *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields* was the place appointed for his execution. The laſt week of his life he was ſhut up all the mornings, as he himſelf deſired. And about noon I came to him, and ſtaid with him till night. All the while he expreſſed a very Chriſtian temper, without ſharpneſs or reſentment, vanity or affectation. His whole behaviour looked like a triumph over death. Upon ſome occaſions, as at table, or when his friends came to ſee him, he was decently cheerful. I was by him when the Sheriffs came to ſhew him the warrant for his execution. He read it with indifference: And when they were gone he told me, it was not decent to be merry with ſuch a matter, otherwiſe he was near telling *Rich*, (who tho' he was now of the other ſide, yet had been a member of the Houſe of Commons, and had voted for the Excluſion,) that they ſhould never ſit together in that Houſe any more to vote for the bill of Excluſion. The day before his death he fell a bleeding at the noſe: Upon that he ſaid to me pleaſantly, I ſhall not now let blood to divert this: That will be done to morrow. At night it rained hard: And he ſaid, ſuch a rain to morrow will ſpoil a great ſhew, which was a dull thing in a rainy day. He ſaid, the ſins of his youth lay heavy upon his mind: But he hoped God had forgiven them, for he was ſure he had forſaken them, and for many years he had walked before God with a ſincere heart: If in his publick actings he had committed errours, they were only the errours of his underſtanding; for he had no private ends, nor ill deſigns of his own in them: He was ſtill of opinion that the King was limited by law, and that when he broke thro' thoſe limits his ſubjects might defend themſelves, and reſtrain him: He thought a violent death was a very deſireable way of ending one's life: It was only the being expoſed to be a little gazed at, and to ſuffer the pain of one minute, which, he was confident, was not equal to the pain of drawing a tooth. He ſaid, he felt none of thoſe tranſports that ſome good people felt; but he had a full calm in his mind, no palpitation at heart, nor trembling at the thoughts of death. He was much concerned at the cloud that ſeemed to be now over his Country: But he hoped his death ſhould do more ſervice, than his life could have done.

His preparation for death.

This was the ſubſtance of the diſcourſe between him and me. *Tillotſon* was oft with him that laſt week. We thought the party had gone too quick in their conſultations, and too far; and that reſiſtance in the condition we were then in was not lawful. He ſaid, he had not leiſure to enter into diſcourſes of politicks; but he thought a government limited by law was only a name, if the ſubjects might not maintain thoſe limitations by force: Otherwiſe all was at the diſcretion of the Prince: That was contrary to all the notions he had lived in of our government. But he ſaid, there was nothing among them but the embryo of things, that were never like to have any effect, and that were now quite diſſolved. He thought it was neceſſary for him to leave a paper behind him at his death: And becauſe he had not been accuſtomed to draw ſuch papers, he deſired me to give him a ſcheme of the heads fit to be ſpoken to, and of the order in which they ſhould be laid: Which I did. And he was three days employed for ſome time in the morning to write out his ſpeech. He ordered four copies to be made of it, all which he ſigned; and gave the original with three of the copies to his Lady, and kept the other to give to the Sheriffs on the Scaffold. He writ it with great care: And the paſſages that were tender he writ in papers apart, and ſhewed them to his Lady, and to my ſelf before he writ them out fair. He was very eaſy when this was ended. He alſo writ a letter to the King, in which he asked pardon for every thing he had ſaid or done contrary to his duty, proteſting he was innocent as to all deſigns againſt his perſon or government, and that his heart was ever devoted to that which he thought was his true intereſt. He added, that tho' he thought he had met with hard meaſure, yet he forgave all concerned in it from the higheſt to the loweſt; and ended, hoping that his Majeſty's diſpleaſure at him would ceaſe with his own life, and that no part of it ſhould fall on his wife and children. The day before his death he received the Sacrament from *Tillotſon* with much devotion. And I preached two ſhort ſermons to him, which he heard with great affection. And we were ſhut up till to-

wards

wards the evening. Then he ſuffered his children that were very young, and ſome few of his friends to take leave of him; in which he maintained his conſtancy of temper, tho' he was a very fond father. He alſo parted with his Lady with a compoſed ſilence: And, as ſoon as ſhe was gone, he ſaid to me, The bitterneſs of death is paſt: For he loved and eſteemed her beyond expreſſion, as ſhe well deſerved it in all reſpects. She had the command of her ſelf ſo much, that at parting ſhe gave him no diſturbance. He went into his chamber about midnight: And I ſtaid all night in the outward room. He went not to bed till about two in the morning: And was faſt aſleep at four, when according to his order we called him. He was quickly dreſſed, but would loſe no time in ſhaving: For he ſaid, he was not concerned in his good looks that day.

The trial and execution of *Walcot* and others.

He was not ill pleaſed with the account he heard that morning of the manner of *Walcot*'s death, who together with one *Hone* and *Rouſe* had ſuffered the day before. Theſe were condemned upon the evidence of the witneſſes *Rumſey* and *Weſt* ſwore fully againſt *Walcot*: He had alſo writ a letter to the Secretary offering to make diſcoveries, in which he ſaid the plot was laid deep and wide. *Walcot* denied at his death the whole buſineſs of the *Rye-Plot*, and of his undertaking to fight the guards while others ſhould kill the King. He ſaid, *Weſt* had often ſpoken of it to him in the phraſe of *lopping*; and that he always ſaid, he would not meddle in it, and that he looked on it as an infamous thing, and as that which the Duke of *Monmouth* would certainly revenge, tho' *Weſt* aſſured him that Duke had engaged under his hand to conſent to it. This confeſſion of *Walcot*'s as it ſhewed himſelf very guilty, ſo it made *Weſt* appear ſo black, that the Court made no more uſe of him. *Hone*, a poor tradeſman in *London*, who it ſeems had ſome heat, but ſcarce any ſenſe in him, was drawn in by *Keeling*, and *Lee*, another witneſs, who was alſo brought in by *Keeling* to a very wild thing, of killing the King but ſparing the Duke, upon this conceit, that we would be in leſs danger in being under a profeſſed Papiſt than under the King. *Hone* had promiſed to ſerve in the execution of it, but neither knew when, where, nor how it was to be done: So, tho' he ſeemed fitter for a *Bedlam* than a trial, yet he was tried the day before the Lord *Ruſſel*, and ſuffered with the others the day before him. He confeſſed his own guilt; but ſaid, theſe, who witneſſed againſt him had engaged him in that deſign, for which they now charged him: But he knew nothing of any other perſons, beſides himſelf and the two witneſſes. The third was one *Rouſe*, who had belonged to *Player* the Chamberlain of *London*; againſt whom *Lee* and *Keeling* ſwore the ſame things. He was more affected with a ſenſe of the heat and fury with which he had been acted, than the others were: But he denied, that he was ever in any deſign againſt the King's life. He ſaid, the witneſſes had let fall many wicked things of that matter in diſcourſe with him: So that he was reſolved to diſcover them, and was only waiting till he could find out the bottom of their deſigns: But that now they had prevented him. He vindicated all his acquaintance from being any way concerned in the matter, or from approving ſuch deſigns. Theſe men dying as they did, was ſuch a diſgrace to the witneſſes, that the Court ſaw it was not fit to make any further uſe of them. Great uſe was made of the conjunction of theſe two plots, one for a riſing, and another for an aſſaſſination. It was ſaid, that the one was that which gave the heart and hope to the other black conſpiracy: By which they were over all *England* blended together as a plot within a plot, which caſt a great load on the whole party.

Ruſſel's execution.

Lord *Ruſſel* ſeemed to have ſome ſatisfaction to find that there was no truth in the whole contrivance of the *Rye-Plot*: So that he hoped, that infamy, which now blaſted their party, would ſoon go off. He went into his chamber ſix or ſeven times in the morning, and prayed by himſelf, and then came out to *Tillotſon* and me: He drunk a little tea and ſome ſherry. He wound up his Watch, and ſaid, now he had done with time, and was going to eternity. He asked what he ſhould give the executioner: I told him ten Guineas: he ſaid, with a ſmile, it was a pretty thing to give a fee to have his head cut off. When the Sheriffs called him about ten a clock, Lord *Cavendiſh* was waiting below to take leave of him. They embraced very tenderly. Lord *Ruſſel*, after he had left him, upon a ſudden thought came back to him, and preſſed him earneſtly to apply himſelf more to Religion; and told him what great comfort and ſupport he felt from it now in his extremity. Lord *Cavendiſh* had very generouſly offered to manage his eſcape, and to ſtay in priſon for him while he ſhould go away in his cloaths: But he would not hearken to the motion. The Duke of

Monmouth

1683. *Monmouth* had also sent me word, to let him know, that, if he thought it could do him any service, he would come in, and run fortunes with him. He answered, it would be of no advantage to him to have his friends die with him. *Tillotson* and I went in the coach with him to the place of execution. Some of the croud that filled the streets wept, while others insulted: He was touched with the tenderness that the one gave him, but did not seem at all provoked by the other. He was singing Psalms a great part of the way; and said, he hoped to sing better very soon. As he observed the great crouds of people all the Way, he said to us, I hope I shall quickly see a much better assembly. When he came to the Scaffold, he walked about it four or five times. Then he turned to the Sheriffs, and delivered his paper. He protested, he had always been far from any designs against the King's life or government: He prayed God would preserve both, and the Protestant Religion. He wished all Protestants might love one another, and not make way for Popery by their animosities.

Russel's last speech.

The substance of the paper he gave them was, first a profession of his Religion, and of his sincerity in it: That he was of the Church of *England*: But wished all would unite together against the common enemy: That Churchmen would be less severe, and Dissenters less scrupulous. He owned he had a great zeal against Popery, which he looked on as an idolatrous and bloody Religion: But that, tho' he was at all times ready to venture his life for his Religion or his Country, yet that would never have carried him to a black or wicked design. No man ever had the impudence to move to him any thing with relation to the King's life: He prayed heartily for him, that in his person and government he might be happy both in this world and in the next. He protested, that in the prosecution of the popish plot he had gone on in the sincerity of his heart; and that he never knew of any practice with the Witnesses. He owned he had been earnest in the matter of the Exclusion, as the best way in his opinion to secure both the King's life and the Protestant religion: And to that he imputed his present sufferings: But he forgave all concerned in them; and charged his friends to think of no revenges. He thought his sentence was hard: Upon which he gave an account of all that had past at *Shepherd*'s. From the heats that were in chusing the Sheriffs he concluded, that matter would end as it now did: And he was not much surprized to find it fall upon himself: He wished it might end in him: Killing by forms of law was the worst sort of murder. He concluded with some very devout Ejaculations. After he had delivered this paper he prayed by himself: Then *Tillotson* prayed with him. After that he prayed again by himself: And then undressed himself, and laid his head on the block, without the least change of countenance: And it was cut off at two strokes.

This was the end of that great and good man: On which I have perhaps enlarged too copiously: But the great esteem I had for him, and the share I had in this matter, will I hope excuse it. His speech was so soon printed, that it was selling about the streets an hour after his death: Upon which the Court was highly enflamed. So *Tillotson* and I were appointed to appear before the Cabinet Council. *Tillotson* had little to say, but only that Lord *Russel* had shewed him his speech the day before he suffered; and that he spoke to him, what he thought was incumbent on him, upon some parts of it, but he was not disposed to alter it. I was longer before them. I saw they apprehended I had penned the speech. I told the King, that at his Lady's desire I writ down a very particular journal of every passage, great and small, that had happened during my attendance on him: I had just ended it, as I received my summons to attend his Majesty: So, if he commanded me, I would read it to him: Which upon his command I did. I saw they were all astonished at the many extraordinary things in it: The most important of them are set down in the former relation. The Lord Keeper asked me, if I intended to print that. I said, it was only intended for his Lady's private use. The Lord Keeper seeing the King silent, added, You are not to think the King is pleased with this, because he says nothing. This was very mean. He then asked me, if I had not studied to dissuade the Lord *Russel* from putting many things in his speech. I said, I had discharged my conscience to him very freely in every particular: But he was now gone: So it was impossible to know, if I should tell any thing of what had past between us, whether it was true or false: I desired therefore to be excused. The Duke asked me, if he had said any thing to me in confession. I answered that if he had said any thing to me in confidence, that was enough to restrain me from speaking of it. Only I offered to take my oath, that

that the ſpeech was penned by himſelf, and not by me. The Duke, upon all that paſt in this examination, expreſſed himſelf ſo highly offended at me, that it was concluded I would be ruined. Lord *Hallifax* ſent me word, that the Duke looked on my reading the journal as a ſtudied thing, to make a panegyrick on Lord *Ruſſel*'s memory. Many pamphlets were writ on that occaſion: And I was heavily charged in them all, as the adviſer, if not the author, of the ſpeech. But I was adviſed by all my friends to write no anſwer, but to bear the malice that was vented upon me with ſilence; which I reſolved to do.

Prince *George* of *Denmark* married the Princeſs *Anne*

At this time Prince *George* of *Denmark* came into *England* to marry the Duke's ſecond daughter. The Prince of *Hanover* had come over two years before to make addreſſes to her: But he was ſcarce got hither, when he received orders from his father not to proceed in that deſign; for he had agreed a match for him with his brother the Duke of *Zell* for his daughter, which did at that time more accommodate the family. The marriage that was now made with the brother of *Denmark* did not at all pleaſe the nation: For we knew that the propoſition came from *France*. So it was apprehended, that both Courts reckoned they were ſure that he would change his Religion: In which we have ſeen, ſince that time, that our fears were ill grounded. He has lived in all reſpects the happieſt with his Princeſs that was poſſible, except in one particular: For tho' there was a child born every year for many years, yet they have all died: So that the fruitfulleſt marriage that has been known in our age, has been fatally blaſted as to the effect of it.

The ſiege of *Vienna*.

The affairs abroad were now every where in a great fermentation. The Emperour had governed *Hungary* ſo ſtrangely, as at once to perſecute the Proteſtants and to oppreſs the Papiſts in their liberties, which diſpoſed both to rebel: Upon which the male-contents were now in arms, and had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral places in the upper *Hungary*; which being near *Poland*, they were managed and aſſiſted by the *French* Miniſters in that Kingdom; in which the Cardinal of *Fourbin* was the chief inſtrument. But they not being able to maintain themſelves againſt the Emperour's whole force, *Tekeli*, who was ſet at their head, offered all ſubmiſſions to the *Turk*, and begged his protection. Upon this that great War broke out, all ſet on by the practices of the King of *France*; who, while he was perſecuting the Proteſtants in his own Kingdom, was at the ſame time encouraging the rebellion of *Hungary*, and drawing the *Turk* into Chriſtendom. I need not enlarge further on a matter ſo well known as the ſiege of *Vienna*: Which, if it had been as well proſecuted as it was firſt undertaken, the Town would have been certainly taken, and with that the Emperour and his family ruined. The King of *France* drew a great army together near the frontier of *Germany*, and ſeemed to depend upon it that the Town would be taken; and that he would be called in by the Princes of *Germany* to protect them, and upon that have been choſen Emperour. He at the ſame time ſent *Humieres* with an army into *Flanders*, upon a pretenſion to *Aloſt*, that would have ſeemed very ſtrange in any other Court but that. He had once poſſeſſed himſelf, during the War, of *Aloſt*: But afterwards he drew his troops out of it. So it not being in his hands when the peace of *Nimeguen* was made, no mention was made of reſtoring it. But now it was ſaid, that, it being once in the King's hands by the right of his arms, it was ſtill his, ſince he had not expreſly renounced it: Therefore he now demanded it, or to have *Luxembourg* given him as an equivalent for it. *Humieres* finding no reſiſtance in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, deſtroyed and ruined the country, beyond any thing it had felt during the whole War. This was the ſtate of affairs abroad at the time of theſe trials.

All people thought we ſhould ſee a Parliament preſently called, from which both the King and the Duke might have expected every thing that they could deſire: For the body of the nation was yet ſo poſſeſſed with the belief of the plot, that probably all elections would have gone as the Court directed, and ſcarce any of the other party would have had the courage to have ſtood for an election any where. But the King of *France* began to apprehend, that the King might grow ſo much the maſter at home, that he would be no longer in their management: And they foreſaw that, what ſucceſs ſoever the King might have in a Parliament with relation to his own affairs, it was not to be imagined but that a Houſe of Commons, at the ſame time that they ſhewed their ſubmiſſion to the King, would both enable him to reſiſt the progreſs of the *French* arms, and addreſs to him to enter into alliances with the *Spaniards* and the States. So the *French* made uſe of all their inſtruments to divert our

1683. Court from calling a Parliament: And they got the King to conſent to their poſſeſſing themſelves of *Luxembourg*: For which, I was told, they gave him 300000 *l.* But I have no certainty of that. Lord *Montague* told me of it, and ſeemed to believe it: And Lady *Portſmouth* valued her ſelf on this of *Luxembourg* as gained by her; and called it the laſt ſervice ſhe did the Court of *France*.

The author went to the Court of *France*.

At this time I went over into *France*, chiefly to be out of the way, when I was fallen on almoſt in every libel: For new ſets of addreſſes were now running about the nation, with more heat and ſwelled eloquence in them than the former ones. In all which the providential fire of *New-Market* was ſet off with great pomp: And in many of them there were hard things ſaid of Lord *Ruſſel* and his ſpeech, with inſinuations that looked towards me.

Characters of ſome he knew there.

In *France*, *Rouvigny*, who was the Lady *Ruſſel*'s uncle, ſtudied to get me to be much viſited and known. There my acquaintance with Marſhal *Schomberg* began: And by him I was acquainted with Marſhal *Bellfonds*, who was a devout man, but very weak. He read the Scriptures much, and ſeemed to practiſe the vertues of the deſart in the midſt of that Court. I knew the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, who was a rough boiſterous man: He ſeemed to have good notions of the epiſcopal duty, in all things, except that of the ſetting a good example to his Clergy: For he allowed himſelf in liberties of all kinds. The Duke of *Montauſier* was a pattern of vertue and ſincerity, if not too cynical in it. He was ſo far from flattering the King, as all the reſt did moſt abjectly, that he could not hold from contradicting him, as often as there was occaſion for it. And for that reaſon chiefly the King made him the *Dauphin*'s governour: To which, he told me, he had applied himſelf with great care, tho', he very frankly added, without ſucceſs. The exteriour of the King was very ſolemn: The firſt time I happened to ſee him was, when the news came of the raiſing the ſiege of *Vienna*; with which, *Schomberg* told me, he was much ſtruck, for he did not look for it. While I was at Court, which was only for four or five days, one of the King's coaches was ſent to wait on me, and the King ordered me to be well treated by all about him, which upon that was done with a great profuſion of extraordinary reſpects: At which all people ſtood amazed. Some thought, it was to encourage the ſide againſt the Court by this treatment of one then in diſgrace. Others more probably thought, that the King, hearing I was a Writer of hiſtory, had a mind to engage me to write on his ſide. I was told a penſion would be offered me. But I made no ſteps towards it: For tho' I was offered an audience of the King, I excuſed it, ſince I could not have the honour to be preſented to that King by the Miniſter of *England*. I ſaw the Prince of *Conde* but once, tho' he intended to ſee me oftner. He had a great quickneſs of apprehenſion, and was thought the beſt judge in *France* both of wit and learning. He had read my hiſtory of the Reformation, that was then tranſlated into *French*, and ſeemed pleaſed with it. So were many of the great lawyers; in particular *Harlay*, then Attorney General, and now firſt Preſident of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*. The conteſts with *Rome* were then very high; for the aſſembly of the Clergy had paſt ſome articles very derogatory to the Papal authority: So many fancied, that matter might go to a rupture: And *Harlay* ſaid very publickly, that, if that ſhould happen, I had laid before them a good plan to copy from.

Bellfonds had ſo good an opinion of me, that he thought inſtances of devotion might have ſome effect on me: So he made the Ducheſs *La Valiere* think, that ſhe might be an inſtrument in converting me: And he brought a meſſage from her, deſiring me to come to the grate to her. I was twice there: And ſhe told me the ſteps of her converſion, and of her coming into that ſtrict order of the *Carmelites*, with great humility and much devotion. *Treville*, one of the Ducheſs of *Orleans*'s admirers, was ſo ſtruck with her death, that he had lived in retreat from that time, and was but newly come to appear again: He had great knowledge, with a true ſenſe of Religion: He ſeemed to groan under many of the corruptions of their Church. He and ſome others whom I knew of the *Sorbon*, chiefly *Faur*, *Pique*, and *Brayer*, ſeemed to think that almoſt every thing among them was out of order; and wiſhed for a regular Reformation: But their notion of the unity of the Church kept them ſtill in a communion that they ſeemed uneaſy in: And they ſaid very freely, they wondered how any one that was once of their communion ſhould deſire to come back into it. They were generally learned only in one point: *Faur* was the beſt read in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of any man I ſaw among them: And I never knew

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any of that Church that underſtood the Scriptures ſo well as *Pique* did. They declared themſelves for aboliſhing the Papal authority, and for reducing the Pope to the old Primacy again. They ſpoke to me of the Biſhops of *France*, as men that were both vitious and ignorant: They ſeemed now to be againſt the Pope: But it was only becauſe he was in the intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: For they would declare him infallible the next day after he ſhould turn to the intereſt of *France*: So they expected no good, neither from the Court nor from the Clergy. I ſaw St. *Amour*, the author of the journal of what paſt at *Rome* in the condemnation of the five propoſitions of *Janſenius*. He ſeemed to be a ſincere and worthy man, who had more judgment than either quickneſs or learning. He told me, his whole life had been one campaign againſt the *Jeſuits*; and ſpoke of them as the great plague of the Church. He lamented alſo that ſharpneſs of ſtile with which his friend *Arnauld* treated the Proteſtants; for which, he ſaid, both he and all his friends blamed him. I was carried by a Biſhop to the *Jeſuits* at St. *Anthonie's*. There I ſaw *P. Bourdaloue*, eſteemed one of the greateſt preachers of the age, and one of the honours of his order. He was a man of a ſweet temper, not at all violent againſt Proteſtants: On the contrary, he believed good men among them might be ſaved, which was a pitch in charity that I had never obſerved in any of the learned of that Communion. I was alſo once with *P. de la Chaiſe*, the King's Confeſſor, who was a dry man. He told me, how great a man they would make me, if I would come over to them. 1683.

This was my acquaintance on the Popiſh ſide. I ſay little of the Proteſtants. They came all to me: So I was well known among them. The method that carried over the men of the fineſt parts among them to Popery was this: They brought themſelves to doubt of the whole Chriſtian Religion: When that was once done, it ſeemed a more indifferent thing of what ſide or form they continued to be outwardly. The baſe practices of buying many over with penſions, and of driving others over with perpetual ill uſage and the acts of the higheſt injuſtice and violence, and the vile artifices in bringing on and carrying ſo many proceſſes againſt moſt of their Churches, as not comprehended within the edict of *Nantes*, were a reproach both to the greatneſs of their King and to the juſtice of their Courts. Many new edicts were coming out every day againſt them, which contradicted the edict of *Nantes* in the moſt expreſs words poſſible: And yet to all theſe a ſtrange clauſe was added, That the King did not intend by them to recal, nor to go againſt any article of the edict of *Nantes*, which he would maintain inviolable. I knew *Spanheim* particularly, who was Envoy from the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, who is the greateſt critick of the age in all ancient learning, and is with that a very able man in all affairs, and a frank cheerful man: Qualities that do not always meet in very learned men. After a few months ſtay I returned, and found both the King and Duke were highly offended with the reception I had met with in *France*. They did not know what to make of it, and fancied there was ſomething hid under it.

Affairs in *England*.

The addreſſes had now gone round *England*. The Grand Juries made after that high preſentments againſt all that were eſteemed Whiggs and Non-conformiſts. Great pains were taken to find out more witneſſes. Pardons and rewards were offered very freely. But none came in: Which made it evident, that nothing was ſo well laid, or brought ſo near execution, as the witneſſes had depoſed: Otherwiſe people would have been crouding in for pardons. All people were apprehenſive of very black deſigns, when they ſaw *Jefferies* made Lord Chief Juſtice, who was ſcandalouſly vitious, and was drunk every day; beſides a drunkenneſs of fury in his temper, that looked like Enthuſiaſm. He did not conſider the decencies of his poſt: Nor did he ſo much as affect to ſeem impartial, as became a Judge; but run out upon all occaſions into declamations, that did not become the Bar, much leſs the Bench. He was not learned in his profeſſion: And his eloquence, tho' vitiouſly copious, yet was neither correct nor agreeable. *Pemberton* was turned out of the Common Pleas, and *Jones* was put in his place: And *Jefferies* had three Judges joined with him in the King's Bench, fit to ſit by him.

Jefferies and other Judges preferred.

The King ſent a new meſſage to the City of *London*, requiring the Common Council to deliver up their Charter, threatning them, that otherwiſe he would order the judgment to be entred. Upon this a great debate aroſe among them. Some were for their compliance, that they might prevent the prejudice that would otherwiſe ariſe. On the other hand it was ſaid, that all freemen took an oath to maintain the rights

1683. rights of their Corporation: So that it was perjury in them to betray these. They said, it was better to leave the matter to the King, than by any act of their own to deliver all up. So it was carried not to do it by a few voices. Upon that the judgment was entred: And the King seized on their liberties. Many of the Aldermen and other officers were turned out: And others were put in their places. So they continued for some time a City without a Charter, or a Common Council: And the King named the magistrates. New Charters were sent to most of the Corporations, in which the King reserved a power to himself to turn out magistrates at his pleasure. This was done to make all sure for a new election of Parliament, which came now under consideration.

1684. There was a clause in the act that repealed the triennial bill, which had past in the beginning of the troubles, which enacted that a Parliament should meet every third year: But it had none of those enforcing clauses, in case it did not meet, that were in the other act: And the third year from the Parliament of *Oxford* was now near an end. So, since the King had declared he would govern according to law, and in particular that he would have frequent Parliaments, for which he had special thanks given him in many of the addresses, it was proposed that a Parliament should be called. A War seemed like to break out in *Flanders*; where the *Spaniards*, how ill soever they were prepared for it, had declared War, upon the *French* troops possessing themselves of *Dixmuyd* and *Courtray*. The Prince of *Orange* was pressing the States to go into a new War, rather than let *Luxembourg* be taken. But this was much opposed by the Town of *Amsterdam*. The calling a new Parliament here, and *England*'s engaging, as all believed they might do, would be an effectual restraint on the *French*. But the King had consented to let *Luxembourg* fall into their hands: So it was apprehended that the Parliament might fall upon that, which was the only point that could occasion any difference between the King and them. It was also said, that it was fit all the Charters should be first brought in, and all the Corporations new modelled, before the Parliament should be called. The prerogative lawyers pretended, that the prerogative was indeed limited by negative and prohibiting words, but not by affirmative words. Lord *Hallifax* told me, he pressed this all he could; but there was a *French* interest working strongly against it: So the thoughts of a Parliament at that time were laid aside. The *Scottish* prisoners were ordered to be sent down to be tried in *Scotland*. This was sad news to them: For the boots there are a severe torture. *Baillie* had reason to expect the worst usage: He was carried to *Newgate* in the morning that Lord *Russel* was tried, to see if he could be perswaded to be a witness against him. Every thing that could work on him was made use of, but all in vain: So they were resolved to use him severely.

The calling a Parliament proposed, but rejected.

Suspicions of *Essex*'s being murdered.

I passed slightly over the suspicions that were raised upon Lord *Essex*'s death, when I mentioned that matter. This Winter the business was brought to a trial: A boy and a girl did report, that they heard great crying in his lodgings, and that they saw a bloody razor flung out at Window, which was taken up by a Woman that came out of the house where he was lodged. These children reported this confidently that very day, when they went to their several homes: They were both about ten or twelve years old. The boy went backward and forward in his story, sometimes affirming it, and at other times denying it: But his father had an office in the Custom House: So it was thought, he prevailed with him to deny it in open Court. But the girl stood firmly to her story. The simplicity of the children, together with the ill opinion that was generally had of the Court, inclined many to believe this. As soon as his Lady heard of it, she ordered a strict enquiry to be made about it; and sent what she found to me, to whom she had trusted all the messages that had past between her Lord and her while he was in the Tower. When I perused all, I thought there was not a colour to found any prosecution on; which she would have done with all possible zeal, if she had found any appearances of truth in the matter. Lord *Essex* had got into an odd set of some strange principles: And in particular he thought, a man was the master of his own life; and seemed to approve of what his Wife's great grandfather, the Earl of *Northumberland*, did, who shot himself in the Tower after he was arraigned. He had also very black fits of the spleen. But at that time one *Braddon*, whom I had known for some years for an honest but enthusiastical man, hearing of these stories, resolved to carry the matter as far as it would go: And he had pickt up a great variety of little circumstances, all which laid together seemed

seemed to him so convincing, that he thought he was bound to prosecute the matter. I desired him to come no more near me, since he was so positive. He talked of the matter so publickly, that he was taken up for spreading false news to alienate peoples hearts from the King. He was tried upon it. Both the children owned, that they had reported the matter as he had talked it; the boy saying then, that it was a lie. *Braddon* had desired the boy to set it all under his hand, tho' with that he charged him to write nothing but the truth. This was called a suborning: And he was fined for it in 2000 *l.* But I go next to a trial of more importance. 1684.

Howard was the only evidence against the prisoners of better rank; for they had no communication with the other witnesses. So other things were to be found out as supplements to support it. *Sidney* was next brought to his trial. A Jury was returned, consisting for most part of very mean persons. Mens pulses were tried before hand, to see how tractable they would be. One *Parry*, a violent man, guilty of several murders, was not only pardoned, but was now made a Justice of Peace, for his officious meddling and violence. He told one of the Duke's servants, thinking that such a one was certainly of their party, that he had sent in a great many names of jurors, who were sure men: That person told me this himself. *Sidney* excepted to their not being freeholders. But *Jefferies* said, that had been over-ruled in Lord *Russel's* case: And therefore he over-ruled it; and would not so much as suffer *Sidney* to read the statute. This was one of his bold strains. Lord *Russel* was tried at the *Old Baily*, where the Jury consisted of *Londoners*: And there indeed the contrary practice had prevailed, upon the reason before mentioned; for the merchants are supposed to be rich: But this trial was in *Middlesex*, where the contrary practice had not prevailed; for in a county a man who is no freeholder is supposed to be poor. But *Jefferies* said on another occasion, why might not they make precedents to the succeeding times, as well as those who had gone before them had made precedents for them? The Witnesses of the other parts of the plot were now brought out again to make a shew; for they knew nothing of *Sidney*. Only they said, that they had heard of a Council of six, and that he was one of them. Yet even in that they contradicted one another; *Rumsey* swearing that he had it from *West*, and *West* swearing that he had it from him; which was not observed till the trial came out. If it had been observed sooner, perhaps *Jefferies* would have ordered it to be struck out; as he did all that *Sidney* had objected upon the point of the Jury, because they were not freeholders. *Howard* gave his evidence, with a preface that had become a pleader better than a witness. He observed the uniformity of truth, and that all the parts of his evidence and theirs met together as two tallies. After this a book was produced, which *Sidney* had been writing, and which was found in his closet, in answer to *Filmer's* book entitled *Patriarcha*; by which *Filmer* asserted the divine right of monarchy, upon the eldest son's succeeding to the authority of the father. It was a book of some name, but so poorly writ, that it was somewhat strange that *Sidney* bestowed so much pains in answering it. In this answer he had asserted, that Princes had their power from the people with restrictions and limitations; and that they were liable to the Justice of the people, if they abused their power to the prejudice of the subjects, and against established laws. This by an Innuendo was said to be an evidence to prove, that he was in a plot against the King's life. And it was insisted on, that this ought to stand as a second Witness. The Earls of *Clare*, *Anglesey*, and some others with my self, deposed what Lord *Howard* had said, denying there was any plot. *Blake*, a draper, deposed, that having asked him when he was to have his pardon, he answered, not till the drudgery of swearing was over. *Howard* had also gone to *Sidney's* house, and had assured his servants that there was nothing against him, and had desired them to bring his goods to his own house. *Sidney* shewed, how improbable it was that *Howard*, who could not raise five men, and had not five shillings to pay them, should be taken into such consultations. As for the book, it was not proved to be writ by him; for it was a judged case in capital matters, that a similitude of hands was not a legal proof, tho' it was in civil matters: That whatever was in those papers, they were his own private thoughts, and speculations of government, never communicated to any: It was also evident, that the book had been writ some years ago: So that could not be pretended to be a proof of a late plot: The book was not finished: So it could not be known how it would end: A man writing against Atheism, who sets out the strength of it, if he does not finish his answer, could not be concluded an Atheist, because there was such a Chapter in his book.

Sidney's trial.

1684.

Jefferies interrupted him often very rudely, probably to put him in a paſſion; to which he was ſubject. But he maintained his temper to admiration. *Finch* aggravated the matter of the book, as a proof of his intentions, pretending it was an overt-act; for he ſaid, *ſcribere eſt agere*. *Jefferies* delivered it as law, and ſaid, that all the Judges were of the ſame mind, That if there were two Witneſſes, the one to the treaſon, the other only to a circumſtance, ſuch as the buying a knife, theſe made the two Witneſſes, which the ſtatute required in caſes of treaſon. In concluſion, *Sidney* was caſt. And ſome days after he was brought to Court to receive ſentence. He then went over his objections to the evidence againſt him, in which Judge *Withins* interrupted him, and by a ſtrange indecency gave him the lie in open Court. But he bore it patiently. He ſent to Lord *Hallifax*, who was his nephew by marriage, a paper to be laid before the King, containing the main points of his defence: Upon which he appealed to the King, and deſired he would review the whole matter. *Jefferies* upon that in his furious way ſaid, either *Sidney* muſt die, or he muſt die. His execution was reſpited for three Weeks, the trial being univerſally cried out on, as a piece of moſt enormous injuſtice. When he ſaw the warrant of his execution, he expreſſed no concern at it. And the change that was now in his temper amazed all that went to him. He told the Sheriffs that brought it, he would not expoſtulate upon any thing on his own account; (for the World was now nothing to him;) but he deſired, they would conſider how guilty they were of his blood, who had not returned a fair Jury, but one packt, and as they were directed by the King's Solicitor: He ſpoke this to them, not for his own ſake, but for their ſake. One of the Sheriffs was ſtruck with this, and wept. He told it to a perſon, from whom *Tillotſon* had it, who told it me. *Sidney* wrote a long vindication of himſelf, (which I read,) and ſummed up the ſubſtance of it in a paper that he gave the Sheriffs: But, ſuſpecting they might ſuppreſs it, he gave a copy of it to a friend. It was a fortnight before it was printed, tho' we had all the ſpeeches of thoſe who died for the Popiſh plot printed the very next day. But, when it was underſtood that written copies of *Sidney*'s ſpeech were going about, it was alſo printed. In it he ſhewed his innocence; that Lord *Howard* was an infamous perſon, and that no credit was due to him: Yet he did not deny the matter he ſwore againſt him. As for his book, he ſhewed what reaſon all Princes had to abhor *Filmer*'s maxims: For if primogeniture from *Noah* was the ground ſettled by God for monarchy, then all the Princes now in the World were Uſurpers: None claiming by that pedigree, and this primogeniture being only in one perſon. He ſaid, ſince God did not now by any declaration of his Will, as of old by Prophets, mark out ſuch or ſuch perſons for Princes, they could have no title, but what was founded on law and compact: And this was that in which the difference lay between lawful Princes and Uſurpers: If poſſeſſion was a donation from God, (which *Filmer* had ſubſtituted to the conceit of primogeniture,) then every proſperous Uſurper had a good right. He concluded with a prayer, that the nation might be preſerved from idolatry and tyranny. And he ſaid, he rejoyced that he ſuffered for the old cauſe, in which he was ſo early engaged. Theſe laſt Words furniſhed much matter to the ſcriblers of that time. In his impriſonment he ſent for ſome Independent preachers, and expreſſed to them a deep remorſe for his paſt ſins, and great confidence in the mercies of God. And indeed he met death with an unconcernedneſs, that became one who had ſet up *Marcus Brutus* for his pattern. He was but a very few minutes on the ſcaffold at Tower Hill: He ſpoke little, and prayed very ſhort: And his head was cut off at one blow.

His execution and laſt paper.

Monmouth came in, and was pardoned.

At this time an accident happened, that ſurpriſed both the Court and City; and which, if well managed, might probably have produced great effects. The Duke of *Monmouth* had lurked in *England* all this ſummer, and was then deſigning to go beyond ſea, and to engage in the *Spaniſh* ſervice. The King ſtill loved him paſſionately. Lord *Hallifax*, ſeeing matters run ſo much further than he apprehended, thought that nothing could ſtop that ſo effectually, as the bringing the Duke of *Monmouth* again into favour. That Duke writ to the King ſeveral letters, penned with an extraordinary force. Lord *Hallifax* drew them all, as he himſelf told me, and ſhewed me his own draughts of them. By theſe the King was mollified, and reſolved to reſtore him again to his favour. It ſtuck much at the confeſſion that he was to make. The King promiſed, that no uſe ſhould be made of it, but he ſtood to it that he muſt tell him the whole truth of the matter. Upon which he conſented to ſatisfy the King. But he would ſay nothing to the Duke, more than to ask his pardon in a general compliment.

ment. Lord *Hallifax* had preſſed him earneſtly upon his firſt appearance to be ſilent, and for a while to bear the cenſures of the Town. The laſt day of the term was very near, in which all the priſoners were to be diſcharged according to the *Habeas Corpus* act. That would ſhew he had diſcovered nothing to their prejudice. So that all diſcourſes concerning his confeſſion and diſcoveries would vaniſh in a few days. And if he had followed this, probably it would have given a great turn to affairs. The King ſpoke nothing of the reconciliation to the Duke of *York*, till the day before it was to be done. He was much ſtruck with it: But the King was poſitive. Yet the Duke's creatures in the Cabinet Council moved, that for form ſake he ſhould be for ſome days put in the Tower. The King cut that off by ſaying, he had promiſed to pardon him. The Duke of *Monmouth*, as was agreed, made a humble confeſſion of his offences in general Words to the King; and made a compliment to the Duke, and begg'd that he would intercede with the King to pardon him. The King received him with a fondneſs that confounded all the Duke's party: He uſed him more tenderly than he had done formerly. The Duke put on an outward appearance of being very well pleaſed with it. The King ſaid next day, that *James* (for ſo he called him) had confirmed all that *Howard* had ſworn. This was carried to the Duke of *Monmouth*, who denied he had ever ſaid any ſuch thing; adding, that Lord *Howard* was a liar and a rogue: And this was ſet round the Town by his creatures, who run with it from Coffee-Houſe to Coffee-Houſe. The next Gazette mentioned, that the King had pardoned him upon his confeſſing the late plot. Lord *Hallifax* preſſed the Duke of *Monmouth* to paſs that over, and to impute it to the importunity of his enemies, and to the King's eaſineſs: But he could not prevail. Yet he ſaid little till his pardon was paſt. But then he openly denied, that he had confeſſed the plot. By that he engaged himſelf in a plain contradiction to what the King had ſaid. Some were brought by the Duke to the King, who confirmed they had heard the Duke of *Monmouth* ſay, that he had not confeſſed the plot: Upon which the King ordered him to give a confeſſion of it under his hand. Lord *Hallifax* preſſed him to write a letter to the King, acknowledging he had confeſſed the plot. Plot was a general Word, that might ſignify as much or little as a man pleaſed: They had certainly dangerous conſultations among them, which might be well called plots. He ſaid, the ſervice he might do his friends by ſuch a general letter, and by his gaining the King's heart upon it, would quickly balance the ſeeming prejudice that ſuch a general acknowledgment would bring them under, which could do them no hurt. Upon that he got him to write a letter to that purpoſe which he carried to the King. And the King was ſatisfied. But the Duke of *Monmouth*, whether of himſelf, or upon the ſuggeſtion of others, reflected on what he had done, and thought it a baſe thing. Tho' this was no evidence, yet he thought it might have an influence on Juries, to make them believe every thing that might be ſworn by other Witneſſes, when from his confeſſion they were poſſeſſed with a general belief of the plot. So he went full of uneaſineſs to the King, and deſired he might have his letter again, in the terms of an agony like deſpair. The King gave it back, but preſſed him vehemently to comply with his deſire: And among other things the Duke of *Monmouth* ſaid, that the King uſed this expreſſion, If you do not yield in this you will ruin me. Yet he was firm. So the King forbid him the Court, and ſpoke of him more ſeverely than he had ever done formerly. He was upon this more valued, and truſted by his own party than ever. After ſome days he went beyond ſea: And after a ſhort concealment he appeared publickly in *Holland*, and was treated by the Prince of *Orange* with a very particular reſpect. 1684.

But ſoon after diſgraced.

The Prince had come for a few days to *England* after the *Oxford* Parliament, and had much private diſcourſe with the King at *Windſor*. The King aſſured him, that he would keep things quiet, and not give way to the Duke's eagerneſs, as long as he lived: And added, he was confident, whenever the Duke ſhould come to reign, he would be ſo reſtleſs and violent, that he could not hold it four years to an end. This I had from the Prince's own mouth. Another paſſage was told me by the Earl of *Portland*. The King ſhewed the Prince one of his ſeals; and told him that whatever he might write to him, if the letter was not ſealed with that ſeal, he was to look on it as only drawn from him by importunity. The reaſon for which I mention that in this place is, becauſe, tho' the King wrote ſome terrible letters to the Prince againſt the countenance he gave to the Duke of *Monmouth*, yet they were not ſealed with that ſeal; from which the Prince inferred, that the King had a mind that he ſhould

keep

1684.

keep him about him, and uſe him well. And the King gave orders, that in all the entries that were made in the Council books of this whole buſineſs nothing ſhould be left on record that could blemiſh him.

Hamden's trial.

Hamden was now the only man of the ſix that was left. Yet there was nothing but *Howard*'s evidence againſt him, without ſo much as any circumſtance to ſupport it. So ſince two Witneſſes were neceſſary to treaſon, (whereas one was enough for a miſdemeanour,) he was indicted of a miſdemeanour, tho' the crime was either treaſon or nothing. *Jefferies*, upon *Howard*'s evidence, charged the Jury to bring him in guilty; Otherwiſe he told them, they would diſcredit all that had been done before. So they brought him in guilty. And the Court ſet 40000 *l.* fine on him, the moſt extravagant fine that had ever been ſet for a miſdemeanour in that Court. It amounted indeed to an impriſonment for life.

Halloway's execution.

Some time in the ſpring eighty four *Halloway* was taken in the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſent over. He was under an out-lawry for treaſon. The Attorney General offered him a trial, if he deſired it. But he was prevailed on, by the hope of a pardon to ſubmit and confeſs all he knew. He ſaid, he was drawn into ſome meetings, in which they conſulted how to raiſe an inſurrection, and that he and two more had undertaken to manage a deſign for ſeizing on *Briſtol*, with the help of ſome that were to come to them from *Taunton*: But he added, that they had never made any progreſs in it. He ſaid, at their meetings at *London*, *Rumſey* and *Weſt* were often talking of *lopping* the King and the Duke: But that he had never entered into any diſcourſe with them upon that ſubject: And he did not believe, there were above five perſons that approved of it. Theſe were *Weſt*, *Rumſey*, *Rumbold*, and his brother: The fifth perſon is not named in the printed relation. Some ſaid, it was *Ferguſon*: Others ſaid, it was *Goodenough*. *Halloway* was thought by the Court not to be ſincere in his confeſſion. And ſo, ſince what he had acknowledged made himſelf very guilty, he was executed and died with a firm conſtancy. He ſhewed great preſence of mind. He obſerved the partiality that was evident in managing this plot, different from what had appeared in managing the Popiſh plot. The ſame men who were called rogues, when they ſwore againſt Papiſts, were looked on as honeſt men, when they turned their evidence againſt Proteſtants. In all his anſwers to the Sheriffs, who at the place of execution troubled him with many impertinent queſtions, he anſwered them with ſo much life, and yet with ſo much temper, that it appeared he was no ordinary man. His ſpeech was ſuppreſſed for ſome days: But it broke out at laſt. In it he expreſſed a deep ſenſe of Religion: His prayer was an excellent compoſure. The credit of the *Rye-Plot* received a great blow by his confeſſion. All that diſcourſe about an inſurrection, in which the day was ſaid to be ſet, appeared now to be a fiction; ſince *Briſtol* had been ſo little taken care of, that three perſons had only undertaken to diſpoſe people to that deſign, but had not yet let it out to any of them. So that it was plain, that after all the ſtory they had made of the plot, it had gone no further, than that a company of ſeditious and inconſiderable perſons were framing among themſelves ſome treaſonable ſchemes, that were never likely to come to any thing, and that *Rumſey* and *Weſt* had puſhed on the execrable deſign of the aſſaſſination, in which tho' there were few that agreed to it, yet too many had heard it from them, who were both ſo fooliſh, and ſo wicked, as not to diſcover them.

Armſtrong's death.

But if the Court loſt much by the death of *Halloway*, whom they had brought from the *Weſt-Indies*, they loſt much more by their proceedings againſt Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, who was ſurprized at *Leyden*, by vertue of a warrant that *Chudleigh* the King's Envoy had obtained from the States, for ſeizing on ſuch as ſhould fly out of *England* on the account of the plot. So the Scout at *Leyden*, for 5000 gilders, ſeized on him; and delivered him to *Chudleigh*, who ſent him over in great haſte. *Armſtrong* in that confuſion forgot to claim that he was a native of the States: For he was born at *Nimeguen*: And that would have obliged the *Dutch* to have protected him as one of their natural born ſubjects. He was truſted in every thing by the Duke of *Monmouth*: And he having led a very vitious life, the Court hoped that he, not being able to bear the thoughts of dying, would diſcover every thing. He ſhewed ſuch dejection of mind while he was concealing himſelf before he eſcaped out of *England*, that *Hamden*, who ſaw him at that time, told me, he believed he would certainly do any thing that would ſave his life. Yet all were diſappointed in him: For when he was examined before the Council, he ſaid, he knew of no Plot but the Popiſh Plot. He deſired, he might have a fair trial for his life: That was all he asked. He was

loaded

loaded with irons; tho' that was not ordinary for a man who had ſerved in ſuch 1684.
poſts, as to be Lieutenant of the firſt troop of guards, and Gentleman of the horſe to the King. There was nothing againſt him, but what *Rumſey* and *Shepherd* had ſworn of the diſcourſes at *Shepherd*'s, for which Lord *Ruſſel* had ſuffered. But by this time the credit of the Witneſſes was ſo blaſted, that it ſeems the Court was afraid that Juries would not now be ſo eaſy as they had been. The thing that *Rumſey* had ſworn againſt him ſeemed not very credible: For he ſwore that at the firſt meeting *Armſtrong* undertook to go and view the guards in order to the ſeizing them; and that upon a view he ſaid at a ſecond meeting that the thing was very feaſible. But *Armſtrong*, who had commanded the guards ſo long, knew every thing that related to them ſo well, that without ſuch a tranſient view he could of the ſudden have anſwered every thing relating to them. The Court had a mind to proceed in a ſummary Way with him, that he ſhould by the hurry of it be driven to ſay any thing that could ſave him. He was now in an outlawry: But tho' the ſtatute was expreſs, that if an outlawed perſon came in at any time within the year, he was to have a trial notwithſtanding his outlawry. It was pretended in anſwer to this, that he not coming in, but being taken, had not a right to the benefit of the ſtatute. But there were ſeveral months of the year yet to run. And ſince a trial was a demand founded on natural juſtice, he inſiſted on it. And when he was brought to the King's bench bar, and asked what he had to ſay why ſentence ſhould not be executed, he claimed the benefit of the ſtatute. He ſaid, he had yet, when he was taken, ſeveral months to deliberate upon his coming in: And the ſeizing on him before his time was out, ought not to bar him a right that the law gave him. He alſo mentioned *Halloway*, to whom a trial was offered the former term. And, ſince it was a point of law, he deſired Counſel might be heard to argue it. *Jefferies* rejected all this: He ſaid, the King might either offer a trial or not, as he ſaw cauſe: And he refuſed to hear Counſel: Which being demanded upon a point of law, the denying it was thought a very imprudent piece of injuſtice. And when *Armſtrong* inſiſted, that he asked nothing but the law, *Jefferies* in his brutal way ſaid, he ſhould have it to the full; and ſo ordered his execution within ſix days. And the law was executed on him with the utmoſt rigour: For he was carried to *Tyburn* in a ſledge, and was quartered, and his quarters were ſet up. His carriage, during his impriſonment and at his death, was far beyond what could have been imagined. He turned himſelf wholly to the thoughts of God, and of another ſtate; and was praying continually. He rejoyced, that he was brought to die in ſuch a manner. He ſaid, it was ſcarce poſſible for him to have been awaken'd into a due ſenſe of his ſins by any other method. His pride and his reſentments were then ſo entirely conquered, that one who ſaw him ſaid to me, that it was not eaſy to think it was the ſame perſon whom he had known formerly. He received the Sacrament; and died in ſo good a temper, and with ſo much quiet in his mind, and ſo ſerene a deportment, that we have ſcarce known in our time a more eminent inſtance of the grace and mercy of God. *Armſtrong* in his laſt paper denied, that he ever knew of any deſign againſt the King's, or the Duke's life, or was in any plot againſt the government. There were no remarks publiſhed on his ſpeech, which it was believed the Court ordered: For they ſaw how much ground they had loſt by this ſtretch of law, and how little they had gained by his death. One paſſage in it was the occaſion of their ordering no ſuch reflexions to be made on it, as had been made on the other ſpeeches. The King had publiſhed a ſtory all about the Court, and had told it to the foreign Miniſters, as the reaſon of this extream ſeverity againſt *Armſtrong*: He ſaid, that he was ſent over by *Cromwell* to murder him beyond ſea, and that he was warned of it, and challenged him on it; and that upon his confeſſing it he had promiſed him never to ſpeak of it any more as long as he lived. So the King, counting him now dead in law, thought he was free from that promiſe. *Armſtrong* took this heavily: And in one paper which I ſaw, writ in his own hand, the reſentments upon it were ſharper than I thought became a dying penitent. So, when that was repreſented to him, he changed it: And in the paper he gave the Sheriffs he had ſoftened it much. But yet he ſhewed the falſhood of that report: For he never went beyond ſea but once, ſent by the Earl of *Oxford*, and ſome other Cavaliers, with a conſiderable preſent to the King in money, which he delivered; and brought back letters of thanks from the King to thoſe who made the preſent. But *Cromwell* having a hint of this clapt him up in priſon, where he was kept almoſt a year. And upon the merit of that ſervice, he

1684. was made a Captain of horse soon after the restoration. When *Yester* came to the King at *Windsor* soon after this trial, the King took a ring of good value from his finger, and gave it him for these services. The ring upon that was called his blood stone. The King gave him one advice, which was somewhat extraordinary from a King to a Judge; but it was not the less necessary to him: The King said, it was a hot summer, and he was going the circuit, he therefore desired he would not drink too much. With this I leave the affairs of *England* to look towards *Scotland*.

Great severity in *Scotland*.

Great pains were taken there to make a further discovery of the negotiation between the *Englisb* and the *Scots*. A Gentleman, who had been at *Bothwell-Bridge*, was sent over by the *Cargillites* to some of their friends in *Holland*: And he carried with him some letters writ in an odd cant. He was seized at *New-Castle* together with his letters; and was so frighted, that he was easily managed to pretend to discover any thing that was suggested to him. But he had never been at *London*: So he could speak of that negotiation but upon hearsay. His story was so ill laid together, that the Court was ashamed to make any use of it: But it turned heavily on himself, for he went mad upon it. Two others came in, and charged Sir *Hugh Cambell* of *Cesnock*, an antient Gentleman of a good estate, that he had set on the rebellion of *Bothwell-Bridge*, and had chid them for deserting it. Upon this he was brought to a trial. In *Scotland* the law allows of an exculpation, by which the prisoner is suffered before his trial to prove the thing to be impossible. This was prayed by that Gentleman, who had full proofs of his being elsewhere, and at a great distance from the place, at the time. But that is a favour which the Court may grant, or not: So that was denied him. The first Witness that was examined at his trial began with a general story. And when he came to that, in which the prisoner was concerned, *Cambell* charged him to look him full in the face, and to consider well what he was to say of him, for he took God to witness, he never saw his face before, as far as he could remember. Upon that the Witness was struck, and stopt, and said, he could say nothing of him. The Earl of *Perth* was then Justice General, and offered to lead him into his story. But the Jury stopt that; and said, that he upon his oath had declared he knew nothing of the prisoner, and that after that they could have no regard to any thing that he might say. Upon which some sharp Words passed between Lord *Perth* and them, in which he shewed how ready he was to sacrifice justice and innocent blood to his ambition. And that was yet grosser in this case; because his brother was promised that Gentlemans estate, when it should be confiscated. The second Witness said nothing but seemed confounded: So *Cambell* was acquitted by the Jury, but was still kept in prison. These Witnesses were again examined before the Council. And they adhered to their first deposition against the prisoner. The law in *Scotland* is very severe against false Witnesses, and treats them as felons. But the government there would not discourage such practices; of which, when they should be more lucky, they intended to make good use. The Circuits went round the Country, as was directed by the Proclamation of the former year. Those who were most guilty compounded the matter, and paid liberally to a creature of the Lord Chancellour, that their names might be left out of the citations. Others took the test: And that freed them from all further trouble. They said openly, that it was against their conscience; but they saw they could not live in *Scotland* unless they took it. Others observed, that the severity which the Presbyterians formerly had used, forcing all people to take their covenant, was now returned back on them in this test, that they were thus forced to take.

A breach in the Ministry there.

In the mean while a great breach was formed, and appeared on all occasions, between the Earls of *Aberdeen* and *Queensbury*. The latter was very exact in his payments, both of the soldiers and of the pensions: So his party became the strongest. Lord *Aberdeen*'s method was this: He writ up letters to the Duke of all affairs, and offered expedients, which he pretended were concerted at *Edinburgh*; and sent with them the draughts of such letters, as he desired should be sent down from the King. But these expedients were not concerted as he said: They were only his own conceits. Lord *Queensbury* offended with this, let the Duke understand how he had been deceived. So an order was sent down, that all expedients should be concerted by a Junto, consisting of Lord *Queensbury*'s creatures. Lord *Aberdeen* saw that by this he came to signify little: And seeing he was losing ground at Court, he intended to recover himself a little with the people. So he resolved for the future to keep to the law, and not to go beyond it. And such was the fury of that time, that this was

was called moderation and popularity. The Churches were now all well kept by the men: But their wives not being named in the act of Parliament, none of them went to Church. The matter was laid before the Council: And a debate arose upon it; whether man and Wife making one person in law, husbands should not be fined for their Wives offence, as well as for their own. Lord *Aberdeen* stood upon this, that the act did not mention the Wives: It did indeed make the husbands liable to a fine, if their Wives went to Conventicles; for they had it in their power to restrain them: And since the law provided in the one case, that the husband should suffer for his Wife's fault, but had made no provision in the other case, as to their going to Church, he thought the fining them on that account could not be legally done. Lord *Queensbury* was for every thing that would bring money into the treasury: So, since in those parts the Ladies had for many years withdrawn wholly from the Churches, he reckoned the setting fines on their husbands to the rigour would make all the estates of the Country be at mercy; for the selling them outright would not have answered this demand for the offences of so many years. The Earl of *Perth* struck in with this, and seemed to set it up for a maxim, that the Presbyterians could not be governed, but with the extremity of rigour; and that they were irreconcileable enemies to the King and the Duke, and that therefore they ought to be extirpated. The Ministry in *Scotland* being thus divided, they referred the decision of the point to the King: And Lord *Perth* came up to have his resolution upon it. The King determined against the Ladies: Which was thought very indecent; for in dubious cases the nobleness of a Prince's temper should always turn him to the merciful side. This was the less expected from the King, who had all his life time expressed as great a neglect of Womens consciences, as esteem for their persons. 1684.

But to do him right, he was determined to it by the Duke; who since the breaking out of the plot had got the whole management of affairs, *English* as well as *Scotish*, into his hands. *Scotland* was so entirely in his dependence, that the King would seldom ask what the papers imported, which the Duke brought to be signed by him. In *England*, the application and dependence was visibly on the Duke. The King had scarce company about him to entertain him, when the Duke's levees and couches were so crouded, that the antichambers were full. The King walked about with a small train of the necessary attendants, when the Duke had a vast following: Which drew a lively reflexion from *Waller* the celebrated wit. He said, the House of Commons had resolved that the Duke should not reign after the King's death: But the King in opposition to them was resolved that he should reign even during his life. The breach grew to that height between Lord *Aberdeen* and Lord *Queensbury*, that both were called up to give an account of it. It ended in dismissing Lord *Aberdeen*, and making Lord *Perth* Chancellour, to which he had been long aspiring in a most indecent manner. He saw into the Duke's temper, that his spirit was turned to an unrelenting severity: For this had appeared very indecently in *Scotland*. The Duke governed all affairs.

When any are to be struck in the boots, it is done in the presence of the Council: And upon that occasion almost all offer to run away. The sight is so dreadful, that without an order restraining such a number to stay, the board would be forsaken. But the Duke, while he had been in *Scotland*, was so far from withdrawing, that he looked on all the while with an unmoved indifference, and with an attention, as if he had been to look on some curious experiment. This gave a terrible idea of him to all that observed it, as of a man that had no bowels nor humanity in him. Lord *Perth*, observing this, resolved to let him see how well qualified he was to be an inquisitor General. The rule about the boots in *Scotland* was, that upon one witness and presumptions both together, the question might be given: But it was never known to be twice given; or that any other species of torture, besides the boots, might be used at pleasure. In the Court of Inquisition they do upon suspicion, or if a man refuses to answer upon oath as he is required, give him the torture; and repeat it, or vary it, as often as they think fit; and do not give over, till they have got out of their mangled prisoners all that they have a mind to know from them. The cruelty of the Duke, and of his Ministers, in torturing.

Lord *Perth* resolved to make this his pattern: And was a little too early in letting the world see, what a government we were to expect under the influence of a Prince of that Religion. So, upon his going to *Scotland* one *Spence*, who was a servant of Lord *Argile's*, and was taken up at *London*, only upon suspicion, and sent down to *Scotland*, was required to take an oath to answer all the questions that should be put to him. This was done in a direct contradiction to an express law against obliging

1684. obliging men to ſwear, that they will anſwer *ſuper inquirendis*. *Spence* likewiſe ſaid, that he himſelf might be concerned in what he might know: And it was againſt a very univerſal law, that excuſed all men from ſwearing againſt themſelves, to force him to take ſuch an oath. So he was ſtrnck in the boots, and continued firm in his refuſal. Then a new ſpecies of torture was invented: He was kept from ſleep eight or nine nights. They grew weary of managing this. So a third ſpecies was invented: Little ſcrews of Steel were made uſe of, that ſcrewed the thumbs with ſo exquiſite a torment, that he ſunk under this; for Lord *Perth* told him, they would ſcrew every joint in his whole body, one after another till he took the oath. Yet ſuch was the firmneſs and fidelity of this poor man, that even in that extremity he capitulated, that no new queſtions ſhould be put to him, but thoſe already agreed on; and that he ſhould not be obliged to be a Witneſs againſt any perſon, and that he himſelf ſhould be pardoned: So all he could tell them was, who were Lord *Argile*'s correſpondents. The chief of them was *Holmes* at *London*, to whom Lord *Argile* writ in a cypher, that had a peculiar curioſity in it: A double key was neceſſary: The one was, to ſhew the way of placing the words or cypher, in an order very different from that in which they lay in the paper: The other was, the key of the cyphers themſelves, which was found among *Holmes*'s papers, when he abſconded. *Spence* knew only the firſt of theſe: But he putting all in its true order, then by the other key they were decyphered. In theſe it appeared, what *Argile* had demanded, and what he undertook to do upon the granting his demands: But none of his letters ſpoke any thing of any agreement then made.

When the torture had this effect on *Spence*, they offered the ſame oath to *Carſtairs*. And, upon his refuſing to take it, they put his thumbs in the ſcrews, and drew them ſo hard, that as they put him to extream torture, ſo they could not unſcrew them, till the ſmith that made them was brought with his tools to take them off. So he confeſſed all he knew, which amounted to little more than ſome diſcourſes of taking off the Duke, to which he ſaid that he anſwered, his principles could not come up to that: Yet in this he, who was a preacher among them, was highly to blame, for not revealing ſuch black propoſitions; tho' it cannot be denied, but that it is a hard thing to diſcover any thing that is ſaid in confidence: And therefore I ſaved my ſelf out of thoſe difficulties by ſaying to all my friends, that I would not be involved in any ſuch confidence; for as long as I thought our circumſtances were ſuch that reſiſtance was not lawful, I thought the concealing any deſign in order to it was likewiſe unlawful: And by this means I had preſerved my ſelf. But *Carſtairs* had at this time ſome ſecrets of great conſequence from *Holland* truſted to him by *Fagel*, of which they had no ſuſpicion: And ſo they asked him no queſtions about them. Yet *Fagel* ſaw by that, as he himſelf told me, how faithful *Carſtairs* was, ſince he could have ſaved himſelf from torture, and merited highly, if he had diſcovered them. And this was the foundation of his favour with the Prince of *Orange*, and of the great confidence he put in him to his death.

Proceedings againſt *Baillie*.

Upon what was thus ſcrewed out of theſe two perſons, the Earl of *Tarras*, who had married the Ducheſs of *Monmouth*'s elder ſiſter, and ſix or ſeven Gentlemen of Quality, were clapt up. The Miniſters of State were ſtill moſt earneſtly ſet on *Baillie*'s deſtruction; tho' he was now in ſo languiſhing a ſtate, occaſioned chiefly by the bad uſage he met with in priſon, that if his death would have ſatisfied the malice of the Court, that ſeemed to be very near. But they knew how acceptable a ſacrifice his dying in a more violent way would prove. So they continued even in that extremity to uſe him barbarouſly. They were alſo trying what could be drawn from thoſe Gentlemen againſt him. *Tarras* had married his niece, who was his ſecond Wife. So they concluded that their confidence was entire. *Baillie*'s illneſs increaſed daily: And his Wife prayed for leave to attend on him: And, if they feared an eſcape, ſhe was willing to be put in irons: But that was denied. Nor would they ſuffer his daughter, a child of twelve years old, to attend him, even when he was ſo low, that it was not probable he could live many weeks, his legs being much ſwelled. But upon theſe examinations a new method in proceeding againſt him was taken. An accuſation was ſent him not in the form of an indictment, nor grounded on any law, but on a letter of the King's, in which he charged him not only for a conſpiracy to raiſe rebellion, but for being engaged in the *Rye-plot*; of all which he was now required to purge himſelf by oath, otherwiſe the Council would hold him guilty of it, and proceed accordingly. He was not, as they ſaid, now in a criminal Court upon his life, but be-

fore

fore the Council, who did only fine and impriſon. It was to no purpoſe for him to ſay, that by no law, unleſs it was in a Court of Inquiſition, a man could be required to ſwear againſt himſelf, the temptation to perjury being ſo ſtrong when ſelf-preſervation was in the caſe, that it ſeemed againſt all law and religion to lay ſuch a ſnare in a mans way. But to anſwer all this, it was pretended he was not now on his life, and that whatſoever he confeſſed was not to be made uſe of againſt his life; as if the ruin of his family, which conſiſted of nine children, and perpetual impriſonment, were not more terrible, eſpecially to one ſo near his end as he was, than death it ſelf. But he had to do with inexorable men: So he was required to take this oath within two days. And by that time, he not being able to appear before the Council, a Committee of Council was ſent to tender him the oath, and to take his examination. He told them, he was not able to ſpeak by reaſon of the low ſtate of his health, which appeared very evidently to them: For he had almoſt died while they were with him. He in general proteſted his innocence, and his abhorrence of all deſigns againſt the King, or the Duke's life: For the other interrogatories, he deſired they might be left with him, and he would conſider them. They perſiſted to require him to take his oath: But he as firmly refuſed it. So, upon their report, the Council conſtrued this refuſal to be a confeſſion: And fined him 6000 *l.* and ordered him to lie ſtill in priſon till it was paid. After this it was thought that this matter was at an end, and that this was a final ſentence: But he was ſtill kept ſhut up, and denied all attendance or aſſiſtance. He ſeemed all the while ſo compoſed, and even ſo cheerful, that his behaviour looked like the reviving of the ſpirit of the nobleſt of the old *Greeks* or *Romans*, or rather of the primitive *Chriſtians*, and firſt Martyrs in thoſe beſt days of the Church. But the Duke was not ſatisfied with all this. So the Miniſtry applied their arts to *Tarras*, and the other priſoners, threatning them with all the extremities of miſery, if they would not witneſs treaſonable matter againſt *Baillie*. They alſo practiſed on their Wives, and frightening them ſet them on their husbands. In concluſion, they gained what had been ſo much laboured: *Tarras*, and one *Murray* of *Philipſhaugh*, did depoſe ſome diſcourſes that *Baillie* had with them before he went up to *London*, diſpoſing them to a rebellion. In theſe they ſwelled up the matter beyond the truth. Yet all did not amount to a full proof. So the Miniſters, being afraid that a Jury might not be ſo eaſy as they expected, ordered *Carſairs*'s confeſſion to be read in Court, not as an evidence, (for that had been promiſed him ſhould not be done,) but as that which would fully ſatisfy the Jury, and diſpoſe them to believe the witneſſes. So *Baillie* was hurried on to a trial. And upon the evidence he was found guilty, and condemned to be executed that ſame day: So afraid they were leſt death ſhould be too quick for them. He was very little diſturbed at all this: His languiſhing in ſo ſolitary a manner made death a very acceptable deliverance to him. He in his laſt ſpeech ſhewed, that in ſeveral particulars the witneſſes had wronged him: He ſtill denied all knowledge of any deſign againſt the King's life, or the Duke's; and denied any plot againſt the government: He thought it was lawful for ſubjects, being under ſuch preſſures, to try how they might be relieved from them: And their deſign never went further: But he would enter into no particulars. Thus a learned, and a worthy Gentleman, after twenty months hard uſage, was brought to ſuch a death, in a way ſo full in all the ſteps of it of the ſpirit and practice of the Courts of Inquiſition, that one is tempted to think that the methods taken in it were ſuggeſted by one well ſtudied, if not practiſed in them. The only excuſe that was ever pretended for this infamous proſecution was, that they were ſure he was guilty; and that the whole ſecret of the negotiation between the two Kingdoms was truſted to him; and that, ſince he would not diſcover it, all methods might be taken to deſtroy him: Not conſidering what a precedent they made on this occaſion, by which, if men were once poſſeſſed of an ill opinion of a man, they were to ſpare neither artifice nor violence, but to hunt him down by any means. I have been perhaps too long in this particular, but the caſe was ſo ſingular, and my relation to the perſon was ſo near, and my value for him was ſo great, that I hope I need make no apology for it.

1684.

And his execution.

In this I ſaw how ambition could corrupt one of the beſt tempered men that I had ever known: I mean Lord *Perth*, who for above ten years together ſeemed to me incapable of an immoral or cruel action, and yet was now deeply engaged in the fouleſt and blackeſt of crimes. I had not now ſeen him for two years. But I hoped, that ſtill ſome good impreſſions had been left in him: And now, when he came to *London*

1684. to be made Lord Chancellour, I had a very earneſt meſſage from him, deſiring by my means to ſee *Leightoun*. I thought, that angelical man might have awaken'd in him ſome of thoſe good principles which he ſeemed once to have, and which were now totally extinguiſhed in him. I writ ſo earneſtly to *Leightoun*, that he came to *London*. Upon his coming to me, I was amazed to ſee him at above ſeventy look ſo freſh and well, that age ſeemed as it were to ſtand ſtill with him: His hair was ſtill black, and all his motions were lively: He had the ſame quickneſs of thought, and ſtrength of memory, but above all the ſame heat and life of devotion, that I had ever ſeen in him. When I took notice to him upon my firſt ſeeing him how well he looked, he told me, he was very near his end for all that; and his Work and Journey both were now almoſt done. This at that time made no great impreſſion on me. He was the next day taken with an oppreſſion, and as it ſeemed with a cold and with ſtitches, which was indeed a pluriſy.

Leightoun's death. The next day *Leightoun* ſunk ſo, that both ſpeech and ſenſe went away of a ſudden: And he continued panting about twelve hours; and then died without pangs or convulſions. I was by him all the while. Thus I loſt him, who had been for ſo many years the chief guide of my whole life. He had lived ten years in *Suſſex*, in great privacy, dividing his time wholly between ſtudy and retirement, and the doing of good: For in the pariſh where he lived, and in the pariſhes round about, he was always employed in preaching, and in reading prayers. He diſtributed all he had in charities, chooſing rather to have it go thro' other peoples hand than his own: For I was his almoner in *London*. He had gathered a well choſen library of curious, as well as uſeful books; which he left to the Dioceſe of *Dunblane*, for the uſe of the Clergy there, that Country being ill provided with books. He lamented oft to me the ſtupidity that he obſerved among the Commons of *England*, who ſeemed to be much more inſenſible in the matters of Religion, than the Commons of *Scotland* were. He retained ſtill a peculiar inclination to *Scotland*: And if he had ſeen any proſpect of doing good there, he would have gone and lived and died among them. In the ſhort time that the affairs of *Scotland* were in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s hands, that Duke had been poſſeſſed with ſuch an opinion of him, that he moved the King to write to him, to go, and at leaſt live in *Scotland*, if he would not engage in a Biſhoprick there. But that fell with that Duke's credit. He was in his laſt years turned to a greater ſeverity againſt Popery than I had imagined a man of his temper, and of his largeneſs in point of opinion, was capable of. He ſpoke of the corruptions, of the ſecular ſpirit, and of the cruelty that appeared in that Church, with an extraordinary concern; and lamented the ſhameful advances that we ſeemed to be making towards Popery. He did this with a tenderneſs, and an edge, that I did not expect from ſo recluſe and mortified a man. He looked on the State the Church of *England* was in with very melancholy reflexions, and was very uneaſy at an expreſſion then much uſed, that it was the beſt conſtituted Church in the World. He thought it was truly ſo, with relation to the doctrine, the worſhip, and the main part of our government. But as to the adminiſtration, both with relation to the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and the paſtoral care, he looked on it as one of the moſt corrupt he had ever ſeen. He thought, we looked like a fair carcaſe of a body without a ſpirit; without that zeal, that ſtrictneſs of life, and that laborioufneſs in the Clergy, that became us.

There were two remarkable circumſtances in his death. He uſed often to ſay, that if he were to chooſe a place to die in, it ſhould be an inn; it looking like a Pilgrim's going home, to whom this World was all as an inn, and who was weary of the noiſe and confuſion in it. He added, that the officious tenderneſs and care of friends was an entanglement to a dying man; and that the unconcerned attendance of thoſe that could be procured in ſuch a place would give leſs diſturbance. And he obtained what he deſired; for he died at the *Bell* inn in *Warwick-Lane*. Another circumſtance was, that while he was Biſhop in *Scotland*, he took what his tenants were pleaſed to pay him: So that there was a great arrear due, which was raiſed ſlowly by one whom he left in truſt with his affairs there: And the laſt payment that he could expect from thence was returned up to him about ſix Weeks before his death: So that his proviſion and journey failed both at once. And thus in the ſeveral parts of this hiſtory I have given a very particular account of every thing relating to this apoſtolical man; whoſe life I would have writ, if I had not found proper places to bring the moſt material parts of it within this Work. I reckon, that

I owed

I owed this to that perfect friendſhip and fatherly care with which he had always treated me. 1684.

The promotion of ſome Biſhops.

The mentioning his death leads me to name ſome other Clergymen of note, that died in this and in the former year. *Burnet* died in *Scotland*. And *Roſs*, a poor, ignorant, worthleſs man, but in whom obedience and fury were ſo eminent, that theſe ſupplied all other defects, was raiſed to be the Primate of that Church: Which was indeed a ſad omen, as well as a ſtep to its fall and ruin. *Stearn*, Archbiſhop of *York*, died in the eighty ſixth year of his age: He was a ſour ill tempered man, and minded chiefly the enriching his family. He was ſuſpected of Popery, becauſe he was more than ordinarily compliant in all things to the Court, and was very zealous for the Duke. *Dolben*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, ſucceeded him, a man of more ſpirit than diſcretion, and an excellent preacher, but of a free converſation, which laid him open to much cenſure in a vitious Court. And indeed he proved a much better Archbiſhop than he had been a Biſhop. *Gumming* of *Ely* died this ſummer, a man of great reading: He had in him all the ſubtilty, and the diſputing humour of a ſchoolman: And he ſtudied to infuſe that into all thoſe who were formed by him. He was ſtrict in the whole courſe of his life: But was a dry man, and much inclined to ſuperſtition. He had a great confuſion of things in his head, and could bring nothing into method: So that he was a dark and perplexed preacher. His ſermons were full of *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and of the opinions of the Fathers. Yet many of the Ladies of a high form loved to hear him preach: Which the King uſed to ſay, was becauſe they did not underſtand him. *Turner* ſucceeded him. He had been long in the Duke's family, and was in high favour with him. He was a ſincere and good natured man, of too quick an imagination, and too defective a judgment. He was but moderately learned, having converſed more with men than with books: And ſo he was not able to do the Duke great ſervice. But he was ſo zealous for his ſucceſſion, that this raiſed him high upon no great ſtock of ſufficiency. Old *Morley*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, died this Winter, in the eighty ſeventh year of his age. He was in many reſpects a very eminent man, zealous againſt Popery, and yet a great enemy to the Diſſenters: He was conſiderably learned, and had a great vivacity of thought: But he was too ſoon provoked, and too little maſter of himſelf upon thoſe occaſions. *Mew*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, ſucceeded him: He had been a Captain during the Wars, and had been *Middletoun*'s Secretary, when he was ſent to command the inſurrection that the *Highlanders* of *Scotland* made for the King in fifty three. After that he came into Orders: And, tho' he knew very little of Divinity, or of any other learning, and was weak to a childiſh degree, yet obſequiouſneſs and zeal raiſed him thro' ſeveral ſteps to this great See. *Ken* ſucceeded him in *Bath* and *Wells*; a man of an aſcetick courſe of life, and yet of a very lively temper, but too hot and ſudden. He had a very edifying way of preaching: But it was more apt to move the paſſions, than to inſtruct. So that his ſermons were rather beautiful than ſolid: Yet his way in them was very taking. The King ſeemed fond of him. And by him and *Turner* the Papiſts hoped, that great progreſs might be made in gaining, or at leaſt deluding the Clergy. It was obſerved, that all the men in favour among the Clergy were unmarried; from whom, they hoped, they might more probably promiſe themſelves a diſpoſition to come over to them.

Danby and the Popiſh Lords bailed.

The proſecution of the Diſſenters was carried very high all this year: They were not only proceeded againſt for going to Conventicles, but for not going to Church, and for not receiving the Sacrament; the laws made againſt Papiſts with relation to thoſe particulars being now applied to them. Many were excommunicated, and ruined by the proſecutions. The Earl of *Danby*, for all his ſeverity againſt Lord *Shaftsbury* for moving in the King's bench to be bailed, tho' committed by the Lords only for contempt, yet had been forced to move often for his being let out upon bail. It was certainly a very great hardſhip that he lay under: For he had been now five years in the Tower. And three Parliaments had ſat. The two laſt had not mentioned him. And now a Parliament ſeemed out of ſight. Yet, tho' he offered a very long and learned argument for their bailing him, the Judges of the King's bench, even *Sanders* himſelf, were afraid to meddle in it. But *Jefferies* was bolder. So he bailed him. And upon the ſame grounds all the Popiſh Lords were alſo bailed. *Oates* was proſecuted at the Duke's ſuit for ſcandalous words: Rogue and traitor were very freely beſtowed on the Duke by him: So an 100000 *l.* was given, which ſhut him up in a perpetual impriſonment, till they ſaw a fit opportunity

1684. nity to carry matters further againſt him. The Duke of *Beaufort*, Lord *Peterborough*, and ſome others, brought actions of *Scandalum Magnatum* againſt thoſe who in the time of our great heat had ſpoke foul things of them: And great damages were given by obſequious and zealous Juries. An information of a higher nature was brought againſt *Williams*, who, tho' he was a worthleſs man, yet was for his zeal choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in the two laſt Parliaments. He had licenſed the printing the Votes, which had in them matters of ſcandal relating to ſome Lords. So an information was brought againſt him: And he upon it demurred to the juriſdiction of the Court. This was driven on purpoſe by the Duke's party, to cut off the thoughts of another Parliament; ſince it was not to be ſuppoſed, that any Houſe of Commons could bear the puniſhing the Speaker for obeying their orders.

Some removes made at Court.

Jenkins had now done all the drudgery that the Court had occaſion for from him: And being capable to ſerve them in nothing elſe, he was diſmiſt from being Secretary of State: And *Godolphin*, one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, ſucceeded him. Another Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, *Deering*, dying at the ſame time, the Earl of *Rocheſter* hoped to have been made Lord Treaſurer. He had loſt much ground with the King. And the whole Court hated him, by reaſon of the ſtop of all payments, which was chiefly imputed to him. Lord *Halliſax* and Lord *North* joined their intereſt to bring in two other Commiſſioners upon him, without ſo much as letting him know of it, till it was reſolved on. Theſe were *Thynn* and *North*. This laſt was to be rewarded for his ſervice during his Shrievalry in *London*. Lord *Rocheſter* engaged both the Duke and the Lady *Portſmouth* to divert this, if it was poſſible. But the King was not to be ſhaken. So he reſolved to quit the Treaſury. The Earl of *Radnor* was diſcharged from being Lord Preſident of the Council, where he had for ſome years acted a very mean part, in which he had loſt the character of a ſteady, cynical, *Engliſhman*, which he had maintained in the former courſe of his life. And Lord *Rocheſter* was made Lord Preſident: Which being a poſt ſuperiour in rank, but much inferiour both in advantage and credit to that he held formerly, drew a jeſt from Lord *Halliſax* that may be worth remembring: He ſaid, he had heard of many kicked down ſtairs, but never of any that was kickt up ſtairs before. *Godolphin* was weary of the drudgery that lay on a Secretary of State. He choſe rather to be the firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. And he was made a Baron. The Earl of *Middletoun*, ſon to him that had governed *Scotland*, was made Secretary of State, a man of a generous temper, but without much religion, well learned, of a good judgment, and a lively apprehenſion.

The bombarding of *Genoa*.

If foreign affairs could have awaken'd the King, the *French* did enough this ſummer in order to it. Beſides their poſſeſſing themſelves of *Luxembourg*, they ſent a fleet againſt *Genoa* upon no ſort of provocation, but becauſe *Genoa* would not comply with ſome demands, that were both unjuſt and unreaſonable: The King of *France* ordered it to be bombarded, hoping that in that confuſion he might by landing a few men have made himſelf eaſily maſter of that State. This would very probably have ſucceeded, if the attempt had been made upon the firſt conſternation they were in, when the bombardment began. But the thing was delayed a day or two. And by that time the *Genoeſe* not only recovered themſelves out of their firſt fright; but putting themſelves in order, they were animated with that indignation and fury that they beat off the *French* with a courage that was not expected from them. Such an aſſault, that looked liker the violence of a robber, than the attack of one that would obſerve forms in his conqueſts, ought to have provoked all Princes, eſpecially ſuch as were powerful at ſea, to have joined againſt a Prince, who by theſe practices was become the common enemy of mankind. But we were now purſuing other deſigns, from which it was reſolved that nothing from beyond ſea ſhould divert us.

Tangier abandoned.

After the King had kept *Tangier* about twenty years, and had been at a vaſt charge in making a mole before it, in which ſeveral ſets of undertakers had failed indeed in the main deſigns, but had ſucceeded well in the enriching of themſelves, and the Work was now brought near perfection, which ſeemed to give us the key of the *Mediterranean*; he, to deliver himſelf from that charge, ſent Lord *Dartmouth* with a fleet to deſtroy all the Works, and to bring home all our men. The King, when he communicated this to the Cabinet Council, charged them to be ſecret. But it was believed, that he himſelf ſpoke of it to the Lord *Arlington*, and that Lord *Arlington* told it to the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour: For the Ambaſſadour took fire upon it; and

and desired, that, if the King was weary of keeping it, he would restore it to his Master: And he undertook to pay a great sum for the charge the King had been at, all these years that he had it. But the King believed, that as the money would never be paid, so the King of *Portugal* would not be able to maintain that place against the *Moors*: So that it would fall in their hands, and by that means prove too important to command the Straits. The thing was boldly denied by the Ministers, when pressed by the Ambassadour upon the subject. Lord *Dartmouth* executed the design as he was ordered. So an end was put to our possessing that place. This was done only to save charge, that the Court might hold out the longer without a Parliament. So the Republick of *Genoa*, seeing that we would not, and that without us the *Dutch* could not undertake their protection, were forced to make a very abject compliment to the King of *France*; if any thing could be abject, that was necessary to save their Country. The Doge and some of the Senators were sent to *Versailles* to ask the King pardon, tho' it was not easy to tell for what; unless it was, because they presumed to resist his invasion. I happened to be at *Paris* when the Doge was there. One saying of his was much repeated: When all the glory of *Versailles* was set open to him, and the flatterers of the Court were admiring every thing, he seemed to look at them with the coldness that became a person who was at the head of a free Common Wealth: And when he was asked, if the things he saw were not very extraordinary, he said, the most extraordinary thing that he saw was, that he saw himself there. 1684.

The affairs of *Holland* were much broken: The Prince of *Orange* and the Town of *Amsterdam* were in very ill terms by the *French* management, to which *Chudleigh* the *English* Envoy joined his strength, to such a degree of insolence, that he offered personal affronts to the Prince; who upon that would see him no more: Yet the Prince was not considered enough at our Court to get *Chudleigh* to be recalled upon it. The Town of *Amsterdam* went so far, that a motion was made of setting up the Prince of *Friezeland* as their Stadtholder: And he was invited to come to their Town in order to it. But the Prince of *Orange* prevented this by coming to a full agreement with that Town. So he and his Princess were invited thither: And that misunderstanding was removed, or at least laid asleep for that time. The War of *Hungary* went on with slow success on the Emperour's side: He was poor, and his revenue was exhausted, so that he could not press so hard upon the *Turks*, as he might have done with advantage; for they were in great confusion. The King of *Poland* had married a *French* Wife: And she had a great ascendant over him: And not being able to get her family raised in *France*, she had turned that King to the Emperour's interests. So that he had the glory of raising the siege of *Vienna*. The *French* saw their errour, and were now ready to purchase her at any rate: So that all the rest of that poor King's inglorious life, after that great action at *Vienna*, was a perpetual going backwards and forwards between the interests of *France* and *Vienna*, which depended entirely upon the secret negotiations of the Court of *France* with his Queen, as they came to her terms, or as they did not quite comply with them. Affairs beyond sea.

The misunderstanding between the Court of *Rome* and *France* went on still. The Pope declared openly for the House of *Austria* against the *Turk*; and made great returns of money into *Germany*. He engaged the *Venetians* into the alliance. He found also fault with many of the proceedings in *France*, with relation to the Regale. And now the tables were turned: The *Jesuits*, who were wont to value themselves on their dependence on the Court of *Rome*, were now wholly in the interests of *France*; for they resolved to be on the stronger side: And the *Jansenists*, whom *Rome* had treated very ill, and who were looked on as the most zealous assertors of the liberties of the *Gallican* Church, were now the men that admired the Pope, and declared for him. The persecution of the Protestants went on still in *France*: And no other care was had of them here, but that we sheltred them, and so had great numbers of them coming over to us. A quarrel was in debate between the *English* and *Dutch East-India* company. The *Dutch* had a mind to drive us out of *Bantam*; for they did not love to see the *English* settle so near *Batavia*. So they engaged the old King of *Bantam* into a War with his son, who was in possession of *Bantam*: And the son was supported by the *English*. But the old King drove out his son by the help that the *Dutch* gave him: And he drove out the *English* likewise, as having espoused his son's rebellion against him; tho' we understood it, that he had resigned the Kingdom to his son, but that by the instigation of the *Dutch* he had now invaded him. It is certain,

1684.

our Court laid up this in their heart, as that upon which they would lay the foundation of a new War with the States, as ſoon as we ſhould be in condition to undertake it. The *Eaſt-India* company ſaw this, and that the Court preſſed them to make publick remonſtrances upon it, which gave a jealouſy of an ill deſign under it: So they reſolved to proceed rather in a very ſlow negotiation, than in any thing that might give a handle to a rupture.

The hardſhips that the author met with.

I muſt now mix in ſomewhat with relation to my ſelf, tho' that may ſeem too inconſiderable to be put into a ſeries of matters of ſuch importance. But it is neceſſary to give ſome account of that which ſet me at liberty to go round ſome parts of *Europe*, and to ſtay for ſome years out of *England*. I preached a lecture at St. *Clement's* on the *Thurſdays*: But after the Lord *Ruſſel's* death the King ſent an order to Dr. *Haſcard*, then Rector of the pariſh, to diſcharge me from it. I continued at the Rolls, avoiding very cautiouſly every thing that related to the publick: For I abhorred the making the pulpit a ſtage for venting of paſſion, or for the ſerving of intereſts. There was a pariſh in *London* vacant, where the election lay in the inhabitants: And it was probable it would have fallen on me; tho' *London* was in ſo divided a ſtate, that every thing was managed by the ſtrength of parties. Yet the King apprehending the choice might have fallen on me, ſent a meſſage to them, to let them know, he would take it amiſs if they choſe me. Old Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone* lived ſtill to the great indignation of the Court: When the fifth of *November*, being gunpowder treaſon day, came, in which we had always ſermons at the Chapel of the Rolls, I beg'd the Maſter of the Rolls to excuſe me then from preaching; for that day led one to preach againſt Popery, and it was indecent not to do it. He ſaid, he would end his life as he had led it all along, in an open deteſtation of Popery. So, ſince I ſaw this could not be avoided, tho' I had not meddled with any point of Popery for above a year together, I reſolved, ſince I did it ſo ſeldom, to do it to purpoſe. I choſe for my text theſe Words: *Save me from the lions mouth, thou haſt heard me from the horns of the unicorns.* I made no reflexion in my thoughts on the lion and unicorn, as being the two ſupporters of the King's ſcutcheon: (For I ever hated all points of that ſort, as a profanation of Scriptures:) But I ſhewed how well Popery might be compared to the lion's mouth, then open to devour us: And I compared our former deliverance from the extremities of danger to the being on the horn of a rhinoceros. And this leading me to the ſubject of the day, I mentioned that wiſh of King *James* the firſt againſt any of his poſterity that ſhould endeavour to bring that religion in among us. This was immediately carried to the Court. But it only raiſed more anger againſt me; for nothing could be made of it. They talked moſt of the choice of the text, as levelled againſt the King's coat of arms. That had never been once in my thoughts. Lord Keeper *North* diverted the King from doing any thing on the account of my ſermon. And ſo the matter ſlept till the end of the term. And then *North* writ to the Maſter of the Rolls, that the King conſidered the Chapel of the Rolls as one of his own Chapels: And, ſince he looked on me as a perſon diſaffected to his government, and had for that reaſon diſmiſſed me from his own ſervice, he therefore required him not to ſuffer me to ſerve any longer in that Chapel. And thus all my ſervice in the Church was now ſtopt. For upon ſuch a publick declaration made againſt me, it was not fit for any Clergyman to make uſe of my aſſiſtance any more. And by theſe means I was ſet at liberty by the procurement of my enemies. So that I did not abandon my poſt, either out of fear, or out of any giddineſs to ramble about *Europe*. But, being now under ſuch publick marks of jealouſy, and put out of a capacity of ſerving God and the Church in the way of my function, it ſeemed a prudent and a decent thing for me to withdraw my ſelf from that fury, which I ſaw was working ſo ſtrongly, and in ſo many repeated inſtances, againſt me.

Theſe diſgraces from the Court were the occaſion of my going out of *England*; which both preſerved me from what I had reaſon to apprehend, when the Duke, by the change that happened ſoon after, might have had it in his power to make me feel all that diſpleaſure, which had been growing upon him in a courſe of ſo many years againſt me; and it alſo put me in a way to do the greateſt ſervices I was capable of, both to the intereſt of religion, and of theſe Nations. So that what was intended as a miſchief to me proved my preſervation. My employment at the Rolls would have fallen in courſe within a month, if the Court had delayed the putting me from it in ſuch an open manner; for that worthy man, Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, died

died about *Chriſtmas*. Nature ſunk all at once, he being then eighty two: He died, as he had lived, with great piety and reſignation to the will of God. 1684.

There were two famous trials in *Michaelmas* term: Three women came and depoſed againſt *Roſwell*, a Presbyterian preacher, treaſonable words that he had delivered at a Conventicle. They ſwore to two or three periods, in which they agreed ſo exactly together, that there was not the ſmalleſt variation in their depoſitions. *Roſwell* on the other hand made a ſtrong defence: He proved, that the witneſſes were leud and infamous perſons. He proved, that he had always been a loyal man, even in *Cromwell*'s days; that he prayed conſtantly for the King in his family, and that in his ſermons he often inſiſted on the obligations to loyalty. And as for that ſermon, in which the witneſſes ſwore he delivered theſe words, he ſhewed what his text was, which the witneſſes could not remember, as they remembred nothing elſe in his ſermon beſides the words they had depoſed. That text, and his ſermon upon it, had no relation to any ſuch matter. Several witneſſes who heard the ſermon, and ſome who writ it in ſhort hand, declared, he ſaid no ſuch words, nor any thing to that purpoſe. He offered his own notes to prove this further: But no regard was had to them. The Women could not prove by any circumſtance that they were at his meeting; or that any perſon ſaw them there on that day. The words they ſwore againſt him were ſo groſs, that it was not to be imagined any man in his wits could expreſs himſelf ſo, were he ever ſo wickedly ſet, before a mixed aſſembly. It was alſo urged, that it was highly improbable, that three Women could remember ſo long a period upon one ſingle hearing; and that they ſhould all remember it ſo exactly, as to agree in the ſame depoſition. He offered to put the whole upon this iſſue: He would pronounce a period, as long as that which they had ſworn, with his uſual tone of voice with which he preached, and then leave them to repeat it, if they could. I ſet down all this defence more particularly, that it may appear what a ſpirit was in that time, when a verdict could be brought in upon ſuch an evidence, and againſt ſuch a defence. *Jefferies* urged the matter with his ordinary vehemence: He laid it for a foundation, that all preaching at Conventicles was treaſonable, and that this ought to diſpoſe the Jury to believe any evidence whatſoever upon that head, and that here were three poſitive concurring Witneſſes: So the Jury brought him in guilty. And there was a ſhameful rejoycing upon this. It was thought, now Conventicles would be all ſuppreſſed by it, ſince any perſon that would witneſs that treaſonable words were delivered at them would be believed, how improbable ſoever it might be. But when the importance of the words came to be examined, by men learned in the law, they were found not to be treaſon by any ſtatute. So *Roſwell* moved for an arreſt of judgment, till Counſel ſhould be heard to that point, whether the Words were treaſon, or not. In *Sidney*'s caſe they refuſed to grant that, unleſs he would firſt confeſs the fact. And, tho' that was much cenſured, yet it was more doubtful, whether Counſel ought to be heard after the Jury had brought in the verdict. But the King was ſo put out of countenance with the many ſtories that were brought him of his Witneſſes, that the Attorney General had orders to yield to the arreſt of judgment; tho' it had been more to the King's honour to have put an end to the buſineſs by a pardon. It was thought a good point gained, which might turn to the advantage of the ſubject, to allow that a point of law might be argued after conviction. The impudence of this verdict was the more ſhameful, ſince, tho' we had a Popiſh ſucceſſor in view, here was a precedent made, by which poſitive Witneſſes, ſwearing to any thing as ſaid in a ſermon, were to be believed againſt ſo many probabilities, and ſo much proof to the contrary; which might have been at another time very fatal to the Clergy.

Trials for treaſon of *Roſwell* and *Haies*.

The other trial was of more importance to the Court. In *Armſtrong*'s pocket, when he was taken, a letter was found writ by *Haies* a Banquier in *London*, directed to another name, which was believed a feigned one: In it credit was given him upon *Haies*'s correſpondent in *Holland* for money: He was deſired not to be too laviſh: And he was promiſed, that he ſhould be ſupplied as he needed it. Here was an abetting of a man outlawed for treaſon. Much pains was taken on *Haies*, both by perſuaſion and threatning, to induce him to diſcover that whole cabal of men, that, it ſeemed, joined in a common purſe to ſupply thoſe who had fled beyond ſea on the account of the plot. And they hoped to know all *Monmouth*'s friends; and either to have attainted them, or at leaſt to have fined them ſeverely for it. But *Haies* ſhewed a fidelity and courage far beyond what could have been expected from ſuch a man:

So

1684. So he was brought to a trial. He made a ſtrong defence. The letter was not exactly like his hand. It was not addreſſed to *Armſtrong*, but to another perſon, from whom he perhaps had it. No entry was made of it in his books, nor of any ſum paid upon it. But his main defence was, that a Banquier examined into no perſon's concerns; and therefore, when money or good ſecurity was brought him, he gave bills of exchange, or letters of credit, as they were deſired. *Jefferies* preſſed the Jury, in his impetuous way, to find *Haies* guilty of high treaſon; becauſe, tho' there was not a witneſs againſt *Haies*, but only preſumptions appeared upon the proof, yet, *Jefferies* ſaid, it was proved by two Witneſſes that the letter was found in *Armſtrong*'s pocket; and that was ſufficient, the reſt appearing by circumſtances. The little difference between the writing in the letter and his ordinary hand, was ſaid to be only a feint to hide it, which made him the more guilty. He required the Jury to bring him in guilty: And ſaid, that the King's life and ſafety depended upon this trial: So that if they did it not, they expoſed the King to a new *Rye-Plot*; with other extravagancies, with which his fury prompted him. But a Jury of merchants could not be wrought up to this pitch. So he was acquitted, which mortified the Court a little. For they had reckoned, that now Juries were to be only a point of form in a trial, and that they were always to find bills as they were directed.

Strange practices and very unbecoming a King.

A trial in a matter of blood came on after this. A Gentleman of a noble family being at a publick ſupper with much company, ſome hot words paſt between him and another Gentleman, which raiſed a ſudden quarrel, none but three perſons being engaged in it. Swords were drawn, and one was killed out-right: But it was not certain by whoſe hand he was killed: So the other two were both indicted upon it. The proof did not carry it beyond manſlaughter, no marks of any precedent malice appearing. Yet the young Gentleman was prevailed on to confeſs the indictment, and to let ſentence paſs on him for murder; a pardon being promiſed him if he ſhould do ſo, and he being threatned with the utmoſt rigour of the law, if he ſtood upon his defence. After the ſentence had paſt, it appeared on what deſign he had been practiſed on. It was a rich family, and not well affected to the Court: So he was told that he muſt pay well for his pardon: And it coſt him 16000 *l.* of which the King had the one half, the other half being divided between two Ladies that were in great favour. It is a very ill thing for Princes to ſuffer themſelves to be prevailed on by importunities to pardon blood, which cries for vengeance. Yet an eaſineſs to importunity is a feebleneſs of good nature, and ſo is in it ſelf leſs criminal. But it is a monſtrous perverting of juſtice, and a deſtroying the chief end of government, which is the preſervation of the people, when their blood is ſet to ſale; and that not as a compenſation to the family of the perſon murdered, but to the Prince himſelf, and to ſome who are in favour with him upon unworthy accounts: And it was robbery if the Gentleman was innocent.

Another thing of a ſtrange nature happened about this time. The Earl of *Clancarty* in *Ireland*, when he died, had left his Lady the guardian of his children. It was one of the nobleſt and richeſt families of the *Iriſh* Nation, which had always been Papiſts. But the Lady was a Proteſtant. And ſhe, being afraid to truſt the education of her ſon to *Ireland*, tho' in Prpteſtant hands, conſidering the danger he might be in from his kindred of that religion, brought him over to *Oxford*, and put him in *Fell*'s hands, who was both Biſhop of *Oxford* and Dean of Chriſt-Church; where ſhe reckoned he would be ſafe. Lord *Clancarty* had an uncle, Coll. *Macarty*, who was in moſt things, where his religion was not concerned, a man of honour. So he, both to pervert his nephew, and to make his own Court, got the King to write to the Biſhop of *Oxford* to let the young Lord come up, and ſee the diverſion of the Town in the *Chriſtmas* time; to which the Biſhop did too eaſily conſent. When he came to Town, he, being then at the age of conſent, was married to one of the Lord *Sunderland*'s daughters. And ſo he broke thro' all his education, and ſoon after turned Papiſt. Thus the King ſuffered himſelf to be made an inſtrument in one of the greateſt of crimes, the taking an infant out of the hand of a guardian and marrying him ſecretly; againſt which the laws of all nations have taken care to provide very effectually. But this leads me into a further view of the deſigns of Court.

Papiſts employed in *Ireland*.

The Earl of *Rocheſter* grew weary of the inſignificant place of Preſident, which procured him neither confidence nor dependence. And, ſince the government of *Ireland* was the greateſt poſt, next to the Treaſury, he obtained by the Duke's favour to

to be named Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The King ſeemed to be ſo uneaſy with him, that he was glad to ſend him away from the Court. And the King intended to begin in his perſon a new method in the government of *Ireland*. Formerly the Lords Lieutenants were Generals of the army, as well as the Governours of the Kingdom. Their intereſt in recommending to poſts in the army, and the giving the commiſſions for them, brought the army into their dependence, and encreaſed the profits of their Secretaries. It was now ſuggeſted by Lord *Sunderland*, that this was too much in one perſon: And therefore he propoſed, that there ſhould be a General of the army, independent on the Lord Lieutenant, and who ſhould be a check upon him: When there were but a few troops kept up there, it might be more reaſonable to leave them in the Lord Lieutenant's hands: But now that an army was kept, it ſeemed too much to put that, as well as the civil adminiſtration of the Kingdom, into the power of one man. In this the Earl of *Sunderland*'s deſign was, to keep that Kingdom in a dependence upon himſelf. And he told the King, that if he thought that was a good maxim for the government of *Ireland*, he ought to begin it when a creature of his own was ſent thither, who had not ſuch a right to diſpute points of that kind with him, as ancient noblemen might pretend to. Lord *Rocheſter* was much mortified with this. He ſaid, the chief Governour of *Ireland* could not be anſwerable for the peace of that Kingdom, if the army was not in a dependence on him. Yet little regard was had to all that he could object to this new method; for the King ſeemed to be the more pleaſed with it, becauſe it afflicted him ſo much. The firſt inſtance, in which the King intended to begin the immediate dependence of the *Iriſh* army on himſelf, was not ſo well choſen, as to make it generally acceptable: For it was, that Coll. *Maccarty* was to have a regiment there. He had a regiment in the *French* ſervice for ſeveral years, and was called home upon that appearance that we had put on of engaging with the allies in a War with *France* in the year 1678. The Popiſh plot had kept the King from employing him for ſome years, in which the Court was in ſome management with the Nation. But now that being at an end, the King intended to employ him, upon this acceptable ſervice he had done with relation to his nephew. The King ſpoke of it to Lord *Hallifax*: And he, as he told me, asked the King, if he thought that was to govern according to law. The King anſwered, he was not tied up by the laws of *Ireland*, as he was by the laws of *England*. Lord *Hallifax* offered to argue that point with any perſon that aſſerted it before him: He ſaid, that army was raiſed by a Proteſtant Parliament, to ſecure the Proteſtant intereſt: And would the King give occaſion to any to ſay, that where his hands were not bound up, he would ſhew all the favour he could to the Papiſts? The King anſwered, he did not trouble himſelf with what people ſaid, or would ſay. Lord *Hallifax* replied to this, that it was a juſt piece of greatneſs in the King not to mind what his enemies ſaid; but he hoped he would never deſpiſe what his friends ſaid, eſpecially when they ſeemed to have reaſon on their ſide: And he wiſhed the King would chooſe rather to make up *Maccarty*'s loſſes for his ſervice in penſions, and other favours, than in a way that would raiſe ſo much clamour and jealouſy. In all this Lord *Hallifax* only offered his advice to the King, upon the King's beginning the diſcourſe with him. Yet the King told it all to *Maccarty*; who came and expoſtulated the matter with that Lord. So he ſaw by that how little ſafe a man was, who ſpoke freely to the King, when he croſſed the King's own inclinations.

1684.

There was a great expectation in the Court of *France*, that at this time the King would declare himſelf a Papiſt. They did not keep the ſecret very carefully there: For the Archbiſhop of *Rheims* had ſaid to my ſelf, that the King was as much theirs as his brother was, only he had not ſo much conſcience. This I reported to Lord *Hallifax* to tell the King. Whether he did it, or not, I know not. But it was written over at this time from *Paris*, that the King of *France* had ſaid at his levee, or at table, that a great thing would quickly break out in *England* with relation to religion. The occaſion of that was afterwards better known. One of our *Eaſt-India* ſhips had brought over one of the Miſſionaries of *Siam*, who was a man of a warm imagination, and who talked of his having converted and baptized many thouſands in that Kingdom. He was well received at Court: And the King diverted himſelf with hearing him relate the adventures, and other paſſages of his travels. Upon this encouragement he deſired a private audience; in which in a very inflamed ſpeech, and with great vehemence, he preſſed the King to return into the boſom of the Church.

Suſpicions of the King's declaring himſelf a Papiſt.

1684. The King entertained this civilly, and gave him thoſe anſwers, that he, not knowing the King's Way, took them for ſuch ſteps and indications, as made him conclude the thing was very near done: And upon that he writ to *P. de la Chaiſe*, that they would hear the news of the King's converſion very quickly. The Confeſſor carried the news to the King; who, not doubting it, gave the general hint of that great turn, of which he was then full of hopes.

That Prieſt was directed by ſome to apply himſelf to Lord *Hallifax*, to try if he could convert him. Lord *Hallifax* told me, he was ſo vain and ſo weak a man, that none could be converted by him, but ſuch as were weary of their religion, and wanted only a pretence to throw it off. Lord *Hallifax* put many queſtions to him, to which he made ſuch ſimple anſwers, as furniſhed that Lord with many very lively ſallies upon the converſions ſo much boaſted of, as made by ſuch men. Lord *Hallifax* asked him, how it came that, ſince the King of *Siam* was ſo favourable to their religion, they had not converted him? The Miſſionary upon that told him, that the King had ſaid, he would not examine into the truth of all that they had told him concerning *Jeſus Chriſt*: He thought it was not reaſonable to forſake the religion of his fathers, unleſs he ſaw good grounds to juſtify the change: And, ſince they pretended that the author of their religion had left a power of working miracles with his followers, he deſired they would apply that to himſelf: He had a palſey both in his arm, and in his leg: And if they could deliver him from that, he promiſed to them he would change immediately. Upon which the Miſſionary ſaid, that the Biſhop, who was the head of that miſſion, was bold enough (*aſſez hardi*, were the Prieſt's own Words) to undertake it. A day was ſet for it. And the Biſhop, with his Prieſt and ſome others, came to the King. And after ſome prayers, the King told them, he felt ſome heat and motion in his arm; but the palſey was more rooted in his thigh: So he deſired the Biſhop would go on, and finiſh that which was ſo happily begun. The Biſhop thought he had ventured enough, and would engage no further; but told the King, that ſince their God had made one ſtep towards him, he muſt make the next to God, and at leaſt meet him half way. But the King was obſtinate, and would have the miracle finiſhed before he would change. On the other hand the Biſhop ſtood his ground. And ſo the matter went no further. Upon which Lord *Hallifax* ſaid, ſince the King was ſuch an infidel, they ought to have prayed the palſey into his arm again, as well as they prayed it out: Otherwiſe, here was a miracle loſt on an obſtinate infidel: And, if the palſey had immediately returned into his arm, that would perhaps have given him a full conviction. This put the Miſſionary into ſome confuſion. And Lord *Hallifax* repeated it both to the King and to the Duke with that air of contempt, that the Duke was highly provoked by it: And the Prieſt appeared at Court no more.

1685. A new ſcheme of government. There was at this time a new ſcheme formed, that very probably would have for ever broken the King and the Duke. But how it was laid was ſo great a ſecret, that I could never penetrate into it. It was laid at Lady *Portſmouth*'s. *Barillon* and Lord *Sunderland* were the chief managers of it. Lord *Godolphin* was alſo in it. The Duke of *Monmouth* came over ſecretly. And tho' he did not ſee the King, yet he went back very well pleaſed with his journey. But he never told his reaſon to any that I know of. Mr. *May* of the privy purſe told me, that he was told there was a deſign to break out, with which he himſelf would be well pleaſed: And when it was ripe, he was to be called on to come and manage the King's temper, which no man underſtood better than he did; for he had been bred about the King ever ſince he was a child: And by his poſt he was in the ſecret of all his amours; but was contrary to his notions in every thing elſe, both with relation to Popery, to *France*, and to arbitrary government. Yet he was ſo true to the King in that lewd confidence in which he employed him, that the King had charged him never to preſs him in any thing ſo as to provoke him. By this means he kept all this while much at a diſtance; for he would not enter into any diſcourſe with the King on matters of ſtate, till the King began with him. And he told me, he knew by the King's Way things were not yet quite ripe, nor he thoroughly fixed on the deſign. That with which they were to begin was, the ſending the Duke to *Scotland*. And it was generally believed, that if the two brothers ſhould be once parted, they would never meet again. The King ſpoke to the Duke concerning his going to *Scotland*: And he anſwered, that there was no occaſion for it: Upon which the King replied, that either the Duke muſt go, or that he himſelf would go thither. The

The King was observed to be more than ordinarily pensive. And his fondness to Lady *Portsmouth* increased, and broke out in very indecent instances. The Grand Prior of *France*, the Duke of *Vendome*'s brother, had made some applications to that Lady, with which the King was highly offended. It was said, the King came in on a sudden, and saw that which provoked him: So he commanded him immediately to go out of *England*. Yet after that the King caressed her in the view of all people, which he had never done on any occasion or to any person formerly. The King was observed to be colder and more reserved to the Duke than ordinary. But what was under all this was still a deep secret. Lord *Hallifax* was let into no part of it. He still went on against Lord *Rochester*. He complained in Council, that there were many razures in the books of the Treasury, and that several leaves were cut out of those books: And he moved the King to go to the Treasury chamber, that the books might be laid before him, and that he might judge of the matter upon sight. So the King named the next *Monday*. And it was then expected, that the Earl of *Rochester* would have been turned out of all, if not sent to the Tower. And a message was sent to Mr. *May*, then at *Windsor*, to desire him to come to Court that day, which it was expected would prove a critical day. And it proved to be so indeed, tho' in a different way. 1685.

The King's sickness.

All this Winter the King looked better than he had done for many years. He had a humour in his leg, which looked like the beginning of the gout: So that for some weeks he could not walk, as he used to do generally three or four hours a day in the Park; which he did commonly so fast, that as it was really an exercise to himself, so it was a trouble to all about him to hold up with him. In the state the King was in, he not being able to walk, spent much of his time in his laboratory, and was running a process for the fixing of *Mercury*. On the first of *February*, being a *Sunday*, he eat little all day, and came to Lady *Portsmouth* at night, and called for a porringer of spoon meat. It was made too strong for his stomach. So he ate little of it: And he had an unquiet night. In the morning one Dr. *King*, a Physician, and a Chymist, came as he had been ordered, to wait on him. All the King's discourse to him was so broken, that he could not understand what he meant. And the Doctor concluded, he was under some great disorder, either in his mind, or in his body. The Doctor amazed at this, went out, and meeting with Lord *Peterborough*, he said, the King was in a strange humour, for he did not speak one word of sense. Lord *Peterborough* desired he would go in again to the bed-chamber, which he did. And he was scarce come in, when the King, who seemed all the while to be in great confusion, fell down all of a sudden in a fit like an apoplexy: He looked black, and his eyes turned in his head. The physician, who had been formerly an eminent Surgeon, said, it was impossible to save the King's life, if one minute was lost: He would rather venture on the rigour of the law, than leave the King to perish. And so he let him blood. The King came out of that fit: And the physicians approved what Dr. *King* had done: Upon which the Privy Council ordered him a thousand pound, which yet was never paid him. Tho' the King came out of that fit, yet the effects of it hung still upon him, so that he was much oppressed. And the physicians did very much apprehend the return of another fit, and that it would carry him off: So they looked on him as a dead man. The Bishop of *London* spoke a little to him, to dispose him to prepare for whatever might be before him; to which the King answered not a word. But that was imputed partly to the Bishop's cold way of speaking, and partly to the ill opinion they had of him at Court, as too busy in opposition to Popery. *Sancroft* made a very weighty exhortation to him; in which he used a good degree of freedom, which he said was necessary, since he was going to be judged by one who was no respecter of persons. To him the King made no answer neither; nor yet to *Ken*, tho' the most in favour with him of all the Bishops. Some imputed this to an insensibility; of which too visible an instance appeared, since Lady *Portsmouth* sat in the bed taking care of him as a Wife of a husband. Others guessed truer, that it would appear he was of another religion. On *Thursday* a second fit returned. And then the physicians told the Duke, that the King was not like to live a day to an end.

He received the Sacraments from a Popish Priest.

The Duke immediately ordered *Hudleston*, the Priest that had a great hand in saving the King at *Worcester* fight, (for which he was excepted out of all severe acts that were made against Priests,) to be brought to the Lodgings under the bed-chamber. And when he was told what was to be done, he was in great confusion, for he had

1685. had no hoſtie about him. But he went to another Prieſt, that lived in the Court, who gave him the pix with an hoſtie in it. But that poor Prieſt was ſo frighted, that he run out of *Whitehal* in ſuch haſte that he ſtruck againſt a poſt, and ſeemed to be in a fit of madneſs with fear. As ſoon as *Hudleſton* had prepared every thing that was neceſſary, the Duke whiſpered the King in the ear. Upon that the King ordered that all who were in the bed-chamber ſhould withdraw, except the Earls of *Bath*, and *Feverſham:* And the door was double locked. The company was kept out half an hour: Only Lord *Feverſham* opened the door once, and called for a glaſs of water. Cardinal *Howard* told me at *Rome*, that *Hudleſton*, according to the relation that he ſent thither, made the King go through ſome acts of contrition, and, after ſuch a confeſſion as he could then make, he gave him abſolution and the other Sacraments. The hoſtie ſtuck in his throat: And that was the occaſion of calling for a glaſs of water. He alſo gave him extream Unction. All muſt have been performed very ſuperficially, ſince it was ſo ſoon ended. But the King ſeemed to be at great eaſe upon it. It was given out, that the King ſaid to *Hudleſton*, that he had ſaved him twice, firſt his body, and now his ſoul; and that he asked him, if he would have him declare himſelf to be of their Church. But it ſeems he was prepared for this, and ſo diverted the King from it; and ſaid, he took it upon him to ſatisfy the world in that particular. But tho' by the principles of all religions whatſoever he ought to have obliged him to make open profeſſion of his religion, yet, it ſeems, the conſequences of that were apprehended; for without doubt that poor Prieſt acted by the directions that were given him. The company was ſuffered to come in. And the King went thro' the agonies of death, with a calm and a conſtancy, that amazed all who were about him, and knew how he had lived. This made ſome conclude, that he had made a Will, and that his quiet was the effect of that. *Ken* applied himſelf much to the awaking the King's conſcience. He ſpoke with a great elevation, both of thought and expreſſion, like a man inſpired, as thoſe who were preſent told me. He reſumed the matter often, and pronounced many ſhort ejaculations and prayers, which affected all that were preſent, except him that was the moſt concerned, who ſeemed to take no notice of him, and made no anſwers to him. He preſſed the King ſix or ſeven times to receive the Sacrament. But the King always declined it, ſaying, he was very weak. A table with the elements upon it ready to be conſecrated was brought into the room; which occaſioned a report to be then ſpread about, that he had received it. *Ken* preſſed him to declare that he deſired it, and that he died in the Communion of the Church of *England*. To that he anſwered nothing. *Ken* asked him, if he deſired abſolution of his ſins. It ſeems the King, if he then thought any thing at all, thought that would do him no hurt. So *Ken* pronounced it over him: For which he was blamed, ſince the King expreſſed no ſenſe of ſorrow for his paſt life, nor any purpoſe of amendment. It was thought to be a proſtitution of the peace of the Church, to give it to one, who after a life led as the King's had been, ſeemed to harden himſelf againſt every thing that could be ſaid to him. *Ken* was alſo cenſured for another piece of indecency: He preſented the Duke of *Richmond*, Lady *Portſmouth*'s ſon, to be bleſſed by the King. Upon this ſome that were in the room cried out, the King was their common father. And upon that all kneeled down for his bleſſing, which he gave them. The King ſuffered much inwardly, and ſaid he was burnt up within; of which he complained often, but with great decency. He ſaid once, he hoped he ſhould climb up to heaven's gates, which was the only word ſavouring of religion that he was heard to ſpeak.

He gathered all his ſtrength to ſpeak his laſt words to the Duke, to which every one hearkened with great attention. He expreſſed his kindneſs to him, and that he now delivered all over to him with great joy. He recommended Lady *Portſmouth* over and over again to him. He ſaid, he had always loved her, and he loved her now to the laſt; and beſought the Duke in as melting words as he could fetch out, to be very kind to her and to her ſon. He recommended his other children to him: And concluded, let not poor *Nelly* ſtarve; that was Mrs. *Guyn*. But he ſaid nothing of the Queen, nor any one word of his people, or of his ſervants: Nor did he ſpeak one word of religion, or concerning the payment of his debts, tho' he left behind him about 90000 guineas, which he had gathered, either out of the privy purſe, or out of the money which was ſent him from *France*, or by other methods, and which he had kept ſo ſecretly that no perſon whatſoever knew any thing of it.

He

He continued in the agony till *Friday* at eleven a clock, being the fifth of *February* 168⅝; and then died in the fifty fourth year of his age, after he had reigned, if we reckon from his father's death, thirty ſix years, and eight days; or, if we reckon from his Reſtoration, twenty four years, eight months, and nine days. There were many very apparent ſuſpicions of his being poiſoned: For tho' the firſt acceſs looked like an apoplexy, yet it was plain in the progreſs of it that it was no apoplexy. When his body was opened, the phyſicians who viewed it were, as it were, led by thoſe who might ſuſpect the truth to look upon the parts that were certainly ſound. But both *Lower* and *Needham*, two famous phyſicians, told me, they plainly diſcerned two or three blue ſpots on the outſide of the ſtomach. *Needham* called twice to have it opened: But the Surgeons ſeemed not to hear him. And when he moved it the ſecond time, he, as he told me, heard *Lower* ſay to one that ſtood next him, *Needham* will undo us, calling thus to have the ſtomach opened, for he may ſee they will not do it. They were diverted to look to ſomewhat elſe: And when they returned to look upon the ſtomach, it was carried away: So that it was never viewed. *Le Fevre*, a *French* phyſician, told me, he ſaw a blackneſs in the Shoulder: Upon which he made an inciſion, and ſaw it was all mortified. *Short*, another phyſician, who was a Papiſt, but after a form of his own, did very much ſuſpect foul dealing: And he had talked more freely of it, than any of the Proteſtants durſt do at that time. But he was not long after taken ſuddenly ill, upon a large draught of wormwood wine which he had drunk in the houſe of a Popiſh patient, that lived near the Tower, who had ſent for him, of which he died. And, as he ſaid to *Lower*, *Millington*, and ſome other phyſicians, he believed that he himſelf was poiſoned for his having ſpoken ſo freely of the King's death. The King's body was indecently neglected. Some parts of his inwards, and ſome pieces of the fat, were left in the water in which they were waſhed: All which were ſo careleſly looked after, that the water being poured out at a ſcullery hole that went to a drain, in the mouth of which a grate lay, theſe were ſeen lying on the grate many days after. His funeral was very mean. He did not lie in ſtate: No mournings were given: And the expence of it was not equal to what an ordinary Noblemans funeral will riſe to. Many upon this ſaid, that he deſerved better from his brother, than to be thus ungratefully treated in ceremonies that are publick, and that make an impreſſion on thoſe who ſee them, and who will make ſevere obſervations and inferences upon ſuch omiſſions. But ſince I have mentioned the ſuſpicions of poiſon, as the cauſe of his death, I muſt add, that I never heard any lay thoſe ſuſpicions on his brother. But his dying ſo critically, as it were in the minute in which he ſeemed to begin a turn of affairs, made it to be generally the more believed, and that the Papiſts had done it, either by the means of ſome of Lady *Portſmouth*'s ſervants, or as ſome fancied, by poiſoned ſnuff; for ſo many of the ſmall veins of the brain were burſt, that the brain was in great diſorder, and no judgment could be made concerning it. To this I ſhall add a very ſurpriſing ſtory *, that I had in *November* 1709 from Mr. *Henly* of *Hampſhire*. He told me, that, when the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth* came over to *England* in the year 1699, he heard, that ſhe had talked as if King *Charles* had been poiſoned; which he deſiring to have from her own mouth, ſhe gave him this account of it. She was always preſſing the King to make both himſelf and his people eaſy, and to come to a full agreement with his Parliament: And he was come to a final reſolution of ſending away his brother, and of calling a Parliament; which was to be executed the next day after he fell into that fit of which he died. She was put upon the ſecret, and ſpoke of it to no perſon alive, but to her Confeſſor: But the Confeſſor, ſhe believed, told it to ſome, who ſeeing what was to follow took that wicked courſe to prevent it. Having this from ſo worthy a perſon, as I have ſet it down without adding the leaſt circumſtance to it, I thought it too important not to be mentioned in this hiſtory. It diſcovers both the knavery of Confeſſors, and the practices of Papiſts, ſo evidently, that there is no need of making any further reflexions on it.

1685. His death.

Thus lived and died King *Charles* the ſecond. He was the greateſt inſtance in hiſtory of the various revolutions of which any one man ſeemed capable. He was bred up, the firſt twelve years of his life, with the ſplendour that became the heir of ſo great a Crown. After that he paſt thro' eighteen years in great inequalities, unhappy in the

His character.

* *N. B.* This is added to the original in a looſe ſheet.

1685. War, in the loſs of his Father, and of the Crown of *England*. *Scotland* did not only receive him, tho' upon terms hard of digeſtion, but made an attempt upon *England* for him, tho' a feeble one. He loſt the battle of *Worceſter* with too much indifference: And then he ſhewed more care of his perſon, than became one who had ſo much at ſtake. He wandred about *England* for ten weeks after that, hiding from place to place. But, under all the apprehenſions he had then upon him, he ſhewed a temper ſo careleſs, and ſo much turned to levity, that he was then diverting himſelf with little houſhold ſports, in as unconcerned a manner, as if he had made no loſs, and had been in no danger at all. He got at laſt out of *England*. But he had been obliged to ſo many, who had been faithful to him, and careful of him, that he ſeemed afterwards to reſolve to make an equal return to them all: And finding it not eaſy to reward them all as they deſerved, he forgot them all alike. Moſt Princes ſeem to have this pretty deep in them; and to think that they ought never to remember paſt ſervices, but that their acceptance of them is a full reward. He, of all in our age, exerted this piece of prerogative in the ampleſt manner: For he never ſeemed to charge his memory, or to trouble his thoughts, with the ſenſe of any of the ſervices that had been done him. While he was abroad at *Paris*, *Colen*, or *Bruſſells*, he never ſeemed to lay any thing to heart. He purſued all his diverſions, and irregular pleaſures, in a free carrier; and ſeemed to be as ſerene under the loſs of a Crown, as the greateſt Philoſopher could have been. Nor did he willingly hearken to any of thoſe projects, with which he often complained that his Chancellour perſecuted him. That in which he ſeemed moſt concerned was, to find money for ſupporting his expence. And it was often ſaid, that if *Cromwell* would have compounded the matter, and have given him a good round penſion, that he might have been induced to reſign his title to him. During his exile he delivered himſelf ſo entirely to his pleaſures, that he became incapable of application. He ſpent little of his time in reading or ſtudy, and yet leſs in thinking. And, in the ſtate his affairs were then in, he accuſtomed himſelf to ſay to every perſon, and upon all occaſions, that which he thought would pleaſe moſt: So that words or promiſes went very eaſily from him. And he had ſo ill an opinion of mankind, that he thought the great art of living and governing was, to manage all things and all perſons with a depth of craft and diſſimulation. And in that few men in the world could put on the appearances of ſincerity better than he could: Under which ſo much artifice was uſually hid, that in concluſion he could deceive none, for all were become miſtruſtful of him. He had great vices, but ſcarce any virtues to correct them: He had in him ſome vices that were leſs hurtful, which corrected his more hurtful ones. He was during the active part of life given up to ſloth and lewdneſs to ſuch a degree, that he hated buſineſs, and could not bear the engaging in any thing that gave him much trouble, or put him under any conſtraint. And, tho' he deſired to become abſolute, and to overturn both our Religion and our Laws, yet he would neither run the riſque, nor give himſelf the trouble, which ſo great a deſign required. He had an appearance of gentleneſs in his outward deportment: But he ſeemed to have no bowels nor tenderneſs in his nature: And in the end of his life he became cruel. He was apt to forgive all crimes, even blood it ſelf: Yet he never forgave any thing that was done againſt himſelf, after his firſt and general act of indemnity, which was to be reckoned as done rather upon maxims of ſtate than inclinations of mercy. He delivered himſelf up to a moſt enormous courſe of vice, without any ſort of reſtraint, even from the conſideration of the neareſt relations: The moſt ſtudied extravagancies that way ſeemed, to the very laſt, to be much delighted in, and purſued by him. He had the art of making all people grow fond of him at firſt, by a ſoftneſs in his whole way of converſation, as he was certainly the beſt bred man of the age. But when it appeared how little could be built on his promiſe, they were cured of the fondneſs that he was apt to raiſe in them. When he ſaw young men of quality, who had ſomething more than ordinary in them, he drew them about him, and ſet himſelf to corrupt them both in religion and morality; in which he proved ſo unhappily ſucceſsful, that he left *England* much changed at his death from what he had found it at his Reſtoration. He loved to talk over all the ſtories of his life to every new man that came about him. His ſtay in *Scotland*, and the ſhare he had in the War of *Paris*, in carrying meſſages from the one ſide to the other, were his common topicks. He went over theſe in a very graceful manner; but ſo often, and ſo copiouſly, that all thoſe who had been long accuſtomed to them grew weary of them: And when he entred on thoſe ſtories they uſually withdrew: So that he often

often began them in a full audience, and before he had done there were not above four or five left about him: Which drew a severe jest from *Wilmot*, Earl of *Rochester*. He said, he wondred to see a man have so good a memory as to repeat the same story without losing the least circumstance, and yet not remember that he had told it to the same persons the very day before. This made him fond of strangers; for they hearkened to all his often repeated stories, and went away as in a rapture at such an uncommon condescension in a King. 1685.

His person and temper, his vices as well as his fortunes, resemble the character that we have given us of *Tiberius* so much, that it were easy to draw the parallel between them. *Tiberius*'s banishment, and his coming afterwards to reign, makes the comparison in that respect come pretty near. His hating of business, and his love of pleasures; his raising of favourites, and trusting them entirely; and his pulling them down, and hating them excessively; his art of covering deep designs, particularly of revenge, with an appearance of softness, brings them so near a likeness, that I did not wonder much to observe the resemblance of their face and person. At *Rome* I saw one of the last statues made for *Tiberius*, after he had lost his teeth. But, bating the alteration which that made, it was so like King *Charles*, that Prince *Borgbese*, and *Signior Dominico* to whom it belonged, did agree with me in thinking that it looked like a statue made for him.

Few things even went near his heart. The Duke of *Glocester*'s death seemed to touch him much. But those who knew him best thought it was, because he had lost him by whom only he could have balanced the surviving brother, whom he hated, and yet embroiled all his affairs to preserve the succession to him.

His ill conduct in the first *Dutch* War, and those terrible calamities of the plague, and fire of *London*, with that loss and reproach which he suffered by the insult at *Chatham*, made all people conclude there was a curse upon his government. His throwing the publick hatred at that time upon Lord *Clarendon* was both unjust and ungrateful. And when his people had brought him out of all his difficulties upon his entring into the triple alliance, his selling that to *France*, and his entring on the second *Dutch* War with as little colour as he had for the first; his beginning it with the attempt on the *Dutch Smirna* fleet; the shutting up the Exchequer; and his declaration for toleration, which was a step for the introduction of Popery; make such a chain of black actions, flowing from blacker designs, that it amazed those who had known all this to see with what impudent strains of flattery addresses were penned during his life, and yet more grosly after his death. His contributing so much to the raising the greatness of *France*, chiefly at sea, was such an errour, that it could not flow from want of thought, or of true sense. *Rouvigny* told me, he desired that all the methods the *French* took in the increase and conduct of their naval force might be sent him. And, he said, he seemed to study them with concern and zeal. He shewed what errours they committed, and how they ought to be corrected, as if he had been a Viceroy to *France*, rather than a King that ought to have watched over and prevented the progress they made, as the greatest of all the mischiefs that could happen to him or to his people. They that judged the most favourably of this, thought it was done out of revenge to the *Dutch*, that, with the assistance of so great a fleet as *France* could join to his own, he might be able to destroy them. But others put a worse construction on it; and thought, that seeing he could not quite master or deceive his subjects by his own strength and management, he was willing to help forward the greatness of the *French* at sea, that by their assistance he might more certainly subdue his own people; according to what was generally believed to have fallen from Lord *Clifford*, that, if the King must be in a dependence, it was better to pay it to a great and generous King, than to five hundred of his own insolent subjects.

No part of his character looked wickeder, as well as meaner, than that he, all the while that he was professing to be of the Church of *England*, expressing both zeal and affection to it, was yet secretly reconciled to the Church of *Rome:* Thus, mocking God, and deceiving the World with so gross a prevarication. And his not having the honesty or courage to own it at the last: His not shewing any sign of the least remorse for his ill led life, or any tenderness either for his subjects in general, or for the Queen and his servants: And his recommending only his mistresses and their children to his brother's care, would have been a strange conclusion to any other's life, but was well enough suited to all the other parts of his.

The

1685. The two papers found in his ſtrong box concerning religion, and afterwards publiſhed by his brother, looked like ſtudy and reaſoning. *Tenniſon* told me, he ſaw the original in *Pepy's* hand, to whom King *James* truſted them for ſome time. They were interlined in ſeveral places. And the interlinings ſeemed to be writ in a hand different from that in which the papers were writ. But he was not ſo well acquainted with the King's hand, as to make any judgment in the matter, whether they were writ by him or not. All that knew him, when they read them, did without any ſort of doubting conclude, that he never compoſed them: For he never read the Scriptures, nor laid things together, further than to turn them to a jeſt, or for ſome lively expreſſion. Theſe papers were probably writ either by Lord *Briſtol*, or by Lord *Aubigny*, who knew the ſecret of his religion, and gave him thoſe papers, as abſtracts of ſome diſcourſes they had with him on thoſe heads, to keep him fixed to them. And it is very probable that they, apprehending their danger if any ſuch papers had been found about him writ in their hand, might prevail with him to copy them out himſelf, tho' his lazineſs that way made it certainly no eaſy thing to bring him to give himſelf ſo much trouble. He had talked over a great part of them to my ſelf: So that, as ſoon as I ſaw them, I remembred his expreſſions, and perceived that he had made himſelf maſter of the argument, as far as thoſe papers could carry him. But the publiſhing them ſhewed a want of judgment, or of regard to his memory, in thoſe who did it: For the greateſt kindneſs, that could be ſhewn to his memory, would have been, to let both his papers and himſelf be forgotten.

Which I ſhould certainly have done, if I had not thought that the laying open of what I knew concerning him and his affairs might be of ſome uſe to poſterity. And therefore, how ungrateful ſoever this labour has proved to my ſelf, and how unacceptable ſoever it may be to ſome, who are either obliged to remember him gratefully, or by the engagement of parties and intereſts are under other biaſſes, yet I have gone thro' all that I knew relating to his life and reign with that regard to truth, and what I think may be inſtructive to mankind, which became an impartial Writer of hiſtory, and one who believes, that he muſt give an account to God of what he writes, as well as of what he ſays and does.

The END of King CHARLES *the ſecond's Reign.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF My Own Times.

BOOK IV.

Of the reign of King James II.

1685. A reign happily begun, but inglorious all over.

I AM now to prosecute this work, and to give the relation of an inglorious and unprosperous reign, that was begun with great advantages: But these were so poorly managed, and so ill improved, that bad designs were ill laid, and worse conducted; and all came in conclusion under one of the strangest catastrophe's that is in any history. A great King with strong armies, and mighty fleets, a vast treasure, and powerful allies, fell all at once: And his whole strength, like a spider's web, was so irrecoverably broken with a touch, that he was never able to retrieve, what for want both of judgment and heart he threw up in a day. Such an unexpected revolution deserves to be well opened: I will do it as fully as I can. But, having been beyond sea almost all this reign, many small particulars, that may well deserve to be remembred, may have escaped me: Yet as I had good opportunities to be well informed, I will pass over nothing that seems of any importance to the opening such great and unusual transactions. I will endeavour to watch over my pen

1685.

with more than ordinary caution, that I may let no ſharpneſs, from any ill uſage I my ſelf met with, any way poſſeſs my thoughts, or biaſs my mind: On the contrary, the ſad fate of this unfortunate Prince will make me the more tender in not aggravating the errours of his reign. As to my own particular; I will remember how much I was once in his favour, and how highly I was obliged to him. And as I muſt let his deſigns and miſcarriages be ſeen, ſo I will open things as fully as I can, that it may appear on whom we ought to lay the chief load of them: Which indeed ought to be chiefly charged on his religion, and on thoſe who had the management of his conſcience, his Prieſts, and his *Italian* Queen; which laſt had hitherto acted a popular part with great artifice and skill, but came now to take off the mask, and to diſcover her ſelf.

The King's first education.

This Prince was much neglected in his childhood, during the time he was under his Father's care. The Parliament, getting him into their hands, put him under the Earl of *Northumberland*'s government, who, as the Duke himſelf told me, treated him with great reſpect, and a very tender regard. When he eſcaped out of their hands, by the means of Col. *Bamfield*, his Father writ to him a letter in cypher, concluding in theſe plain words, *Do this as you expect the bleſſing of your loving Father.* This was ſent to *William* Duke of *Hamilton*, but came after he had made his eſcape: And ſo I found it among his papers: And I gave it to the Duke of *York* in the year 1674. He ſaid to me, he believed he had his Father's cypher among his papers, and that he would try to decypher the letter: But I believe he never did it. I told him, I was confident, that as the letter was writ when his eſcape was under conſideration, ſo it contained an order to go to the Queen, and to be obedient to her in all things, except in matters of religion. The King appointed Sir *John Berkeley*, afterwards Lord *Berkeley*, to be his Governour. It was a ſtrange choice, if it was not that, in ſuch a want of men who ſtuck to the King as was then, there were few capable in any ſort of ſuch a truſt. *Berkeley* was bold and inſolent, and ſeemed to lean to Popery: He was certainly very arbitrary, both in his temper and notions. The Queen took ſuch a particular care of this Prince, that he was ſoon obſerved to have more of her favour than either of his two brothers: And ſhe was ſo ſet on making proſelytes, hoping that *to ſave a ſoul would cover a multitude of ſins*, that it is not to be doubted but ſhe uſed more than ordinary arts to draw him over to her religion. Yet, as he himſelf told me, he ſtood out againſt her practices.

He learned war under *Turenne*.

During his ſtay in *France* he made ſome campaigns under Mr. *de Turenne*, who took him ſo particularly under his care, that he inſtructed him in all that he undertook, and ſhewed him the reaſons of every thing he did ſo minutely, that he had great advantages by being formed under the greateſt General of the age. *Turenne* was ſo much taken with his application, and the heat that he ſhewed, that he recommended him out of meaſure. He ſaid often of him: There was the greateſt Prince, and like to be the beſt General of his time. This raiſed his character ſo much, that the King was not a little eclipſed by him. Yet he quickly ran into amours and vice. And that by degrees wore out any courage that had appeared in his youth. And in the end of his life he came to loſe the reputation of a brave man and a good Captain ſo entirely, that either he was never that which flatterers gave out concerning him, or his age and affairs wrought a very unuſual change on him.

He ſeemed to follow his mother's maxims all the while he was beyond ſea. He was the head of a party that was formed in the King's ſmall Court againſt Lord *Clarendon*. And it was believed that his applications to Lord *Clarendon*'s daughter were made at firſt on deſign to diſhonour his family, tho' ſhe had the addreſs to turn it another way.

He was Admiral of *England*.

After his brother's Reſtoration he applied himſelf much to the Marine, in which he arrived at great skill, and brought the fleet ſo entirely into his dependence, that even after he laid down the command he was ſtill the maſter of our whole ſea force. He had now for theſe laſt three years directed all our councils with ſo abſolute an authority, that the King ſeemed to have left the government wholly in his hands: Only the unlooked for bringing in the Duke of *Monmouth* put him under no ſmall apprehenſions, that at ſome time or other the King might ſlip out of his hands: Now that fear was over.

He was proclaimed King.

The King was dead: And ſo all the Court went immediately and paid their duty to him. Orders were preſently given for proclaiming him King. It was a heavy ſolemnity: Few tears were ſhed for the former, nor were there any ſhouts of joy for the

the preſent King. A dead ſilence, but without any diſorder or tumult, followed it thro' the ſtreets. When the Privy Counſellours came back from the proclamation, and waited on the new King, he made a ſhort ſpeech to them; which it ſeems was well conſidered, and much liked by him, for he repeated it to his Parliament, and upon ſeveral other occaſions. 1685.

His firſt ſpeech

He began with an expoſtulation for the ill character that had been entertained of him. He told them, in very poſitive words, that he would never depart from any branch of his prerogative: But with that he promiſed, that he would maintain the liberty and property of the ſubject. He expreſſed his good opinion of the Church of *England*, as a friend to monarchy. Therefore, he ſaid, he would defend and maintain the Church, and would preſerve the government in Church and State, as it was eſtabliſhed by law.

well received.

This ſpeech was ſoon printed, and gave great content to thoſe who believed that he would ſtick to the promiſes made in it. And thoſe few, who did not believe it, yet durſt not ſeem to doubt of it. The pulpits of *England* were full of it, and of thankſgivings for it. It was magnified as a ſecurity far greater than any that laws could give. The common phraſe was, We have now the *word of a King, and a word never yet broken.*

Addreſſes made to him.

Upon this a new ſet of addreſſes went round *England*, in which the higheſt commendations that flattery could invent were given to the late King; and aſſurances of loyalty and fidelity were renewed to the King, in terms that ſhewed there were no jealouſies nor fears left. The Univerſity of *Oxford* in their addreſs promiſed to obey the King *without limitations or reſtrictions.* The King's promiſe paſt for a thing ſo ſacred, that they were looked on as ill bred that put in their addreſs, *our Religion eſtabliſhed by law*; which looked like a tie on the King to maintain it: Whereas the ſtile of the more courtly was to put all our ſecurity upon the King's promiſe. The Clergy of *London* added a word to this in their addreſs, *our Religion eſtabliſhed by law, dearer to us than our lives.* This had ſuch an inſinuation in it, as made it very unacceptable. Some followed their pattern. But this was marked to be remembred againſt thoſe that uſed ſo menacing a form.

All employments were ended of courſe with the life of the former King. But the King continued all in their places: Only the poſts in the Houſhold were given to thoſe who had ſerved the King, while he was Duke of *York*. The Marquis of *Hallifax* had reaſon to look on himſelf as in ill terms with the King: So in a private audience he made the beſt excuſes he could for his conduct of late. The King diverted the diſcourſe; and ſaid, he would forget every thing that was paſt, except his behaviour in the buſineſs of the Excluſion. The King alſo added, that he would expect no other ſervice of him than what was conſiſtent with law. He prepared him for the exaltation of the Earl of *Rocheſter*. He ſaid, he had ſerved him well, and had ſuffered on his account, and therefore he would now ſhew favour to him: And the next day he declared him Lord Treaſurer. His brother the Earl of *Clarendon* was made Lord Privy Seal: And the Marquis of *Hallifax* was made Lord Preſident of the Council. The Earl of *Sunderland* was looked on as a man loſt at Court: And ſo was Lord *Godolphin*. But the former of theſe inſinuated himſelf ſo into the Queen's confidence, that he was, beyond all peoples expectation, not only maintained in his poſts, but grew into great degrees of favour.

The Earl of *Rocheſter* made Lord Treaſurer.

The Queen was made to conſider the Earl of *Rocheſter* as a perſon that would be in the intereſt of the King's daughters, and united to the Church party. So ſhe ſaw it was neceſſary to have one in a high poſt, who ſhould depend wholly on her, and be entirely hers. And the Earl of *Sunderland* was the only perſon capable of that. The Earl of *Rocheſter* did upon his advancement become ſo violent and boiſterous, that the whole Court joined to ſupport the Earl of *Sunderland*, as the proper balance to the other. Lord *Godolphin* was put in a great poſt in the Queen's Houſhold.

The Earl of *Sunderland* in favour.

Cuſtoms and Exciſe levied againſt law.

But before the Earl of *Rocheſter* had the White Staff, the Court engaged the Lord *Godolphin*, and the other Lords of the Treaſury, to ſend orders to the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms to continue to levy the Cuſtoms, tho' the act that granted them to the late King was only for his life, and ſo was now determined with it. It is known, how much this matter was conteſted in King *Charles* the firſt's time, and what had paſt upon it. The legal method was to have made entries, and to have taken bonds for thoſe duties, to be paid when the Parliament ſhould meet, and renew the grant. Yet the King declared, that he would levy the Cuſtoms, and not

ſtay

1685. ſtay for the new grant. But, tho' this did not agree well with the King's promiſe of maintaining liberty and property, yet it was ſaid in excuſe for it, that, if the Cuſtoms ſhould not be levied in this interval, great importations would be made, and the markets would be ſo ſtocked, that this would very much ſpoil the King's Cuſtoms. But in anſwer to this it was ſaid again, entries were to be made, and bonds taken, to be ſued when the act granting them ſhould paſs. Endeavours were uſed with ſome of the merchants to refuſe to pay thoſe duties, and to diſpute the matter in *Weſtminſter-Hall:* But none would venture on ſo bold a thing. He who ſhould begin any ſuch oppoſition would probably be ruined by it: So none would run that hazard. The Earl of *Rocheſter* got this to be done before he came into the Treaſury: So he pretended, that he only held on in the courſe that was begun by others.

The additional Exciſe had been given to the late King only for life. But there was a clauſe in the act that empowered the Treaſury to make a farm of it for three years, without adding a limiting clauſe, in caſe it ſhould be ſo long due. And it was thought a great ſtretch of the clauſe to make a fraudulent farm, by which it ſhould continue to be levied three years after it was determined according to the letter and intendment of the act. A farm was now brought out, as made during the King's life, tho' it was well known that no ſuch farm had been made; for it was made after his death, but a falſe date was put to it. This matter ſeemed doubtful. It was laid before the Judges. And they all, except two, were of opinion that it was good in law. So two Proclamations were ordered, the one for levying the Cuſtoms, and the other for the Exciſe.

Theſe came out in the firſt Week of the reign, and gave a melancholy proſpect. Such beginnings did not promiſe well, and raiſed juſt fears in the minds of thoſe who conſidered the conſequences of ſuch proceedings. They ſaw, that by violence and fraud duties were now to be levied without law. But all people were under the power of fear or flattery to ſuch a degree, that none durſt complain, and few would venture to talk of thoſe matters.

The King's coldneſs to thoſe who had been for the Excluſion.

Perſons of all ranks went in ſuch crouds to pay their duty to the King that it was not eaſy to admit them all. Moſt of the Whigs that were admitted were received coldly at beſt. Some were ſharply reproached for their paſt behaviour. Others were denied acceſs. The King began likewiſe to ſay, that he would not be ſerved as his brother had been: He would have all about him ſerve him without reſerve, and go thorough in his buſineſs. Many were amazed to ſee ſuch ſteps made at firſt. The ſecond *Sunday* after he came to the Throne, he, to the ſurprize of the whole Court, went openly to Maſs, and ſent *Caryl* to *Rome* with letters to the Pope, but without a character.

He ſeemed to be on equal terms with the *French* King.

In one thing only the King ſeemed to comply with the genius of the Nation, tho' it proved in the end to be only a ſhew. He ſeemed reſolved not to be governed by *French* counſels, but to act in an equality with that haughty Monarch in all things. And, as he entertained all the other foreign Miniſters with aſſurances that he would maintain the balance of *Europe* with a more ſteady hand than had been done formerly; ſo when he ſent over the Lord *Churchil* to the Court of *France* with the notice of his brother's death, he ordered him to obſerve exactly the ceremony and ſtate with which he was received, that he might treat him, who ſhould be ſent over with the compliment in return to that, in the ſame manner. And this he obſerved very punctually, when the Marſhal *de Lorge* came over. This was ſet about by the Courtiers as a ſign of another ſpirit, that might be looked for in a reign ſo begun. And this made ſome impreſſion on the Court of *France*, and put them to a ſtand. But, not long after this, the *French* King ſaid to the Duke of *Villeroy*, (who told it to young *Rouvigny*, now Earl of *Galloway*, from whom I had it,) that the King of England, after all the high things given out in his name, was willing to take his money as well as his brother had done.

The King did alſo give out, that he would live in a particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*, and the States of *Holland*. And, becauſe *Chudleigh* the Envoy there had openly broke with the Prince, (for he not only waited no more on him, but acted openly againſt him; and once in the *Vorhaut* had affronted him, while he was driving the Princeſs upon the ſnow in a *Trainau*, according to the *German* manner, and pretending they were maſked, and that he did not know them, had ordered his coachman to keep his way, as they were coming towards the place where he drove;

drove;) the King recalled him, and ſent *Shelton* in his room, who was the haughtieſt, but withal the weakeſt man, that he could have found out. He talked out all ſecrets, and made himſelf the ſcorn of all *Holland*. The Courtiers now ſaid every where, that we had a martial Prince who loved glory, who would bring *France* into as humble a dependence on us, as we had been formerly on that Court. 1685.

The King's courſe of life.

The King did, ſome days after his coming to the Crown, promiſe the Queen and his Prieſts, that he would ſee Mrs. *Sidley* no more, by whom he had ſome children. And he ſpoke openly againſt leudneſs, and expreſſed a deteſtation of drunkenneſs. He ſate many hours a day about buſineſs with the Council, the Treaſury, and the Admiralty. It was upon this ſaid, that now we ſhould have a reign of action and buſineſs, and not of ſloth and luxury as the laſt was. Mrs. *Sidley* had lodgings in *Whitehal:* Orders were ſent to her to leave them. This was done to mortify her; for ſhe pretended that ſhe ſhould now govern as abſolutely as the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth* had done: Yet the King ſtill continued a ſecret commerce with her. And thus he began his reign with ſome fair appearances. A long and great froſt had ſo ſhut up the *Dutch* ports, that for ſome Weeks they had no letters from *England:* At laſt the news of the King's ſickneſs and death, and of the beginnings of the new Reign, came to them all at once.

The Prince of *Orange* ſent away the Duke of *Monmouth*.

The firſt difficulty the Prince of *Orange* was in, was with relation to the Duke of *Monmouth*. He knew the King would immediately, after the firſt compliments were over, ask him to diſmiſs him, if not to deliver him up. And, as it was no Way decent for him to break with the King upon ſuch a point, ſo he knew the States would never bear it. He thought it better to diſmiſs him immediately, as of himſelf. The Duke of *Monmouth* ſeemed ſurprized at this. Yet at parting he made great proteſtations both to the Prince and Princeſs of an inviolable fidelity to their intereſts. So he retired to *Bruſſels*, where he knew he could be ſuffered to ſtay no longer than till a return ſhould come from *Spain*, upon the notice of King *Charles*'s death, and the declarations that the King was making of maintaining the balance of *Europe*. The Duke was upon that thinking to go to *Vienna*, or to ſome Court in *Germany*. But thoſe about him ſtudied to inflame him both againſt the King and the Prince of *Orange*. They told him, the Prince by caſting him off had cancelled all former obligations, and ſet him free from them: He was now to look to himſelf: And inſtead of wandring about as a vagabond, he was to ſet himſelf to deliver his country, and to raiſe his party and his friends, who were now like to be uſed very ill for their adhering to him and to his intereſt.

Some in *England* began to move for him.

They ſent one over to *England* to try mens pulſes, and to ſee if it was yet a proper time to make an attempt. *Wildman*, *Charlton*, and ſome others went about trying, if men were in a diſpoſition to encourage an invaſion. They talked of this in ſo remote a way of ſpeculation, that tho' one could not but ſee what lay at bottom, yet they did not run into treaſonable diſcourſe. I was in general ſounded by them: Yet nothing was propoſed that ran me into any danger from concealing it. I did not think fears and dangers, nor ſome illegal acts in the adminiſtration, could juſtify an inſurrection, as lawful in itſelf: And I was confident an inſurrection undertaken on ſuch grounds would be ſo ill ſeconded, and ſo weakly ſupported, that it would not only come to nothing, but it would precipitate our ruin. Therefore I did all I could to divert all perſons with whom I had any credit from engaging in ſuch deſigns. Theſe were for ſome time carried on in the dark. The King, after he had put his affairs in a method, reſolved to haſten his Coronation, and to have it performed with great magnificence: And for ſome Weeks he was ſo entirely poſſeſſed with the preparations for that ſolemnity, that all buſineſs was laid aſide, and nothing but ceremony was thought on.

Strange practices in elections of Parliament men.

At the ſame time a Parliament was ſummoned: And all arts were uſed to manage elections ſo, that the King ſhould have a Parliament to his mind. Complaints came up from all the parts of *England* of the injuſtice and violence uſed in elections beyond what had ever been practiſed in former times. And this was ſo univerſal over the whole Nation, that no corner of it was neglected. In the new Charters that had been granted, the election of the members was taken out of the hands of the Inhabitants, and reſtrained to the Corporation-men, all thoſe being left out who were not acceptable at Court. In ſome Boroughs they could not find a number of men to be depended on: So the neighbouring Gentlemen were made the Corporation-men: And, in ſome of theſe, perſons of other Counties, not ſo much as known in the

1685. Borough, were named. This was practiſed in the moſt avowed manner in *Cornwall* by the Earl of *Bath*; who to ſecure himſelf the Groom of the Stole's place, which he held all King *Charles*'s time, put the officers of the guards names in almoſt all the Charters of that County; which ſending up forty four members; they were for moſt part ſo choſen, that the King was ſure of their votes on all occaſions.

Theſe methods were ſo ſucceſsful over *England*, that when the elections were all returned, the King ſaid, there were not above forty members, but ſuch as he himſelf wiſhed for. They were neither men of parts nor eſtates: So there was no hope left either of working on their underſtandings, or of making them ſee their intereſt, in not giving the King all at once. Moſt of them were furious and violent, and ſeemed reſolved to recommend themſelves to the King by putting every thing in his power, and by ruining all thoſe who had been for the Excluſion. Some few had deſigned to give the King the revenue only from three years to three years. The Earl of *Rocheſter* told me, that was what he looked for, tho' the poſt he was in made it not ſo proper for him to move in it. But there was no proſpect of any ſtrength in oppoſing any thing that the King ſhould ask of them.

Evil proſpect from a bad Parliament.

This gave all thinking men a melancholy proſpect. *England* now ſeemed loſt, unleſs ſome happy accident ſhould ſave it. All people ſaw the way for packing a Parliament now laid open. A new ſet of Charters and Corporation-men, if thoſe now named ſhould not continue to be ſtill as compliant as they were at preſent, was a certain remedy, to which recourſe might be eaſily had. The Boroughs of *England* ſaw their privileges now wreſted out of their hands, and that their elections, which had made them ſo conſiderable before, were hereafter to be made as the Court ſhould direct: So that from henceforth little regard would be had to them; and the uſual practices in courting, or rather in corrupting them, would be no longer purſued. Thus all people were alarmed: But few durſt ſpeak out, or complain openly. Only the Duke of *Monmouth*'s agents made great uſe of this to inflame their party. It was ſaid, here was a Parliament to meet, that was not the choice and repreſentative of the Nation, and therefore was no Parliament. So they upon this poſſeſſed all people with dreadful apprehenſions that a blow was now given to the conſtitution, which could not be remedied, but by an inſurrection. It was reſolved to bring up petitions againſt ſome elections, that were ſo indecently managed that it ſeemed ſcarce poſſible to excuſe them: But theſe were to be judged by a majority of men, who knew their own elections to be ſo faulty, that to ſecure themſelves they would juſtify the reſt: And fair dealing was not to be expected from thoſe, who were ſo deeply engaged in the like injuſtice.

All that was offered on the other hand to lay thoſe fears, which ſo ill an appearance did raiſe, was, that it was probable the King would go into meaſures againſt *France*. All the offers of ſubmiſſion poſſible were made him by *Spain*, the Empire, and the States.

The Prince of *Orange* ſubmits in every thing to the King.

The King had begun with the Prince of *Orange* upon a hard point. He was not ſatisfied with his diſmiſſing the Duke of *Monmouth*, but wrote to him to break all thoſe officers who had waited on him while he was in *Holland*. In this they had only followed the Prince's example: So it was hard to puniſh them for that, which he himſelf had encouraged. They had indeed ſhewed their affections to him ſo evidently, that the King wrote to the Prince, that he could not truſt to him, nor depend on his friendſhip, as long as ſuch men ſerved under him. This was of a hard digeſtion. Yet, ſince the breaking them could be eaſily made up by employing them afterwards, and by continuing their appointments to them, the Prince complied in this likewiſe. And the King was ſo well pleaſed with it, that when Biſhop *Turner* complained of ſome things relating to the Prince and Princeſs, and propoſed rougher methods, the King told him, it was abſolutely neceſſary that the Prince and he ſhould continue in good correſpondence. Of this *Turner* gave an account to the other Biſhops, and told them very ſolemnly, that the Church would be in no hazard during the preſent reign; but that they muſt take care to ſecure themſelves againſt the Prince of *Orange*, otherwiſe they would be in great danger.

The ſubmiſſion of the Prince and the States to the King made ſome fancy, that this would overcome him. All people concluded, that it would ſoon appear whether bigotry, or a deſire of glory was the prevailing paſſion; ſince if he did not ſtrike in with an alliance that was then projected againſt *France*, it might be concluded that he was reſolved to deliver himſelf up to his Prieſts, and to ſacrifice all to their ends.

The

The ſeaſon of the year made it to be hoped, that the firſt ſeſſion of Parliament would be ſo ſhort that much could not be done in it, but that when the revenue ſhould be granted, other matters might be put off to a Winter ſeſſion. So that, if the Parliament ſhould not deliver up the Nation in a heat all at once, but ſhould leave half their Work to another ſeſſion, they might come under ſome management, and either ſee the intereſt of the Nation in general, or their own in particular; and ſo manage their favours to the Court in ſuch a manner as to make themſelves neceſſary, and not to give away too much at once, but be ſparing in their bounty; which they had learned ſo well in King *Charles*'s time, that it was to be hoped they would ſoon fall into it, if they made not too much haſte at their firſt ſetting out. So it was reſolved not to put them on too haſtily in their firſt ſeſſion to judge of any election, but to keep that matter entire for ſome time, till they ſhould break into parties. 1685.

The Coronation was ſet for St. *George*'s day. *Turner* was ordered to preach the ſermon: And both King and Queen reſolved to have all done in the Proteſtant form, and to aſſiſt in all the prayers: Only the King would not receive the Sacrament, which is always a part of the ceremony. In this certainly his Prieſts diſpenſed with him, and he had ſuch ſenſes given him of the oath, that he either took it as a ſin with a reſolution not to keep it, or he had a reſerved meaning in his own mind. The Crown was not well fitted for the King's head: It came down too far, and covered the upper part of his face. The canopy carried over him did alſo break. Some other ſmaller things happened that were looked on as ill omens: And his ſon by Mrs. *Sidley* died that day. The Queen with the Peereſſes made a more graceful figure. The beſt thing in *Turner*'s ſermon was, that he ſet forth that part of *Conſtantius Chlorus*'s hiſtory very handſomely, in which he tried who would be true to their religion, and reckoned that thoſe would be faithfulleſt to himſelf who were trueſt to their God. The King was crowned.

I muſt now ſay ſomewhat concerning my ſelf. At this time I went out of *England*. Upon King *Charles*'s death, I had deſired leave to come and pay my duty to the King by the Marquis of *Hallifax*. The King would not ſee me. So, ſince I was at that time in no ſort of employment, not ſo much as allowed to preach any where, I reſolved to go abroad. I ſaw we were like to fall into great confuſion; and were either to be reſcued, in a way that I could not approve of, by the Duke of *Monmouth*'s means, or to be delivered up by a meeting that had the face and name of a Parliament. I thought the beſt thing for me was to go out of the way. The King approved of this, and conſented to my going: But ſtill refuſed to ſee me. So I was to go beyond ſea, as to a voluntary Exile. This gave me great credit with all the male-contents: And I made the beſt uſe of it I could. I ſpoke very earneſtly to the Lord *de la Meer*, to Mrs. *Hambden*, and ſuch others as I could meet with, who I feared might be drawn in by the agents of the Duke of *Monmouth*. The King had not yet done that which would juſtify extream counſels. A raw rebellion would be ſoon cruſhed, and give a colour for keeping up a ſtanding army, or for bringing over a force from *France*. I perceived, many thought the conſtitution was ſo broken into by the elections of the Houſe of Commons, that they were diſpoſed to put all to hazard. Yet moſt people thought the criſis was not ſo near, as it proved to be. I went out of *England*.

The deliberations in *Holland*, among the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* that fled thither, came to ripen faſter than was expected. Lord *Argile* had been quiet ever ſince the diſappointment in the year eighty three. He had lived for moſt part in *Frizeland*, but came oft to *Amſterdam*, and met with the reſt of his countrymen that lay concealed there: The chief of whom were the Lord *Melvill*, Sir *Patrick Hume*, and Sir *John Cochran*. With theſe Lord *Argile* communicated all the advices that were ſent him. He went on ſtill with his firſt project. He ſaid, he wanted only a ſum of money to buy arms, and reckoned, that as ſoon as he was furniſhed with theſe, he might venture on *Scotland*. He reſolved to go to his own country, where he hoped he could bring five thouſand men together. And he reckoned that the *Weſtern* and *Southern* Counties were under ſuch apprehenſions, that without laying of matters, or having correſpondence among them, they would all at once come about him, when he had gathered a good force together in his own country. There was a rich Widow in *Amſterdam*, who was full of zeal: So ſhe, hearing at what his deſigns ſtuck, ſent to him, and furniſhed him with ten thouſand pounds. With this money he bought *Argile* deſigned to invade *Scotland*.

1685. bought a ſtock of arms and ammunition, which was very dextrouſly managed by one that traded to *Venice*, as intended for the ſervice of that Republick. All was performed with great ſecrecy, and put on board. They had ſharp debates among them about the courſe they were to hold. He was for ſailing round *Scotland* to his own country. *Hume* was for the ſhorter paſſage: The other was a long navigation, and ſubject to great accidents. *Argile* ſaid, the faſtneſſes of his own country made that to be the ſafer place to gather men together. He preſumed ſo far on his own power, and on his management hitherto, that he took much upon him: So that the reſt were often on the point of breaking with him.

The Duke of *Monmouth* forced on an ill-timed invaſion.

The Duke of *Monmouth* came ſecretly to them, and made up all their quarrels. He would willingly have gone with them himſelf: But *Argile* did not offer him the command: On the contrary he preſſed him to make an impreſſion on *England* at the ſame time. This was not poſſible: For the Duke of *Monmouth* had yet made no preparations. So he was hurried into a fatal undertaking, before things were in any ſort ready for it. He had been indeed much preſſed to the ſame thing by *Wade*, *Ferguſon*, and ſome others about him, but chiefly by the Lord *Grey*, and the Lady *Wentworth*, who followed him to *Bruſſels* deſperately in love with him. And both he and ſhe came to fancy, that he being married to his Ducheſs while he was indeed of the age of conſent, but not capable of a free one, the marriage was null: So they lived together: And ſhe had heated both her ſelf and him with ſuch enthuſiaſtical conceits, that they fancied what they did was approved of God. With this ſmall council he took his meaſures. *Fletcher*, a *Scotch* Gentleman of great parts, and many vertues, but a moſt violent republican, and extravagantly paſſionate, did not like *Argile*'s ſcheme: So he reſolved to run fortunes with the Duke of *Monmouth*. He told me, that all the *Engliſh* among them were ſtill preſſing the Duke of *Monmouth* to venture. They ſaid, all the Weſt of *England* would come about him, as ſoon as he appeared, as they had done five or ſix years ago. They reckoned there would be no fighting, but that the guards, and others who adhered to the King, would melt to nothing before him. They fancied, the City of *London* would be in ſuch a diſpoſition to revolt, that if he ſhould land in the Weſt the King would be in great perplexity. He could not have two armies: And his fear of tumults near his perſon would oblige him to keep ſuch a force about him, that he would not be able to ſend any againſt him. So they reckoned he would have time to form an army, and in a little while be in a condition to ſeek out the King, and fight him on equal terms.

This appeared a mad and deſperate undertaking to the Duke of *Monmouth* himſelf. He knew what a weak body a rabble was, and how unable to deal with troops long trained. He had neither money nor officers, and no encouragement from the men of eſtates and intereſt in the country. It ſeemed too early yet to venture. It was the throwing away all his hopes in one day. *Fletcher*, how vehemently ſoever he was ſet on the deſign in general, yet ſaw nothing in this ſcheme that gave any hopes: So he argued much againſt it. And he ſaid to me, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was puſhed on to it againſt his own ſenſe and reaſon: But he could not refuſe to hazard his perſon, when others were ſo forward. Lord *Grey* ſaid, that *Henry* the Seventh landed with a ſmaller number, and ſucceeded. *Fletcher* anſwered, he was ſure of ſeveral of the Nobility, who were little Princes in thoſe days. *Ferguſon* in his enthuſiaſtical way ſaid, it was a good cauſe, and that God would not leave them unleſs they left him. And tho' the Duke of *Monmouth*'s courſe of life gave him no great reaſon to hope that God would appear ſignally for him, yet even he came to talk enthuſiaſtically on the ſubject. But *Argile*'s going, and the promiſe he had made of coming to *England* with all poſſible haſte, had ſo fixed him, that, all further deliberations being laid aſide, he pawned a parcel of jewels, and bought up arms; and they were put aboard a ſhip freighted for *Spain*.

Theſe deſigns were carried on with great ſecrecy.

King *James* was ſo intent upon the pomp of his Coronation, that for ſome Weeks more important matters were not thought on. Both *Argile* and *Monmouth*'s people were ſo true to them, that nothing was diſcovered by any of them. Yet ſome days after *Argile* had ſailed, the King knew of it: For the night before I left *London*, the Earl of *Aran* came to me, and told me, the King had an advertiſement of it that very day. I ſaw, it was fit for me to make haſte: Otherwiſe I might have been ſeized on, if it had been only to put the affront on me, of being ſuſpected of holding correſpondence with traitors.

Argile

1685.

Argile had a very proſperous voyage. He ſent out a boat at *Orkney* to get intelligence, and to take priſoners. This had no other effect, but that it gave intelligence where he was: And the wind chopping, he was obliged to ſail away, and leave his men to mercy. The winds were very favourable, and turned as his occaſions required: So that in a very few days he arrived in *Argileſhire*. The miſunderſtandings between him and *Hume* grew very high; for he carried all things with an air of authority, that was not eaſy to thoſe who were ſetting up for liberty. At his landing he found, that the early notice the Council had of his deſigns had ſpoiled his whole ſcheme; for they had brought in all the Gentlemen of his country to *Edenburgh*, which ſaved them, tho' it helped on his ruin. Yet he got above five and twenty hundred men to come to him. If with theſe he had immediately gone over to the *Weſtern* counties of *Air* and *Renfrew*, he might have given the government much trouble. But he lingred too long, hoping ſtill to have brought more of his *Highlanders* together. He reckoned theſe were ſure to him, and would obey him blindfold: Whereas, if he had gone out of his own country with a ſmall force, thoſe who might have come in to his aſſiſtance might alſo have diſputed his authority: And he could not bear contradiction. Much time was by this means loſt: And all the country was ſummoned to come out againſt him. At laſt he croſſed an arm of the ſea, and landed in the iſle of *Bute*; where he ſpent twelve days more, till he had eat up that Iſland, pretending ſtill, that he hoped to be joined by more of his *Highlanders*.

Argile landed in *Scotland*.

He had left his arms in a caſtle, with ſuch a guard as he could ſpare: But they were routed by a party of the King's forces. And with this he loſt both heart and hope. And then, apprehending that all was gone, he put himſelf in a diſguiſe, and had almoſt eſcaped: But he was taken. A body of Gentlemen that had followed him ſtood better to it, and forced their way thro': So that the greater part of them eſcaped. Some of theſe were taken: The chief of them were Sir *John Cochran*, *Ailoffe*, and *Rumbold*. Theſe two laſt were *Engliſhmen*: But I knew not upon what motive it was, that they choſe rather to run fortunes with *Argile*, than with the Duke of *Monmouth*. Thus was this rebellion brought to a ſpeedy end, with the effuſion of very little blood. Nor was there much ſhed in the way of juſtice; for it was conſidered, that the *Highlanders* were under ſuch ties by their tenures, that it was ſomewhat excuſable in them to follow their Lord. Moſt of the Gentlemen were brought in by order of Council to *Edenburgh*, which preſerved them. One of thoſe that were with *Argile*, by a great preſence of mind, got to *Carliſle*, where he called for poſt horſes; and ſaid, he was ſent by the General to carry the good news by word of mouth to the King. And ſo he got to *London*: And there he found a way to get beyond ſea.

But was defeated and taken.

Argile was brought in to *Edenburgh*. He expreſſed even a cheerful calm under all his misfortunes. He juſtified all he had done: For, he ſaid, he was unjuſtly attainted: That had diſſolved his allegiance: So it was juſtice to himſelf and his family, to endeavour to recover what was ſo wrongfully taken from him. He alſo thought, that no allegiance was due to the King, till he had taken the oath which the law preſcribed to be taken by our Kings at their Coronation, or the receipt of their princely dignity. He deſired that Mr. *Charteris* might be ordered to attend upon him; which was granted. When he came to him, he told him he was ſatisfied in conſcience with the lawfulneſs of what he had done, and therefore deſired he would not diſturb him with any diſcourſe on that ſubject. The other, after he had told him his ſenſe of the matter, complied eaſily with this. So all that remained was to prepare him to die, in which he expreſſed an unſhaken firmneſs. The Duke of *Queensbury* examined him in private. He ſaid, he had not laid his buſineſs with any in *Scotland*. He had only found credit with a perſon that lent him money; upon which he had truſted, perhaps too much, to the diſpoſitions of the people, ſharpened by their adminiſtration. When the day of his execution came, Mr. *Charteris* happen'd to come to him as he was ending dinner: He ſaid to him pleaſantly, *ſerò venientibus oſſa*. He prayed often with him, and by himſelf, and went to the ſcaffold with great ſerenity. He had complained of the Duke of *Monmouth* much, for delaying his coming ſo long after him, and for aſſuming the name of King; both which, he ſaid, were contrary to their agreement at parting. Thus he died, pitied by all. His death, being purſuant to the ſentence paſt three years before, of which mention was made, was looked on

Argile's execution.

1685. as no better than murder. But his conduct in this matter was made up of ſo many errours, that it appeared he was not made for deſigns of this kind.

Ailoffe had a mind to prevent the courſe of juſtice, and having got a penknife into his hands gave himſelf ſeveral ſtabbs. And thinking he was certainly a dead man, he cried out, and ſaid, now he defied his enemies. Yet he had not piereed his guts; So his wounds were not mortal. And, it being believed that he could make great diſcoveries, he was brought up to *London*.

Rumbold at his death denied the *Rye-Plot*.

Rumbold was he that dwelt in *Rye-Houſe*, where it was pretended the plot was laid for murdering the late and the preſent King. He denied the truth of that conſpiracy. He owned, he thought the Prince was as much tied to the people, as the people were to the Prince; and that, when a King departed from the legal meaſures of government, the people had a right to aſſert their liberties, and to reſtrain him. He did not deny, but that he had heard many propoſitions at *Weſt*'s chambers about killing the two brothers; and upon that he had ſaid, it could have been eaſily executed near his houſe; upon which ſome diſcourſe had followed, how it might have been managed. But, he ſaid, it was only talk, and that nothing was either laid, or ſo much as reſolved on. He ſaid, he was not for a Commonwealth, but for Kingly government according to the laws of *England*: But he did not think that the King had his authority by any divine right, which he expreſſed in rough, but ſignificant words. He ſaid, he did not believe that God had made the greater part of mankind with ſaddles on their backs, and bridles in their mouths, and ſome few booted and ſpurred to ride the reſt.

Cochran had a rich father, the Earl of *Dundonald*: And he offered the Prieſts 5000 *l.* to ſave his ſon. They wanted a ſtock of money for managing their deſigns: So they interpoſed ſo effectually, that the bargain was made. But, to cover it, *Cochran* petitioned the Council that he might be ſent to the King; for he had ſome ſecrets of great importance, which were not fit to be communicated to any but to the King himſelf. He was upon that brought up to *London*: And, after he had been for ſome time in private with the King, the matters he had diſcovered were ſaid to be of ſuch importance, that in conſideration of that the King pardoned him. It was ſaid, he had diſcovered all their negotiations with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the Prince of *Orange*. But this was a pretence only given out to conceal the bargain; for the Prince told me, he had never once ſeen him. The ſecret of this came to be known ſoon after.

When *Ailoffe* was brought up to *London*, the King examined him, but could draw nothing from him, but one ſevere repartee. He being ſullen, and refuſing to diſcover any thing, the King ſaid to him; Mr. *Ailoffe*, you know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore ſay that which may deſerve it. It was ſaid that he anſwered, that tho' it was in his power, yet it was not in his nature to pardon. He was nephew to the old Earl of *Clarendon* by marriage; for *Ailoff*'s aunt was his firſt wife, but ſhe had no children. It was thought, that the nearneſs of his relation to the King's children might have moved him to pardon him, which would have been the moſt effectual confutation of his bold repartee: But he ſuffered with the reſt.

A Parliament in *Scotland*.

Immediately after *Argile*'s execution, a Parliament was held in *Scotland*. Upon King *Charles*'s death, the Marquis of *Queensbury*, ſoon after made a Duke, and the Earl of *Perth*, came to Court. The Duke of *Queensbury* told the King, that if he had any thoughts of changing the eſtabliſhed religion, he could not make any one ſtep with him in that matter. The King ſeemed to receive this very kindly from him; and aſſured him, he had no ſuch intention, but that he would have a Parliament called, to which he ſhould go his Commiſſioner, and give all poſſible aſſurances in the matter of religion, and get the revenue to be ſettled, and ſuch other laws to be paſt as might be neceſſary for the common ſafety. The Duke of *Queensbury* preſſed the Earl of *Perth* to ſpeak in the ſame ſtrain to the King. But, tho' he pretended to be ſtill a Proteſtant, yet he could not prevail on him to ſpeak in ſo poſitive a ſtile. I had not then left *London*: So the Duke ſent me word of this, and ſeemed ſo fully ſatisfied with it, that he thought all would be ſafe. So he prepared inſtructions by which both the revenue and the King's authority were to be carried very high. He has often ſince that time told me, that the King made thoſe promiſes to him in ſo frank and hearty a manner, that he concluded it was impoſſible for him to be acting a part. Therefore he always believed, that the Prieſts gave him leave to

promiſ

promiſe every thing, and that he did it very ſincerely; but that afterwards they pretended, they had a power to diſſolve the obligation of all oaths and promiſes; ſince nothing could be more open and free than his way of expreſſing himſelf was, tho' afterwards he had no ſort of regard to any of the promiſes he then made. The Teſt had been the King's own act while he was in *Scotland*. So he thought, the putting that on all perſons would be the moſt acceptable method, as well as the moſt effectual, for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion. Therefore he propoſed an inſtruction obliging all people to take the Teſt, not only to qualify them for publick employments, but that all thoſe to whom the Council ſhould tender it ſhould be bound to take it under the pain of treaſon: And this was granted. He alſo projected many other ſevere laws, that left an arbitrary power in the Privy Council. And, as he was naturally violent and imperious in his own temper, ſo he ſaw the King's inclinations to thoſe methods, and hoped to have recommended himſelf effectually by being inſtrumental in ſetting up an abſolute and deſpotick form of government. But he found afterwards how he had deceived himſelf, in thinking that any thing, but the delivering up his religion, could be acceptable long. And he ſaw, after he had prepared a cruel ſcheme of government, other men were truſted with the management of it: And it had almoſt proved fatal to himſelf. 1685.

The Parliament of *Scotland* ſat not long. No oppoſition was made. The Duke of *Queensbury* gave very full aſſurances in the point of religion, that the King would never alter it, but would maintain it, as it was eſtabliſhed by law. And in confirmation of them he propoſed that act enjoining the Teſt, which was paſt, and was looked on as a full ſecurity; tho' it was very probable, that all the uſe that the Council would make of this diſcretional power lodged with them, would be only to tender the Teſt to thoſe that might ſcruple it on other accounts, but that it would be offered to none of the Church of *Rome*. In return for this the Parliament gave the King for life all the revenue that had been given to his brother: And with that ſome additional taxes were given. Granted all that the King deſired.

Other ſevere laws were alſo paſt. By one of theſe an inquiſition was upon the matter ſet up. All perſons were required, under the pain of treaſon, to anſwer to all ſuch queſtions as ſhould be put to them by the Privy Council. This put all men under great apprehenſions, ſince upon this act an Inquiſition might have been grafted, as ſoon as the King pleaſed. Another act was only in one particular caſe: But it was a crying one, and ſo deſerves to be remembred. Severe laws were paſſed.

When *Carſtairs* was put to the torture and came to capitulate in order to the making a diſcovery, he got a promiſe from the Council, that no uſe ſhould be made of his depoſition againſt any perſon whatſoever. He in his depoſition laid ſomewhat that brought Sir *Hugh Cambell* and his ſon under the guilt of treaſon, who had been taken up in *London* two years before, and were kept in priſon all this while. The Earl of *Melfort* got the promiſe of his eſtate, which was about 1000 *l.* a year, as ſoon as he ſhould be convicted of high treaſon. So an act was brought in, which was to laſt only ſix weeks; and enacted, that if within that time any of the Privy Council would depoſe that any man was proved to be guilty of high treaſon, he ſhould upon ſuch a proof be attainted. Upon which, as ſoon as the act was paſt, four of the Privy Council ſtood up, and affirmed that the *Cambells* were proved by *Carſtairs*'s depoſition to be guilty. Upon this both father and ſon were brought to the bar, to ſee what they had to ſay, why the ſentence ſhould not be executed. The old Gentleman, then near eighty, ſeeing the ruin of his family was determined, and that he was condemned in ſo unuſual a manner, took courage, and ſaid, the oppreſſion they had been under had driven them to deſpair, and made them think how they might ſecure their lives and fortunes: Upon this he went to *London*, and had ſome meetings with *Baillie*, and others: That one was ſent to *Scotland* to hinder all riſings: That an oath of ſecrecy was indeed offered, but was never taken upon all this. So it was pretended, he had confeſſed the crime, and by a ſhew of mercy they were pardoned: But the Earl of *Melfort* poſſeſſed himſelf of their eſtate. The old Gentleman died ſoon after. And very probably his death was haſtned by his long and rigorous impriſonment, and this unexampled concluſion of it; which was ſo univerſally condemned, that when the news of it was writ to foreign parts, it was not eaſy to make people believe it poſſible.

But now the ſitting of the Parliament of *England* came on. And, as a preparation to it, *Oates* was convicted of perjury, upon the evidence of the witneſſes from St. *Omer*'s *Oates* convicted of perjury.

1685.

Omer's, who had been brought over before to diſcredit his teſtimony. Now Juries were ſo prepared, as to believe more eaſily than formerly. So he was condemned to have his Prieſtly habit taken from him, to be a priſoner for life, to be ſet on the pillory in all the publick places of the City, and ever after that to be ſet on the pillory four times a year, and to be whipt by the common hangman from *Aldgate* to *Newgate* one day, and the next from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; which was executed with ſo much rigour, that his back ſeemed to be all over flead. This was thought too little if he was guilty, and too much if innocent, and was illegal in all the parts of it: For as the ſecular Court could not order the Eccleſiaſtical habit to be taken from him, ſo to condemn a man to a perpetual impriſonment was not in the power of the Court: And the extream rigour of ſuch whipping was without a precedent. Yet he, who was an original in all things, bore this with a conſtancy that amazed all thoſe who ſaw it. So that this treatment did rather raiſe his reputation, than ſink it.

and cruelly whipt.

Dangerfield killed.

And, that I may join things of the ſame ſort together, tho' they were tranſacted at ſome diſtance of time, *Dangerfield*, another of the Witneſſes in the Popiſh plot, was alſo found guilty of perjury, and had the ſame puniſhment. But it had a more terrible concluſion; for a brutal ſtudent of the law, who had no private quarrel with him, but was only tranſported with the heat of that time, ſtruck him over the head with his cane, as he got his laſt laſh. This hit him ſo fatally, that he died of it immediately. The perſon was apprehended. And the King left him to the law. And tho' great interceſſion was made for him, the King would not interpoſe. So he was hanged for it.

A Parliament in *England*.

At laſt the Parliament met. The King in his ſpeech repeated that, which he had ſaid to the Council upon his firſt acceſſion to the Throne. He told them, ſome might think, the keeping him low would be the ſureſt way to have frequent Parliaments: But they ſhould find the contrary, that the uſing him well would be the beſt argument to perſuade him to meet them often. This was put in to prevent a motion, which was a little talked of abroad, but none would venture on it within doors, that it was ſafeſt to grant the revenue only for a term of years.

Grants the revenue for life.

The revenue was granted for life, and every thing elſe that was asked, with ſuch a profuſion, that the Houſe was more forward to give, than the King was to ask: To which the King thought fit to put a ſtop by a meſſage, intimating that he deſired no more money that ſeſſion. And yet this forwardneſs to give in ſuch a reign was ſet on by *Muſgrave* and others, who pretended afterwards, when money was asked for juſt and neceſſary ends, to be frugal patriots, and to be careful managers of the publick treaſure.

And truſts to the King's promiſe.

As for religion, ſome began to propoſe a new and firmer ſecurity to it. But all the Courtiers ran out into eloquent harangues on that ſubject: And preſſed a vote, that they took the King's word in that matter, and would truſt to it; and that this ſhould be ſignified in an addreſs to him. This would bind the King in point of honour, and gain his heart ſo entirely, that it would be a tie above all laws whatſoever. And the tide run ſo ſtrong that way, that the Houſe went into it without oppoſition.

The Lord *Preſton*, who had been for ſome years Envoy in *France*, was brought over, and ſet up to be a manager in the Houſe of Commons. He told them, the reputation of the Nation was beginning to riſe very high all *Europe* over, under a Prince whoſe name ſpread terrour every where: And if this was confirmed by the entire confidence of his Parliament, even in the tendereſt matters, it would give ſuch a turn to the affairs of *Europe*, that *England* would again hold the balance, and their King would be the arbiter of *Europe*. This was ſeconded by all the Court flatterers. So in their addreſs to the King, thanking him for his ſpeech, they told him, they truſted to him ſo entirely, that they relied on his word, and thought themſelves and their religion ſafe, ſince he had promiſed it to them.

When this was ſettled, the petitions concerning the elections were preſented. Upon thoſe *Seimour* ſpoke very high, and with much weight. He ſaid, the complaints of the irregularities in elections were ſo great, that many doubted whether this was a true repreſentative of the Nation, or not. He ſaid, little equity was expected upon petitions, where ſo many were too guilty to judge juſtly and impartially. He ſaid, it concerned them to look to theſe: For if the Nation ſaw no juſtice was to be expected from them, other methods would be found, in which they might come to ſuffer that juſtice which they would not do. He was a haughty man, and would not communicate

municate his design in making this motion to any: So all were surprized with it, but none seconded it. This had no effect, not so much as to draw on a debate. 1685.

The Courtiers were projecting many laws to ruin all who opposed their designs. The most important of these was an act declaring treasons during that reign, by which words were to be made treason. And the clause was so drawn, that any thing said to disparage the King's person or government was made treason; within which every thing said to the dishonour of the King's religion would have been comprehended, as Judges and Juries were then modelled. This was chiefly opposed by Serjeant *Maynard*, who in a very grave speech laid open the inconvenience of making words treason: They were often ill heard and ill understood, and were apt to be misrecited by a very small variation: Men in passion or in drink might say things they never intended: Therefore he hoped they would keep to the law of the twenty fifth of *Edward* the third, by which an overt-act was made the necessary proof of ill intentions. And when others insisted, that *out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaks*, he brought the instance of our Saviour's words, *Destroy this Temple*; and shewed how near *the Temple* was to *this Temple*, pronouncing it in *Syriack*, so that the difference was almost imperceptible. There was nothing more innocent than these words, as our Saviour meant, and spoke them: But nothing was more criminal than the setting on a multitude to destroy the Temple. This made some impression at that time. But if the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing had not brought the session to an early conclusion, that, and every thing else which the officious Courtiers were projecting, would have certainly past. The Parliament was violent.

The most important business that was before the House of Lords was the reversing the attainder of the Lord *Stafford*. It was said for it, that the witnesses were now convicted of the perjury, and therefore the restoring the blood that was tainted by their evidence was a just reparation. The proceedings in the matter of the Popish plot were chiefly founded on *Oates*'s discovery, which was now judged to be a thread of perjury. This stuck with the Lords and would not go down. Yet they did justice both to the Popish Lords then in the Tower, and to the Earl of *Danby*, who moved the House of Lords, that they might either be brought to their trial, or be set at liberty. This was sent by the Lords to the House of Commons, who returned answer, that they did not think fit to insist on the impeachments. So upon that they were discharged of them, and set at liberty. Yet, tho' both Houses agreed in this of prosecuting the Popish plot no further, the Lords had no mind to reverse and condemn past proceedings. The Lords were more cautious.

But while all these things were in agitation, the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing brought the session to a conclusion. As soon as Lord *Argile* sailed for *Scotland*, he set about his design with as much haste as was possible. Arms were brought, and a ship was freighted for *Bilbao* in *Spain*. The Duke of *Monmouth* pawned all his jewels: But these could not raise much: And no money was sent him out of *England*. So he was hurried into an ill designed invasion. The whole company consisted but of eighty two persons. They were all faithful to one another. But some spies, whom *Shelton* the new Envoy set on work, sent him the notice of a suspected ship sailing out of *Amsterdam* with arms. *Shelton* neither understood the laws of *Holland*, nor advised with those who did: Otherwise he would have carried with him an order from the Admiralty of *Holland*, that sat at the *Hague*, to be made use of as the occasion should require. When he came to *Amsterdam*, and applied himself to the Magistrates there, desiring them to stop and search the ship that he named, they found the ship was already sailed out of their port, and their jurisdiction went no further. So he was forced to send to the Admiralty at the *Hague*. But those on board, hearing what he was come for, made all possible haste. And, the wind favouring them, they got out of the *Texel*, before the order desired could be brought from the *Hague*. The Duke of *Monmouth* landed at *Lime*.

After a prosperous course, the Duke landed at *Lime* in *Dorsetshire*: And he with his small company came ashore with some order, but with too much day light, which discovered how few they were.

The alarm was brought hot to *London*: Where, upon the general report and belief of the thing an act of Attainder past both Houses in one day; some small opposition being made by the Earl of *Anglesey*, because the evidence did not seem clear enough for so severe a sentence, which was grounded on the notoriety of the thing. The sum of 5000 *l.* was set on his head. And with that the session of Parliament ended; An act of Attainder passed against him.

1685. ended; which was no small happiness to the Nation, such a body of men being dismissed with doing so little hurt. The Duke of *Monmouth*'s Manifesto was long, and ill-penned: Full of much black and dull malice. It was plainly *Ferguson*'s stile, which was both tedious and fulsome. It charged the King with the burning of *London*, the Popish plot, *Godfrey*'s murder, and the Earl of *Essex*'s death: And to crown all, it was pretended, that the late King was poisoned by his orders: It was set forth, that the King's religion made him incapable of the Crown, that three subsequent Houses of Commons had voted his Exclusion: The taking away the old Charters, and all the hard things done in the last reign, were laid to his charge: The elections of the present Parliament were also set forth very odiously, with great indecency of stile: The Nation was also appealed to, when met in a free Parliament, to judge of the Duke's own pretensions: And all sort of liberty, both in temporals and spirituals, was promised to persons of all persuasions.

A rabble came and joined him.

Upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing, many of the country people came in to join him, but very few of the Gentry. He had quickly men enough about him to use all his arms. The Duke of *Albemarle*, as Lord Lieutenant of *Devonshire*, was sent down to raise the Militia, and with them to make head against him. But their ill affection appeared very evidently: Many deserted, and all were cold in the service. The Duke of *Monmouth* had the whole country open to him for almost a fortnight, during which time he was very diligent in training and animating his men. His own behaviour was so gentle and obliging, that he was master of all their hearts, as much as was possible. But he quickly found, what it was to be at the head of undisciplined men, that knew nothing of War, and that were not to be used with rigour. Soon after their landing, Lord *Grey* was sent out with a small party. He saw a few of the Militia, and he ran for it: But his men stood, and the Militia ran from them. Lord *Grey* brought a false alarm, that was soon found to be so: For the men whom their leader had abandoned came back in good order. The Duke of *Monmouth* was struck with this, when he found that the person on whom he depended most, and for whom he designed the command of the horse, had already made himself infamous by his cowardise. He intended to join *Fletcher* with him in that command. But an unhappy accident made it not convenient to keep him longer about him. He sent him out on another party: And he, not being yet furnished with a horse, took the horse of one who had brought in a great body of men from *Taunton*. He was not in the way: So *Fletcher*, not seeing him to ask his leave, thought that all things were to be in common among them, that could advance the service. After *Fletcher* had rid about, as he was ordered, as he returned, the owner of the horse he rode on, who was a rough and ill-bred man, reproached him in very injurious terms, for taking out his horse without his leave. *Fletcher* bore this longer than could have been expected from one of his impetuous temper. But the other persisted in giving him foul language, and offered a switch or a cane: Upon which he discharged his pistol at him, and fatally shot him dead. He went and gave the Duke of *Monmouth* an account of this, who saw it was impossible to keep him longer about him, without disgusting and losing the country people, who were coming in a body to demand justice. So he advised him to go aboard the ship, and to sail on to *Spain*, whither she was bound. By this means he was preserved for that time.

Lord *Grey*'s cowardise.

Fergusson ran among the people with all the fury of an enraged man, that affected to pass for an enthusiast, tho' all his performances that way were forced and dry. The Duke of *Monmouth*'s great errour was, that he did not in the first heat venture on some hardy action, and then march either to *Exeter* or *Bristol*; where, as he would have found much wealth, so he would have gained some reputation by it. But he lingred in exercising his men, and staid too long in the neighbourhood of *Lime*.

By this means the King had time both to bring troops out of *Scotland*, after *Argile* was taken, and to send to *Holland* for the *English* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in the service of the States; which the Prince sent over very readily, and offered his own person, and a greater force, if it was necessary. The King received this with great expressions of acknowledgment and kindness. It was very visible, that he was much distracted in his thoughts, and that what appearance of courage soever he might put on, he was inwardly full of apprehensions and fears. He durst not accept of the offer of assistance, that the *French* made him: For by that he would have lost the hearts of the *English* Nation. And he had no mind to be much obliged to the Prince of *Orange*, or to let him into his counsels or affairs. Prince *George* committed a great errour

errour in not asking the command of the army: For the command, how much soever he might have been bound to the counsels of others, would have given him some lustre; whereas his staying at home in such time of danger brought him under much neglect.

The King could not choose worse than he did, when he gave the command to the Earl of *Feversham*, who was a *Frenchman* by birth, and nephew to Mr. *de Turenne*. Both his brothers changing religion, tho' he continued still a Protestant, made that his religion was not much trusted to. He was an honest, brave, and good natured man, but weak to a degree not easy to be conceived. And he conducted matters so ill, that every step he made was like to prove fatal to the King's service. He had no parties abroad. He got no intelligence: And was almost surprised, and like to be defeated, when he seemed to be under no apprehension, but was a-bed without any care or order. So that, if the Duke of *Monmouth* had got but a very small number of good soldiers about him, the King's affairs would have fallen into great disorder.

The Earl of *Feversham* commanded the King's army.

The Duke of *Monmouth* had almost surprised Lord *Feversham*, and all about him, while they were a-bed. He got in between two bodies, into which the Army lay divided. He now saw his errour in lingring so long. He began to want bread, and to be so straitned, that there was a necessity of pushing for a speedy decision. He was so misled in his march, that he lost an hour's time: And when he came near the Army, there was an inconsiderable ditch, in the passing which he lost so much more time, that the officers had leisure to rise and be dressed, now they had the alarm. And they put themselves in order. Yet the Duke of *Monmouth*'s foot stood longer, and fought better than could have been expected; especially when the small body of horse they had ran upon the first charge, the blame of which was cast on the Lord *Grey*. The foot being thus forsaken, and galled by the cannon, did run at last. About a thousand of them were killed on the spot: And fifteen hundred were taken prisoners. Their numbers when fullest were between five and six thousand. The Duke of *Monmouth* left the field too soon for a man of courage, who had such high pretensions: For a few days before he had suffered himself to be called King, which did him no service, even among those that followed him. He rode towards *Dorsetshire*: And when his horse could carry him no further, he changed clothes with a shepherd, and went as far as his legs could carry him, being accompanied only with a *German*, whom he had brought over with him. At last, when he could go no further, he lay down in a field where there was hay and straw, with which they covered themselves, so that they hoped to lie there unseen till night. Parties went out on all hands to take prisoners. The shepherd was found by the Lord *Lumley* in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s clothes. So this put them on his track, and having some Dogs with them they followed the scent, and came to the place where the *German* was first discovered. And he immediately pointed to the place where the Duke of *Monmouth* lay. So he was taken in a very indecent dress and posture.

The Duke of *Monmouth* defeated.

And taken.

His body was quite sunk with fatigue: And his mind was now so low, that he begg'd his life in a manner that agreed ill with the courage of the former parts of it. He called for pen, ink, and paper; and wrote to the Earl of *Feversham*, and both to the Queen, and the Queen *Dowager*, to intercede with the King for his life. The King's temper, as well as his interest, made it so impossible to hope for that, that it shewed a great meanness in him to ask it in such terms as he used in his letters. He was carried up to *Whitehal*; where the King examined him in person, which was thought very indecent, since he was resolved not to pardon him. He made new and unbecoming submissions, and insinuated a readiness to change his religion: For he said, the King knew what his first education was in religion. There were no discoveries to be got from him; for the attempt was too rash to be well concerted, or to be so deep laid that many were involved in the guilt of it. He was examined on *Monday*, and orders were given for his execution on *Wednesday*.

Turner and *Ken*, the Bishops of *Ely* and of *Bath* and *Wells*, were ordered to wait on him. But he called for Dr. *Tennison*. The Bishops studied to convince him of the sin of rebellion. He answered, he was sorry for the blood that was shed in it: But he did not seem to repent of the design. Yet he confessed that his Father had often told him, that there was no truth in the reports of his having married his Mother. This he set under his hand, probably for his childrens sake, who were then prisoners in the Tower, that so they might not be ill used on his account. He shewed a great neglect of his Duchess. And her resentments for his course of life with the

Soon after executed.

1685. the Lady *Wentworth* wrought ſo much on her, that, tho' he deſired to ſpeak privately with her, ſhe would have Witneſſes to hear all that paſt, to juſtify her ſelf, and to preſerve her family. They parted very coldly. He only recommended to her the breeding their children in the Proteſtant Religion. The Biſhops continued ſtill to preſs on him a deep ſenſe of the ſin of rebellion; at which he grew ſo uneaſy, that he deſired them to ſpeak to him of other matters. They next charged him with the ſin of living with the Lady *Wentworth* as he had done. In that he juſtified himſelf. He had married his Dutcheſs too young to give a true conſent: He ſaid, that Lady was a pious worthy Woman, and that he had never lived ſo well in all reſpects, as ſince his engagements with her. All the pains they took to convince him of the unlawfulneſs of that courſe of life had no effect. They did certainly very well in diſcharging their conſciences, and ſpeaking ſo plainly to him. But they did very ill to talk ſo much of this matter, and to make it ſo publick as they did; for divines ought not to repeat what they ſay to dying penitents, no more than what the penitents ſay to them. By this means the Duke of *Monmouth* had little ſatisfaction in them, and they had as little in him.

He was much better pleaſed with Dr. *Tenniſon*, who did very plainly ſpeak to him, with relation to his publick actings, and to his courſe of life: But he did it in a ſofter and leſs peremptory manner. And having ſaid all that he thought proper, he left thoſe points, in which he ſaw he could not convince him to his own conſcience, and turned to other things fit to be laid before a dying man. The Duke begged one day more of life with ſuch repeated earneſtneſs, that, as the King was much blamed for denying ſo ſmall a favour, ſo it gave occaſion to others to believe, that he had ſome hope from aſtrologers, that if he outlived that day, he might have a better fate. As long as he fancied there was any hope, he was too much unſettled in his mind to be capable of any thing.

He died with great calmneſs.

But when he ſaw, all was to no purpoſe, and that he muſt die, he complained a little that his death was hurried on ſo faſt. But all on the ſudden he came into a compoſure of mind, that ſurpriſed thoſe that ſaw it. There was no affectation in it. His whole behaviour was eaſy and calm, not without a decent cheerfulneſs. He prayed God to forgive all his ſins, unknown as well as known. He ſeemed confident of the mercies of God, and that he was going to be happy with him. And he went to the place of execution on Tower Hill with an air of undiſturbed courage, that was grave and compoſed. He ſaid little there, only that he was ſorry for the blood that was ſhed: But he had ever meant well to the Nation. When he ſaw the axe he touched it, and ſaid, it was not ſharp enough. He gave the hangman but half the reward he intended; and ſaid, if he cut off his head cleverly, and not ſo butcherly as he did the Lord *Ruſſel*'s, his man would give him the reſt. The executioner was in great diſorder, trembling all over: So he gave him two or three ſtrokes without being able to finiſh the matter, and then flung the ax out of his hand. But the Sheriff forced him to take it up: And at three or four more ſtrokes he ſevered his head from his body: And both were preſently buried in the Chapel of the Tower. Thus lived and died this unfortunate young man. He had ſeveral good qualities in him, and ſome that were as bad. He was ſoft and gentle even to exceſs, and too eaſy to thoſe who had credit with him. He was both ſincere and good natured, and underſtood War well. But he was too much given to pleaſure and to favourites.

Lord *Grey* pardoned.

The Lord *Grey* it was thought would go next. But he had a great eſtate that by his death was to go over to his brother. So the Court reſolved to preſerve him till he ſhould be brought to compound for his life. The Earl of *Rocheſter* had 16000*l.* of him. Others had ſmaller ſhares. He was likewiſe obliged to tell all he knew, and to be a Witneſs in order to the conviction of others, but with this aſſurance, that no body ſhould die upon his evidence. So the Lord *Brandon*, ſon to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, was convicted by his and ſome other evidence. Mr. *Hambden* was alſo brought on his trial. And he was told, that he muſt expect no favour unleſs he would plead guilty. And he, knowing that legal evidence would be brought againſt him, ſubmitted to this; and begged his life with a meanneſs, of which he himſelf was ſo aſhamed afterwards, that it gave his ſpirits a depreſſion and diſorder that he could never quite maſter. And that had a terrible concluſion; for about two years after he cut his own throat.

The

1685.

The King was now as ſucceſsful as his own heart could wiſh. He had held a ſeſſion of Parliament in both Kingdoms, that had ſettled his revenue: And now two ill prepared and ill managed rebellions had ſo broken all the party that was againſt him, that he ſeemed ſecure in his Throne, and above the power of all his enemies. And certainly a reign that was now ſo beyond expectation ſucceſsful in its firſt ſix months ſeemed ſo well ſettled, that no ordinary miſmanagement could have ſpoiled ſuch beginnings. If the King had ordered a ſpeedy execution of ſuch perſons, as were fit to be made publick examples, and had upon that granted a general indemnity, and if he had but covered his intentions till he had got thro' another ſeſſion of Parliament, it is not eaſy to imagine with what advantage he might then have opened and purſued his deſigns.

The King was lifted up with his ſucceſſes.

But his own temper and the fury of ſome of his Miniſters, and the maxims of his Prieſts, who were become enthuſiaſtical upon this ſucceſs, and fancied that nothing could now ſtand before him: All theſe concurred to make him loſe advantages that were never to be recovered: For the ſhews of mercy, that were afterwards put on, were looked on as an after-game, to retrieve that which was now loſt. The Army was kept for ſome time in the *Weſtern* Counties, where both officers and ſoldiers lived as in an enemy's country, and treated all that were believed to be ill affected to the King with great rudeneſs and violence.

But it had an ill effect on his affairs.

Kirk, who had commanded long in *Tangier*, was become ſo ſavage by the neighbourhood of the *Moors* there, that ſome days after the battle he ordered ſeveral of the priſoners to be hanged up at *Taunton*, without ſo much as the form of law, he and his company looking on from an entertainment they were at. At every new health another priſoner was hanged up. And they were ſo brutal, that obſerving the ſhaking of the legs of thoſe whom they hanged, it was ſaid among them, they were dancing; and upon that muſick was called for. This was both ſo illegal, and ſo inhuman, that it might have been expected that ſome notice would have been taken of it. But *Kirk* was only chid for it. And it was ſaid, that he had a particular order for ſome military executions: So that he could only be chid for the manner of it.

Great cruelties committed by his ſoldiers.

But, as if this had been nothing, *Jefferies* was ſent the *Weſtern* Circuit to try the priſoners. His behaviour was beyond any thing that was ever heard of in a civilized Nation. He was perpetually either drunk, or in a rage, liker a fury than the zeal of a Judge. He required the priſoners to plead guilty. And in that caſe he gave them ſome hope of favour, if they gave him no trouble: Otherwiſe he told them he would execute the letter of the law upon them in its utmoſt ſeverity. This made many plead guilty, who had a great defence in law. But he ſhewed no mercy. He ordered a great many to be hanged up immediately, without allowing them a minute's time to ſay their prayers. He hanged in ſeveral places, about ſix hundred perſons. The greateſt part of theſe were of the meaneſt ſort, and of no diſtinction. The impieties with which he treated them, and his behaviour towards ſome of the Nobility and Gentry that were well affected, but came and pleaded in favour of ſome priſoners, would have amazed one, if done by a *Baſhaw* in *Turkey*. *England* had never known any thing like it. The inſtances are too many to be reckoned up.

And much greater by *Jefferies*.

But that which brought all his exceſſes to be imputed to the King himſelf, and to the orders given by him, was, that the King had a particular account of all his proceedings writ to him every day. And he took pleaſure to relate them in the drawing room to foreign Miniſters, and at his table, calling it *Jefferies*'s campaign: Speaking of all he had done in a a ſtyle, that neither became the Majeſty, nor the mercifulneſs, of a great Prince. *Dykfield* was at that time in *England*, one of the Ambaſſadours whom the States had ſent over to congratulate the King's coming to the Crown. He told me, that the King talked ſo often of theſe things in his hearing, that he wondered to ſee him break out into thoſe indecencies. And upon *Jefferies*'s coming back, he was created a Baron, and Peer of *England*: A dignity which, tho' anciently ſome Judges were raiſed to it, yet in theſe later ages, as there was no example of it, ſo it was thought inconſiſtent with the character of a Judge.

With which the King was well pleaſed.

Two executions were of ſuch an extraordinary nature, that they deſerve a more particular recital. The King apprehended that many of the priſoners had got into *London*, and were concealed there. So he ſaid, thoſe who concealed them were the worſt ſort of traitours, who endeavoured to preſerve ſuch perſons to a better time. He had likewiſe a great mind to find out any among the rich merchants, who might afford great compoſitions to ſave their lives: For tho' there was much blood ſhed,

The executions of two Women.

1685. there was little booty got to reward thoſe who had ſerved. Upon this the King declared, he would ſooner pardon the rebels, than thoſe who harboured them.

There was in *London*, one *Gaunt*, a Woman that was an Anabaptiſt, who ſpent a great part of her life in acts of charity, viſiting the jayls, and looking after the poor of what perſuaſion ſoever they were. One of the rebels found her out, and ſhe harboured him in her houſe; and was looking for an occaſion of ſending him out of the Kingdom. He went about in the night, and came to hear what the King had ſaid. So he, by an unheard of baſeneſs, went and delivered himſelf, and accuſed her that harboured him. She was ſeized on, and tried. There was no Witneſs to prove that ſhe knew that the perſon ſhe harboured was a rebel, but he himſelf: Her maid witneſſed only, that he was entertained at her houſe. But tho' the crime was her harbouring a traitour, and was proved only by this infamous Witneſs, yet the Judge charged the Jury to bring her in guilty, pretending that the maid was a ſecond Witneſs, tho' ſhe knew nothing of that which was the criminal part. She was condemned and burnt, as the law directs in the caſe of Women convict of treaſon. She died with a conſtancy, even to a chearfulneſs, that ſtruck all that ſaw it. She ſaid, charity was a part of her religion, as well as faith: This 'at worſt was the feeding an enemy: So ſhe hoped, ſhe had her reward with him, for whoſe ſake ſhe did this ſervice, how unworthy ſoever the perſon was, that made ſo ill a return for it: She rejoyced, that God had honoured her to be the firſt that ſuffered by fire in this reign; and that her ſuffering was a martyrdom for that religion which was all love. *Penn* the Quaker told me, he ſaw her die. She laid the ſtraw about her for burning her ſpeedily; and behaved her ſelf in ſuch a manner, that all the ſpectators melted in tears.

The other execution was of a Woman of greater quality: The Lady *Liſle*. Her husband had been a Regicide, and was one of *Cromwell*'s Lords, and was called the Lord *Liſle*. He went at the time of the Reſtoration beyond ſea, and lived at *Lauſanne*. But three deſperate *Iriſhmen*, hoping by ſuch a ſervice to make their fortunes, went thither, and killed him as he was going to Church; and being well mounted, and ill purſued, got into *France*. His Lady was known to be much affected with the King's death, and not eaſily reconciled to her husband for the ſhare he had in it. She was a Woman of great piety and charity. The night after the action, *Hicks*, a violent preacher among the Diſſenters, and *Neltharp*, came to her houſe. She knew *Hicks*, and treated him civilly, not asking from whence they came. But *Hicks* told what brought them thither; for they had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. Upon which ſhe went out of the room immediately, and ordered her chief ſervant to ſend an information concerning them to the next Juſtice of peace, and in the mean while to ſuffer them to make their eſcape. But, before this could be done, a party came about the houſe, and took both them, and her for harbouring them. *Jefferies* reſolved to make a ſacrifice of her; and obtained of the King a promiſe that he would not pardon her. Which the King owned to the Earl of *Feverſham*, when he, upon the offer of a 1000 *l.* if he could obtain her pardon, went and begged it. So ſhe was brought to her trial. No legal proof was brought, that ſhe knew that they were rebels: The names of the perſons found in her houſe were in no Proclamation: So there was no notice given to beware of them. *Jefferies* affirmed to the Jury upon his honour, that the perſons had confeſſed that they had been with the Duke of *Monmouth*. This was the turning a Witneſs againſt her, after which he ought not to have judged in the matter. And, tho' it was inſiſted on, as a point of law, that till the perſons found in her houſe were convicted, ſhe could not be found guilty, yet *Jefferies* charged the Jury in a moſt violent manner to bring her in guilty. All the audience was ſtrangely affected with ſo unuſual a behaviour in a Judge. Only the perſon moſt concerned, the Lady herſelf, who was then paſt ſeventy was ſo little moved at it, that ſhe fell aſleep. The Jury brought her in not guilty. But the Judge in great fury ſent them out again. Yet they brought her in a ſecond time not guilty. Then he ſeemed as in a tranſport of rage. He upon that threatned them with an attaint of Jury. And they, overcome with fear, brought her in the third time guilty. The King would ſhew no other favour, but that he changed the ſentence from burning to beheading. She died with great conſtancy of mind; and expreſſed a joy, that ſhe thus ſuffered for an act of charity and piety.

The behaviour of thoſe who ſuffered.

Moſt of thoſe that had ſuffered expreſſed at their death ſuch a calm firmneſs, and ſuch a zeal for their religion, which they believed was then in danger, that it made great

great impreſſions on the ſpectators. Some baſe men among them tried to ſave themſelves by accuſing others. *Goodenough*, who had been Under-Sheriff of *London* when *Corniſh* was Sheriff, offered to ſwear againſt *Corniſh*; and alſo ſaid, that *Rumſey* had not diſcovered all he knew. So *Rumſey* to ſave himſelf joined with *Goodenough*, to ſwear *Corniſh* guilty of that for which the Lord *Ruſſel* had ſuffered. And this was driven on ſo faſt, that *Corniſh* was ſeized on, tried, and executed within the Week. If he had got a little time, the falſhood of the evidence would have been proved from *Rumſey*'s former depoſition, which appeared ſo clearly ſoon after his death, that his eſtate was reſtor'd to his family, and the Witneſſes were lodg'd in remote priſons for their lives. *Corniſh* at his death aſſerted his innocence with great vehemence; and with ſome acrimony complained of the methods taken to deſtroy him. And ſo they gave it out, that he died in a fit of fury. But *Pen*, who ſaw the execution, ſaid to me, there appeared nothing but a juſt indignation that innocence might very naturally give. *Pen* might be well relied on in ſuch matters, he being ſo entirely in the King's intereſts. He ſaid to me, the King was much to be pitied, who was hurried into all this effuſion of blood by *Jefferies*'s impetuous and cruel temper. But, if his own inclinations had not been biaſſed that way, and if his Prieſts had not thought it the intereſt of their party to let that butcher looſe, by which ſo many men that were like to oppoſe them were put out of the Way, it is not to be imagined, that there would have been ſuch a run of barbarous cruelty, and that in ſo many inſtances.

It gave a general horrour to the body of the Nation; And it let all people ſee, what might be expected from a reign that ſeemed to delight in blood. Even ſome of the faireſt of Tories began to relent a little, and to think they had truſted too much, and gone too far. The King had raiſed new regiments, and had given commiſſions to Papiſts. This was over-looked during the time of danger, in which all mens ſervice was to be made uſe of: And by law they might ſerve three months. But now, as that time was near lapſing, the King began to ſay, the laws for the two Teſts were made on deſign againſt himſelf: The firſt was made to turn him out of the admiralty, and the ſecond to make Way for the Excluſion: And, he added, that it was an affront to him to inſiſt on the obſervance of thoſe laws. So theſe perſons notwithſtanding that act were continued in commiſſion: And the King declared openly, that he muſt look on all thoſe, who would not conſent to the repeal of thoſe laws, in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, as his enemies.

The nation was much changed by this management.

The Courtiers began every where to declaim againſt them. It was ſaid to be againſt the rights of the Crown to deny the King the ſervice of all his ſubjects, to be contrary to the dignity of Peerage to ſubject Peers to any other Teſts than their allegiance, and that it was an inſufferable affront done the King, to oblige all thoſe, whom he ſhould employ, to ſwear that his religion was idolatrous. On the other hand all the people ſaw, that, if thoſe acts were not maintained, no employment would be given to any but Papiſts, or to thoſe who gave hopes that they would change: And, if the Parliament teſt was taken off, then the way was opened to draw over ſo many members of both houſes, as would be in time a majority, to bring on an entire change of the laws with relation to religion. As long as the Nation reckoned their Kings were true and ſure to their religion, there was no ſuch need of thoſe Teſts, while the giving employments was left free, and our Princes were like to give them only to thoſe of their own religion. But, ſince we had a Prince profeſſing another religion, it ſeemed the only ſecurity that was left to the Nation, and that the Teſts ſtood as a barrier to defend us from Popery. It was alſo ſaid, that thoſe Teſts had really quieted the minds of the greater part of the Nation, and had united them againſt the Excluſion; ſince they reckoned their religion was ſafe by reaſon of them. The military men went in zealouſly into thoſe notions; for they ſaw, that, as ſoon as the King ſhould get rid of the Teſts, they muſt either change their religion, or loſe their employments. The Clergy, who for moſt part had hitherto run in with fury to all the King's intereſts, began now to open their eyes. Thus all on a ſudden the temper of the Nation was much altered. The Marquis of *Hallifax* did move in Council, that an order ſhould be given to examine, whether all the officers in commiſſion had taken the teſt, or not. But none ſeconded him: So the motion fell. And now all endeavours were uſed, to fix the repeal of the teſts in the ſeſſion that was coming on.

Great diſputes for and againſt the teſts.

Some

1685.

Some few converts were made at this time. The chief of these were the Earl of *Perth*, and his brother the Earl of *Melford*. Some differences fell in between the Duke of *Queensborough* and the Earl of *Perth*. The latter thought the former was haughty and violent, and that he used him in too imperious a manner. So they broke. At that time the King published the two papers found in his brother's strong box. So the Earl of *Perth* was either overcome with the reasons in them, or he thought it would look well at Court, if he put his conversion upon these. He came up to complain of the Duke of *Queensborough*. And his brother going to meet him at *Ware*, he discovered his design to him, who seemed at first much troubled at it: But he plied him so, that he prevailed on him to join with him in his pretended conversion, which he did with great shews of devotion and zeal. But when his objections to the Duke of *Queensborough*'s administration were heard, they were so slight, that the King was ashamed of them; and all the Court justified the Duke of *Queensborough*. A repartee of the Marquis of *Hallifax* was much talked of on this occasion. The Earl of *Perth* was taking pains to convince him, that he had just grounds of complaint, and seemed little concerned in the ill effect this might have on himself. The Marquis answered him, he needed fear nothing, *His faith would make him whole:* And it proved so.

Some change their religion.

The Duke of *Queensborough* disgraced.

Before he declared his change, the King seemed so well satisfied with the Duke of *Queensborough*, that he was resolved to bring the Earl of *Perth* to a submission, otherwise to dismiss him. But such converts were to be encouraged. So the King having declared himself too openly to recal that so soon, ordered them both to go back to *Scotland*; and said, he would signify his pleasure to them when they should be there. It followed them down very quickly. The Duke of *Queensborough* was turned out of the treasury, and it was put in Commission: And he, not to be too much irritated at once, was put first in the Commission. And now it became soon very visible, that he had the secret no more; but that it was lodged between the two brothers, the Earls of *Perth* and *Melford*. Soon after that, the Duke of *Queensborough* was not only turned out of all his employments, but a design was laid to ruin him. All persons were encouraged to bring accusations against him, either with relation to the administration of the government, or of the treasury. And, if any colourable matter could have been found against him, it was resolved to have him made a sacrifice. This sudden hatred after so entire a confidence, was imputed to the suggestions the Earl of *Perth* had made of his zeal against Popery, and of his having engaged all his friends to stick firm in opposition to it. It was said, there was no need of making such promises, as he had engaged the King to make to the Parliament of *Scotland:* No body desired or expected them: He only drove that matter on his own account: So it was fit to let all about the King see what was to be looked for, if they pressed any thing too severely with relation to religion.

The King declared against the tests.

But to leave *Scotland*, and return to *England:* The King, after he had declared that he would be served by none but those who would vote for the repeal of the tests, called for the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and asked him, how he would vote in that matter. He very frankly answered, he would never consent to it: He thought, the keeping up those laws was necessary, even for the King's service, since the Nation trusted so much to them, that the publick quiet was chiefly preserved by that means. Upon this the King told him, that tho' he would never forget past services, yet since he could not be prevailed on in that particular, he was resolved to have all of a piece. So he was turned out. And the Earl of *Sunderland* was made Lord President, and continued still Secretary of State. More were not questioned at that time, nor turned out: For it was hoped, that since all men saw what was to be expected if they should not comply with the King's intentions, this would have its full effect upon those, who had no mind to part with their places.

Proceedings in *Ireland*.

The King resolved also to model *Ireland*, so as to make that Kingdom a nursery for his army in *England*, and to be sure at least of an army there, while his designs were to go on more slowly in the isle of *Britain*. The *Irish* bore an inveterate hatred to the Duke of *Ormond:* So he was recalled. But to dismiss him with some shew of respect, he was still continued Lord Steward of the household. The Earl of *Clarendon* was declared Lord Lieutenant. But the Army was put under the command of *Talbot*, who was made Earl of *Tyrconnel*. And he began very soon to model it anew. The Archbishop of *Ardmagh* had continued Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*, and was in all points so compliant to the Court, that even his religion came to be

suspected

suspected on that account. Yet, it seemed, he was not thought thorough paced. So Sir *Charles Porter*, who was a zealous promoter of every thing that the King proposed, and was a man of ready wit, and being poor was thought a person fit to be made a Tool of, was declared Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*. To these the King said, he was resolved to maintain the settlement of *Ireland*. They had authority to promise this, and to act pursuant to it. But, as both the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Porter* were poor, it was hoped, that they would understand the King's intentions, and see thro' those promises, that were made only to lay men asleep; and that therefore they would not insist too much on them, nor pursue them too far. 1685.

The persecution in *France*.

But now, before I come to relate the short session of Parliament that was abruptly broken off, I must mention one great transaction that went before it, and had no small influence on all mens minds. And, since I saw that dismal tragedy, which was at this time acted in *France*, I must now change the scene, and give some account of my self. When I resolved to go beyond sea there was no choice to be made. So many exiles and outlawed persons were scattered up and down the Towns of *Holland*, and other Provinces, that I saw the danger of going where I was sure many of them would come about me, and try to have involved me in guilt by coming into my company, that so they might engage me into their designs. So I resolved to go to *France:* And, if I found it not convenient to stay there, I intended to go on to *Geneva* or *Switzerland*. I asked the *French* Ambassadour, if I might be safe there. He after some days, I suppose after he had writ to the Court upon it, assured me, I should be safe there; and that, if the King should ask after me, timely notice should be given me, that I might go out of the way. So I went to *Paris*. And, there being many there whom I had reason to look on as spies, I took a little house, and lived by my self as privately as I could. I continued there till the beginning of *August*, that I went to *Italy*. I found the Earl of *Montague* at *Paris*, with whom I conversed much, and got from him most of the secrets of the Court, and of the negotiations he was engaged in. The King of *France* had been for many years weakning the whole Protestant interest there, and was then upon the last resolution of recalling the edict of *Nantes*. And, as far as I could judge, the affairs of *England* gave the last stroke to that matter.

A fatal year to the Protestant Religion.

This year, of which I am now writing, must ever be remembred, as the most fatal to the Protestant Religion. In *February*, a King of *England* declared himself a Papist. In *June*, *Charles* the Elector *Palatine* dying without issue, the Electoral diggnity went to the House of *Newburgh*, a most bigotted Popish family. In *October*, the King of *France* recalled and vacated the edict of *Nantes*. And in *December*, the Duke of *Savoy* being brought to it, not only by the persuasions, but even by the threatnings of the Court of *France*, recalled the edict that his father had granted to the *Vaudois*. So it must be confessed, that this was a very critical year. And I have ever reckoned this the fifth great crisis of the Protestant Religion.

For some years the Priests were every where making conversions in *France*. The hopes of pensions and preferment wrought on many. The plausible colours, that the Bishop of *Meaux*, then Bishop of *Condom*, put on all the errours of the Church of *Rome*, furnished others with excuses for changing. Many thought, they must change at last, or be quite undone: For the King seemed to be engaged to go through with the matter, both in compliance with the shadow of conscience that he seemed to have, which was to follow implicitly the conduct of his Confessor, and of the Archbishop of *Paris*, he himself being ignorant in those matters beyond what can be well imagined; and because his glory seemed also concerned to go thro' with every thing that he had once begun.

Rouvigny's behaviour.

Old *Rouvigny*, who was the Deputy General of the Churches, told me, that he was long deceived in his opinion of the King. He knew he was not naturally bloody. He saw his gross ignorance in those matters. His bigotry could not rise from any inward principle. So for many years he flattered himself with the hopes, that the design would go on so slowly, that some unlooked for accident might defeat it. But after the peace of *Nimeguen* he saw such steps made with so much precipitation, that he told the King he must beg a full audience of him upon that subject. He gave him one that lasted some hours. He came well prepared. He told him, what the State of *France* was during the wars in his Father's reign; how happy *France* had been now for fifty years, occasioned chiefly by the quiet it was in with relation to those matters. He gave him an account of their numbers, their industry and wealth, their

1685. constant readiness to advance the revenue, and that all the quiet he had with the Court of *Rome* was chiefly owing to them: If they were rooted out, the Court of *Rome* would govern as absolutely in *France*, as it did in *Spain*. He desired leave to undeceive him, if he was made believe they would all change, as soon as he engaged his authority in the matter: Many would go out of the Kingdom, and carry their wealth and industry into other countries. And by a scheme of particulars he reckoned how far that would go. In fine, he said, it would come to the shedding of much blood: Many would suffer, and others would be precipitated into desperate courses. So that the most glorious of all reigns would be in conclusion disfigured and defaced, and become a scene of blood and horrour. He told me, as he went thro' these matters the King seemed to hearken to him very attentively. But he perceived they made no impression: For the King never asked any particulars, or any explanation, but let him go on. And, when he had ended, the King said, he took his freedom well, since it flowed from his zeal to his service. He believed all that he had told him, of the prejudice it might do him in his affairs: Only he thought, it would not go to the shedding of blood. But he said, he considered himself as so indispensibly bound to endeavour the conversion of all his subjects, and the extirpation of heresy, that if the doing it should require that with one hand he should cut off the other, he would submit to that. After this *Rouvigny* gave all his friends hints of what they were to look for. Some were for flying out into a new civil war. But their chief confidence being in the assistance they expected from *England*, he, who knew what our Princes were, and had reason to believe that King *Charles* was at least a cold Protestant, if not a secret Papist, and knew that the States would not embroil their affairs in assisting them, their maxims rather leading them to connive at any thing that would bring great numbers and much wealth into their Country than to oppose it, was against all motions of that kind. He reckoned, those risings would be soon crusht, and so would precipitate their ruin with some colour of justice. He was much censured for this by some hot men among them, as having betrayed them to the Court. But he was very unjustly blamed, as appeared both by his own conduct, and by his son's; who was received at first into the survivance of being Deputy General for the Churches, and afterwards, at his Father's desire, had that melancholy post given him, in which he daily saw new injustices done, and was only suffered, for form's sake to inform against them, but with no hope of success.

He came over to *England*.

The Father did, upon King *Charles*'s death, write a letter of congratulation to the King, who wrote him such an obliging answer, that upon it he wrote to his niece the Lady *Russel*, that, having such assurances given him by the King of a high sense of his former services, he resolved to come over and beg the restoring her son's honour. The Marquis of *Hallifax* did presently apprehend, that this was a blind, and that the King of *France* was sending him over to penetrate into the King's designs; since from all hands intimations were brought of the promises that he made to the Ministers of the other Princes of *Europe*. So I was ordered to use all endeavours to divert him from coming over: His niece had indeed begged that journey of him, when she hoped it might have saved her husband's life, but she would not venture to desire the journey on any other consideration, considering his great age, and that her son was then but five years old. I pressed this so much on him, that, finding him fixed in his resolution, I could not hinder my self from suspecting, that such a high act of friendship, in a man some years past fourscore, had somewhat under it: And it was said, that when he took leave of the King of *France*, he had an audience of two hours of him. But this was a false suggestion: And I was assured afterwards that he came over only in friendship to his niece, and that he had no directions nor messages from the Court of *France*.

He came over, and had several audiences of the King, who used him with great kindness, but did not grant him that which he said he came for: Only he gave him a general promise of doing it in a proper time.

Dragoons sent to live on discretion upon the Protestants.

But whether the Court of *France* was satisfied, by the Conversation that *Rouvigny* had with the King, that they needed apprehend nothing from *England*; or whether the King's being now so settled on the throne made them conclude, that the time was come of repealing the edicts, is not certain: Mr. *de Louvoy*, seeing the King so set on the matter, proposed to him a method, which he believed would shorten the work, and do it effectually: Which was, to let loose some bodies of Dragoons to live upon the Protestants on discretion. They were put under no restraint, but only to avoid rape,

1685.

rapes, and the killing them. This was begun in *Bearn*. And the people were ſo ſtruck with it, that, ſeeing they were to be eat up firſt, and, if that prevailed not, to be caſt in priſon, when all was taken from them, till they ſhould change, and being only required to promiſe to reunite themſelves to the Church, they, overcome with fear, and having no time for conſulting together, did univerſally comply. This did ſo animate the Court, that, upon it the ſame methods were taken in moſt places of *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*, where the greateſt numbers of the Proteſtants were: A diſmal conſternation and feeblenes ran thro' moſt of them, ſo that great numbers yielded. Upon which the King, now reſolved to go thro' with what had been long projected, publiſhed the edict repealing the edict of *Nantes*, in which (tho' that edict was declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law) he ſet forth, that it was only intended to quiet matters by it, till more effectual ways ſhould be taken for the converſion of Hereticks. He alſo promiſed in it, that, tho' all the publick exerciſes of that religion were now ſuppreſſed, yet thoſe of that perſuaſion who lived quietly ſhould not be diſturbed on that account, while at the ſame time not only the Dragoons, but all the Clergy, and the bigots of *France*, broke out into all the inſtances of rage and fury againſt ſuch as did not change upon their being required in the King's name to be of his religion; for that was the ſtile every where.

Many of them yielded thro' fear.

Men and Women of all ages, who would not yield, were not only ſtript of all they had, but kept long from ſleep, driven about from place to place, and hunted out of their retirements. The Women were carried into Nunneries, in many of which they were almoſt ſtarved, whipt, and barbarouſly treated. Some few of the Biſhops, and of the ſecular Clergy, to make the matter eaſier, drew formularies, importing that they were reſolved to reunite themſelves to the Catholick Church, and that they renounced the errours of *Luther* and *Calvin*. People in ſuch extremities are eaſy to put a ſtretched ſenſe on any Words, that may give them preſent relief. So it was ſaid, what harm was it to promiſe to be united to the Catholick Church: And the renouncing thoſe mens errours did not renounce their good and ſound doctrine. But it was very viſible, with what intent thoſe ſubſcriptions or promiſes were asked of them: So their compliance in that matter was a plain equivocation. But, how weak and faulty ſoever they might be in this, it muſt be acknowledged, here was one of the moſt violent perſecutions that is to be found in hiſtory. In many reſpects it exceeded them all, both in the ſeveral inventions of cruelty, and in its long continuance. I went over the greateſt part of *France* while it was in its hotteſt rage, from *Marſeilles* to *Montpelier*, and from thence to *Lions*, and ſo to *Geneva*. I ſaw and knew ſo many inſtances of their injuſtice and violence, that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined; for all men ſet their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the Towns thro' which I paſt, I heard the moſt diſmal accounts of thoſe things poſſible; but chiefly at *Valence*, where one *Dherapine* ſeemed to exceed even the furies of Inquiſitors. One in the ſtreets could have known the new converts, as they were paſſing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavoured to make their eſcape, and were ſeized, (for guards and ſecret agents were ſpread along the whole roads and frontier of *France*,) were, if men, condemned to the gallies, and, if women, to monaſteries. To compleat this cruelty, orders were given that ſuch of the new Converts, as did not at their death receive the Sacrament, ſhould be denied burial, and that their bodies ſhould be left where other dead carcaſes were caſt out, to be devoured by Wolves or Dogs. This was executed in ſeveral places with the utmoſt barbarity: And it gave all people ſo much horrour, that, finding the ill effect of it, it was let fall. This hurt none, but ſtruck all that ſaw it, even with more horrour than thoſe ſufferings that were more felt. The fury that appeared on this occaſion did ſpread it ſelf with a ſort of contagion: For the Intendants and other officers, that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their life, ſeemed now to have laid aſide the compaſſion of Chriſtians, the breeding of Gentlemen, and the common impreſſions of humanity. The greateſt part of the Clergy, the Regulars eſpecially, were ſo tranſported with the zeal that their King ſhewed on this occaſion, that their ſermons were full of the moſt inflamed eloquence that they could invent, magnifying their King in ſtrains too indecent and blaſphemous to be mentioned by me.

Great cruelty every where.

I ſtaid at *Paris* till the beginning of *Auguſt*. *Barrillon* ſent to me to look to my ſelf; for the King had let ſome words fall importing his ſuſpicion of me, as concerned in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s buſineſs. Whether this was done on deſign, to ſee if ſuch

I went into *Italy*.

1685. ſuch an inſinuation could fright me away, and ſo bring me under ſome appearance of guilt, I cannot tell: For in that time every thing was deceitfully managed. But I, who knew that I was not ſo much as guilty of concealment, reſolved not to ſtir from *Paris* till the rebellion was over, and that the priſoners were examined, and tried. When that was done, *Stouppe*, a Brigadier General, told me, that Mr. *de Louvoy* had ſaid to him that the King was reſolved to put an end to the buſineſs of the *Huguenots* that ſeaſon: And, ſince he was reſolved not to change, he adviſed him to make a *Tour* into *Italy*, that he might not ſeem to do any thing that oppoſed the King's ſervice. *Stouppe* told me this in confidence. So we reſolved to make that journey together. Some thought it was too bold an adventure in me, after what I had written and acted in the matters of religion, to go to *Rome*. But others, who judged better, thought I ran no hazard in going thither: For, beſides the high civility with which all ſtrangers are treated there, they were at that time in ſuch hopes of gaining *England*, that it was not reaſonable to think, that they would raiſe the apprehenſions of the Nation, by uſing any that belonged to it ill: And the deſtroying me would not do them the ſervice, that could in any ſort balance the prejudice that might ariſe from the noiſe it would make. And indeed I met with ſo high a civility at *Rome*, that it fully juſtified this opinion.

And was well received at *Rome*.

Pope *Innocent* the eleventh, *Odeſcalchi*, knew who I was the day after I came to *Rome*. And he ordered the Captain of the *Swiſs* guards to tell *Stouppe*, that he had heard of me, and would give me a private audience a-bed, to ſave me from the ceremony of the *Pantouſle*. But I knew the noiſe that this would make: So I reſolved to avoid it, and excuſed it upon my ſpeaking *Italian* ſo ill as I did. But Cardinal *Howard* and the Cardinal *d'Eſtrees* treated me with great freedom. The latter talked much with me concerning the orders in our Church, to know whether they had been brought down to us by men truly ordained, or not: For, he ſaid, they apprehended things would be much more eaſily brought about, if our orders could be eſteemed valid, tho' given in hereſy and ſchiſm. I told him, I was glad they were poſſeſſed with any opinion that made the reconciliation more difficult; but, as for the matter of fact, nothing was more certain, than that the ordinations in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s reign were canonical and regular. He ſeemed to be perſuaded of the truth of this, but lamented that it was impoſſible to bring the *Romans* to think ſo.

Cardinal *Howard*'s freedom with me.

Cardinal *Howard* ſhewed me all his letters from *England*, by which I ſaw, that thoſe who wrote to him reckoned, that their deſigns were ſo well laid, that they could not miſcarry. They thought, they ſhould certainly carry every thing in the next ſeſſion of Parliament. There was a high ſtrain of inſolence in their letters: And they reckoned, they were ſo ſure of the King, that they ſeemed to have no doubt left of their ſucceeding in the reduction of *England*. The *Romans* and *Italians* were much troubled at all this: For they were under ſuch apprehenſions of the growth of the *French* power, and had conceived ſuch hopes of the King of *England*'s putting a ſtop to it, that they were ſorry to ſee the King engage himſelf ſo in the deſign of changing the religion of his ſubjects, which they thought would create him ſo much trouble at home, that he would neither have leiſure nor ſtrength to look after the common concerns of *Europe*. The Cardinal told me, that all the advices writ over from thence to *England* were for ſlow, calm, and moderate courſes. He ſaid, he wiſhed he was at liberty to ſhew me the copies of them: But he ſaw violent courſes were more acceptable, and would probably be followed. And he added, that theſe were the production of *England*, far different from the counſels of *Rome*.

He alſo told me, that they had not inſtruments enough to work with: For, tho' they were ſending over all that were capable of the Miſſion, yet he expected no great matters from them. Few of them ſpoke true *Engliſh*. They came over young, and retained all the *Engliſh* that they brought over with them, which was only the language of boys: But, their education being among ſtrangers, they had formed themſelves ſo upon that model, that really they preached as *Frenchmen* or *Italians* in *Engliſh* words; of which he was every day warning them, for he knew this could have no good effect in *England*. He alſo ſpoke with great ſenſe of the proceedings in *France*, which he apprehended would have very ill conſequences in *England*. I ſhall only add one other particular, which will ſhew the ſoft temper of that good natured man.

He

He uſed me in ſuch a manner, that it was much obſerved by many others. So two *French* Gentlemen deſired a note from me to introduce them to him. Their deſign was to be furniſhed with Reliques; for he was then the Cardinal that looked after that matter. One evening I came in to him as he was very buſy in giving them ſome Reliques. So I was called in to ſee them: And I whiſpered to him in *Engliſh*, that it was ſomewhat odd, that a Prieſt of the Church of *England* ſhould be at *Rome* helping them off with the Ware of *Babylon*. He was ſo pleaſed with this, that he repeated it to the others in *French*; and told the *Frenchmen*, that they ſhould tell their countrymen, how bold the hereticks, and how mild the Cardinals were at *Rome*. 1685.

I ſtaid in *Rome*, till Prince *Borgheſe* came to me, and told me it was time for me to go. I had got great acquaintance there. And, tho' I did not provoke any to diſcourſe of points of controverſy, yet I defended my ſelf againſt all thoſe who attacked me, with the ſame freedom that I had done in other places. This began to be taken notice of. So upon the firſt intimation I came away, and returned to *Marſeilles*. And then I went thro' thoſe *Southern* Provinces of *France*, that were at that time a ſcene of barbarity and cruelty.

Cruelties in *Orange*.

I intended to have gone to *Orange*: But *Teſſè* with a body of Dragoons was then quartered over that ſmall Principality, and was treating the Proteſtants there in the ſame manner that the *French* ſubjects were treated in other parts. So I went not in, but paſt near it, and had this account of that matter from ſome that were the moſt conſiderable men of the principality. Many of the neighbouring places fled thither from the perſecution: Upon which a letter was writ to the government there, in the name of the King of *France*, requiring them to put all his ſubjects out of their Territory. This was hard. Yet they were too naked and expoſed to diſpute any thing with thoſe who could command every thing. So they ordered all the *French* to withdraw: Upon which *Teſſè*, who commanded in thoſe parts, wrote to them, that the King would be well ſatisfied with the obedience they had given his orders. They upon this were quiet, and thought there was no danger. But the next morning *Teſſè* marched his Dragoons into the Town, and let them looſe upon them, as he had done upon the ſubjects of *France*. And they plied as feebly as moſt of the *French* had done. This was done while that Principality was in the poſſeſſion of the Prince of *Orange*, purſuant to an article of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, of which the King of *England* was the guarantee. Whether the *French* had the King's conſent to this, or if they preſumed upon it, was not known. It is certain, he ordered two memorials to be given in at that Court, complaining of it in very high terms. But nothing followed on it. And, ſome months after, the King of *France* did unite *Orange* to the reſt of *Provence*, and ſuppreſſed all the rights it had, as a diſtinct Principality. The King writ upon it to the Princeſs of *Orange*, that he could do no more in that matter, unleſs he ſhould declare War upon it; which he could not think fit for a thing of ſuch ſmall importance.

Another ſeſſion of Parliament.

But now the ſeſſion of Parliament drew on. And there was a great expectation of the iſſue of it. For ſome Weeks before it met there was ſuch a number of Refugees coming over every day, who ſet about a moſt diſmal recital of the perſecution in *France*, and that in ſo many inſtances that were crying and odious, that, tho' all endeavours were uſed to leſſen the clamour this had raiſed, yet the King did not ſtick openly to condemn it, as both unchriſtian and unpolitick. He took pains to clear the *Jeſuits* of it, and laid the blame of it chiefly on the King, on *Madame de Maintenon*, and the Archbiſhop of *Paris*. He ſpoke often of it with ſuch vehemence, that there ſeemed to be an affectation in it. He did more. He was very kind to the Refugees. He was liberal to many of them. He ordered a brief for a charitable collection over the Nation for them all: Upon which great ſums were ſent in. They were depoſited in good hands, and well diſtributed. The King alſo ordered them to be deniſed without paying fees, and gave them great immunities. So that in all there came over firſt and laſt between forty and fifty thouſand of that Nation. Here was ſuch a real argument of the cruel and perſecuting ſpirit of Popery, whereſoever it prevailed, that few could reſiſt this conviction. So that all men confeſſed, that the *French* perſecution came very ſeaſonably to awaken the Nation, and open mens eyes in ſo critical a conjuncture: For upon this ſeſſion of Parliament all did depend.

1685.

The King's ſpeech againſt the Teſt.

When it was opened, the King told them how happy his forces had been in reducing a dangerous rebellion, in which it had appeared, how weak and inſignificant the Militia was: And therefore he ſaw the neceſſity of keeping up an Army for all their ſecurity. He had put ſome in commiſſion, of whoſe loyalty he was well aſſured: And they had ſerved him ſo well, that he would not put that affront on them, and on himſelf, to turn them out. He told them, all the World ſaw, and they had felt the happineſs of a good underſtanding between him and his Parliament: So he hoped, nothing ſhould be done on their part to interrupt that; as he, on his own part, would obſerve all that he had promiſed.

Thus he fell upon the two moſt unacceptable points that he could have found out; which were, a ſtanding Army, and a violation of the Act of the Teſt. There were ſome debates in the Houſe of Lords about thanking the King for his ſpeech. It was preſſed by the Courtiers, as a piece of reſpect that was always paid. To this ſome anſwered, that was done when there were gracious aſſurances given. Only the Earl of *Devonſhire* ſaid, he was for giving thanks, becauſe the King had ſpoken out ſo plainly, and warned them of what they might look for. It was carried in the Houſe to make an addreſs of thanks for the ſpeech. The Lord *Guilford*, *North*, was now dead. He was a crafty and deſigning man. He had no mind to part with the great Seal: And yet he ſaw, he could not hold it without an entire compliance with the pleaſure of the Court. An appeal againſt a decree of his had been brought before the Lords in the former ſeſſion: And it was not only reverſed with many ſevere reflexions on him that made it, but the Earl of *Nottingham*, who hated him becauſe he had endeavoured to detract from his father's memory, had got together ſo many inſtances of his ill adminiſtration of juſtice, that he expoſed him ſeverely for it. And, it was believed, that gave the criſis to the uneaſineſs and diſtraction of mind he was labouring under. He languiſhed for ſome time; and died deſpiſed, and ill thought of by the whole Nation.

Jefferies made Lord Chancellour.

Nothing but his ſucceſſor made him to be remembred with regret: For *Jefferies* had the Seals. He had been made a Peer while he was Chief Juſtice, which had not been done for ſome ages: But he affected to be an original in every thing. A day or two after the ſeſſion was opened, the Lords went upon the conſideration of the King's ſpeech: And, when ſome began to make remarks upon it, they were told, that by giving thanks for the ſpeech they had precluded themſelves from finding fault with any part of it. This was rejected with indignation, and put an end to that compliment of giving thanks for a ſpeech when there was no ſpecial reaſon for it. The Lords *Halliſax*, *Nottingham*, and *Mordaunt*, were the chief arguers among the temporal Lords. The Biſhop of *London* ſpoke often likewiſe: And twice or thrice he ſaid, he ſpoke not only his own ſenſe, but the ſenſe of that whole Bench. They ſaid, the teſt was now the beſt fence they had for their religion: If they gave up ſo great a point, all the reſt would ſoon follow: And if the King might by his authority ſuperſede ſuch a law, fortified with ſo many clauſes, and above all with that of an incapacity, it was in vain to think of law any more: The government would become arbitrary and abſolute. *Jefferies* began to argue in his rough manner: But he was ſoon taken down; it appearing, that how furiouſly ſoever he raved on the Bench, where he played the tyrant, yet where others might ſpeak with him on equal terms, he was a very contemptible man: And he received as great a mortification, as ſuch a brutal man as he was capable of.

The Houſe of Commons addreſs the King for obſerving the law.

But as the ſcene lay in the Houſe of Commons, ſo the debates there were more important. A project was offered for making the Militia more uſeful in order to the diſbanding the Army. But, to oppoſe that, the Court ſhewed, how great a danger we had lately eſcaped, and how much of an ill leaven yet remained in the Nation, ſo that it was neceſſary a force ſhould be kept up. The Court moved for a ſubſidy, the King having been at much extraordinary charge in reducing the late rebellion. Many, that were reſolved to aſſert the buſineſs of the Teſt with great firmneſs, thought, the voting of money firſt was the decenteſt way of managing the oppoſition to the Court. Whereas others oppoſed this, having often obſerved, that the voting of money was the giving up the whole ſeſſion to the Court. The Court wrought on many weak men with this topick, that the only way to gain the King, and to diſpoſe him to agree to them in the buſineſs of the Teſt, was to begin with the ſupply. This had ſo great an effect, that it was carried only by one vote to conſider the King's ſpeech, before they ſhould proceed to the ſupply. It was underſtood,

flood, that when they received satisfaction in other things, they were resolved to give 1685.

They went next to consider the Act about the Test, and the violations of it, with the King's speech upon that head. The reasoning was clear and full on the one hand. The Court offered nothing on the other hand in the way of argument, but the danger of offending the King, and of raising a misunderstanding between him and them. So the whole House went in unanimously into a vote for an address to the King, that he would maintain the laws, in particular that concerning the Test. But with that they offered to pass a bill for indemnifying those who had broken that law; and were ready to have considered them in the supply that they intended to give.

The King was much offended with it.

The King expressed his resentments of this with much vehemence, when the address was brought to him. He said, some men intended to disturb the good correspondence that was between him and them, which would be a great prejudice to the Nation: He had declared his mind so positively in that matter, that he hoped, they would not have meddled with it: Yet, he said, he would still observe all the promises that he had made. This made some reflect on the violations of the edict of *Nantes* by many of the late edicts that were set out in *France* before the last that repealed it, in which the King of *France* had always declared, that he would maintain that edict, even when the breaches made upon it were the most visible and notorious. The House, upon this rough answer, was in a high fermentation. Yet, when one *Cook* said, that they were *Englishmen*, and were not to be threatned, because this seemed to be a want of respect, they sent him to the Tower; and obliged him to ask pardon for those indecent words. But they resolved to insist on their address, and then to proceed upon the petitions concerning elections. And now those, that durst not open their mouth before, spoke with much force upon this head. They said, it was a point upon which the Nation expected justice, and they had a right to claim it. And it was probable, they would have condemned a great many elections: For an intimation was set round, that all those who had stuck to the interest of the Nation, in the main points then before them, should be chosen over again, tho' it should be found that their election was void, and that a new writ should go out. By this means those petitions were now encouraged, and were like to have a fair hearing, and a just decision: And it was believed, that the abject Courtiers would have been voted out.

The Parliament was prorogued.

The King saw, that both Houses were now so fixed, that he could carry nothing in either of them, unless he would depart from his speech, and let the Act of the Test take place. So he prorogued the Parliament, and kept it by repeated prorogations still on foot for about a year and a half, but without holding a session. All those, who had either spoken or voted for the Test, were soon after this disgraced, and turned out of their places, tho' many of these had served the King hitherto with great obsequiousness and much zeal. He called for many of them, and spoke to them very earnestly upon that subject in his closet: Upon which the term of closeting was much tossed about. Many of these gave him very flat and hardy denials: Others, tho' more silent, yet were no less steady. So that, when, after a long practice both of threatning and ill usage on the one hand, and of promises and corruption on the other, the King saw he could not bring them into a compliance with him, he at last dissolved the Parliament: By which he threw off a body of men that were in all other respects sure to him, and that would have accepted a very moderate satisfaction from him at any time. And indeed in all *England* it would not have been easy to have found five hundred men, so weak, so poor, and so devoted to the Court, as these were. So happily was the Nation taken out of their hands, by the precipitated violence of a bigotted Court.

The Lord *de la Meer* tried, and acquitted.

Soon after the prorogation, the Lord *de la Meer* was brought to his trial. Some witnesses swore high treason against him only upon report, that he had designed to make a rebellion in *Cheshire*, and to join with the Duke of *Monmouth*. But, since those swore only upon hear-say, that was no evidence in law. One witness swore home against him, and against two other Gentlemen, who, as he said, were in company with him; and that treasonable messages were then given to him by them all to carry to some others. That which gave the greatest credit to the evidence was, that this Lord had gone from *London* secretly to *Cheshire* at the time of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s landing, and that after he had staid a day or two in that Country, he had come

1685. come up as ſecretly to *London*. This looked ſuſpicious, and made it to be believed, that he went to try what could be done. The credit of that ſingle witneſs was overthrown by many unqueſtionable proofs, by which it appeared that the two Gentlemen, who he ſaid met with that Lord in *Cheſhire*, were all that while ſtill in *London*. The witneſs, to gain the more credit, had brought others into the plot, by the common fate of falſe ſwearers, who bring in ſuch circumſtances to ſupport their evidence, as they think will make it more credible, but, being ill laid, give a handle to thoſe concerned to find out their falſhood. And that was the caſe of this witneſs: For, tho' little doubt was made of the truth of that which he ſwore againſt this Lord, as to the main of his evidence, yet he had added ſuch a mixture of falſhood to it, as being fully proved deſtroyed the evidence. As for the ſecret journey to and again between *London* and *Cheſhire*, that Lord ſaid he had been long a priſoner in the Tower upon bare ſuſpicion: He had no mind to be lodged again there: So he reſolved in that time of jealouſy to go out of the way: And hearing that a child, of which he was very fond, was ſick in *Cheſhire*, he went thither: And hearing from his Lady that his eldeſt ſon was very ill at *London*, he made haſte back again. This was well proved by his phyſicians and domeſticks, tho' it was a thing of very ill appearance, that he made ſuch journies ſo quick and ſo ſecretly at ſuch a time. The Sollicitor General, *Finch*, purſuant to the doctrine he had maintained in former trials, and perhaps to atone for the zeal he had ſhewed in the Houſe of Commons for maintaining the Act of the Teſt, made a violent declamation, to prove that one Witneſs with preſumptions was ſufficient to convict one of high treaſon. The Peers did unanimouſly acquit the Lord. So that trial ended to the great joy of the whole town, which was now turned to be as much againſt the Court, as it had been of late years for it. *Finch* had been continued in his employment only to lay the load of this judgment upon him: And he acted his part in it with his uſual vehemence. He was preſently after turned out. And *Powis* ſucceeded him, who was a compliant young aſpiring Lawyer, tho' in himſelf he was no ill natured man. Now the poſts in the law began to be again taken care of: For it was reſolved to act a piece of pageantry in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with which the next year began.

1686. Sir *Edward Hales*, a Gentleman of a noble family in *Kent*, declared himſelf a Papiſt, tho' he had long diſguiſed it; and had once to my ſelf ſo ſolemnly denied it, that I was led from thence to ſee, there was no credit to be given to that ſort of men, where their Church or religion was concerned. He had an employment: And not taking the teſt his coachman was ſet up to inform againſt him, and to claim the 500 *l.* that the law gave to the informer. When this was to be brought to trial, the Judges were ſecretly asked their opinions: And ſuch as were not clear to judge as the Court did direct were turned out: And upon two or three canvaſſings the half of them were diſmiſſed, and others of more pliable and obedient underſtandings were put in their places. Some of theſe were weak and ignorant to a ſcandal. The ſuit went on in a feeble proſecution: And in Trinity Term judgment was given.

A trial upon the Act for the teſt.

Many Judges turned out.

There was a new Chief Juſtice found out, very different indeed from *Jefferies*, Sir *Edward Herbert*. He was a well bred and a vertuous man, generous, and good natured. He was but an indifferent Lawyer; and had gone to *Ireland* to find practice and preferment there. He unhappily got into a ſet of very high notions with relation to the King's prerogative. His gravity and vertues gave him great advantages, chiefly his ſucceeding ſuch a monſter as had gone before him. So he, being found to be a fit tool, was, without any application of his own, raiſed up all at once to this high poſt. After the coachmans cauſe had been argued with a moſt indecent coldneſs, by thoſe who were made uſe of on deſign to expoſe and betray it, it was ſaid, in favour of the prerogative, that the government of *England* was entirely in the King: That the Crown was an Imperial Crown, the importance of which was, that it was abſolute: All penal laws were powers lodged in the Crown to enable the King to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to limit or bind up the King's power: The King could pardon all offences againſt the law, and forgive the penalties: And why could not he as well diſpenſe with them? Acts of Parliament had been oft ſuperſeded: The Judges had ſome times given directions in their charges at Circuits to enquire after ſome Acts of Parliament no more: Of which one late inſtance happen'd during the former reign: An Act paſſed concerning the ſize of carts and

Herbert, Chief Juſtice, gives Judgment for the King's diſpenſing power.

and waggons, with many penalties upon the tranſgreſſors: And yet, when it appeared that the model preſcribed in the Act was not practicable, the Judges gave direction not to execute the Act. 1686.

Theſe were the arguments brought to ſupport the King's diſpenſing power. In oppoſition to this it was ſaid, tho' not at the bar, yet in the common diſcourſe of the town, that if penalties did ariſe only by vertue of the King's Proclamation, it was reaſonable that the power of diſpenſing ſhould be only in the King: But ſince the prerogative was both conſtituted and limited by law, and ſince penalties were impoſed to force the obſervation of laws that were neceſſary for the publick ſafety, it was an overturning the whole government, and the changing it from a legal into a deſpotick form, to ſay that laws, made and declared not to be capable of being diſpenſed with, where one of the penalties was an incapacity, which by a maxim of law cannot be taken away even by a pardon, ſhould at the pleaſure of the Prince be diſpenſed with: A fine was alſo ſet by the Act on offenders, but not given to the King, but to the informer, which thereby became his. So that the King could no more pardon that, than he could diſcharge the debts of the ſubjects, and take away property: Laws of ſmall conſequence, when a viſible errour not obſerved in making them was afterwards found out, like that of the ſize of carts, might well be ſuperſeded: For the intention of the Legiſlature being the good of the ſubject, that is always to be preſumed for the repeal of an impracticable law. But it was not reaſonable to infer from thence, that a law made for the ſecurity of the government, with the moſt effectual clauſes that could be contrived, on deſign to force the execution of it, even in bar to the power of the prerogative, ſhould be made ſo precarious a thing, eſpecially when it was ſo lately aſſerted with ſo much vigour by the repreſentatives of the Nation. It was ſaid, that, tho' this was now only applied to one ſtatute, yet the ſame force of reaſon would hold to annul all our laws: And the penalty being that which is the life of the law, the diſpenſing with penalties might ſoon be carried ſo far as to diſſolve the whole government: And the ſecurity that the ſubjects had were only from the laws, or rather from the penalties, ſince laws without theſe were feeble things, which tied men only according to their own diſcretion.

Thus was this matter toſſed about in the arguments, with which all peoples mouths were now filled. But Judges, who are beforehand determined how to give their opinions, will not be much moved even by the ſtrongeſt arguments. The ludicrous ones uſed on this occaſion at the bar were rather a farce, fitter for a mock trial in a play, than ſuch as became men of learning in ſo important a matter. Great expectations were raiſed, to hear with what arguments the Judges would maintain the judgment that they ſhould give. But they made nothing of it; and without any arguing gave judgment for the defendant, as if it had been in a cauſe of courſe.

Admiral *Herbert's* firmneſs.

Now the matter was as much ſettled, as a deciſion in the King's Bench could ſettle it. Yet ſo little regard had the Chief Juſtice's neareſt friends to his opinion in this particular, that his brother, Admiral *Herbert*, being preſſed by the King to promiſe that he would vote the repeal of the Teſt, anſwered the King very plainly, that he could not do it either in honour or conſcience. The King ſaid, he knew he was a man of honour, but the reſt of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conſcience. He anſwered boldly, he had his faults, but they were ſuch, that other people, who talked more of conſcience, were guilty of the like. He was indeed a man abandoned to luxury and vice. But, tho' he was poor, and had much to loſe, having places to the value of 4000 *l.* a year, he choſe to loſe them all rather than comply. This made much noiſe: For as he had a great reputation for his conduct in ſea affairs, ſo he had been moſt paſſionately zealous in the King's ſervice from his firſt ſetting out to that day. It appeared by this, that no paſt ſervices would be conſidered, if men were not reſolved to comply in every thing. The door was now opened. So all regard to the Teſt was laid aſide. And all men that intended to recommend themſelves took employments, and accepted of this diſpenſing power. This was done even by ſome of thoſe who continued ſtill Proteſtants, tho' the far greater number of them continued to qualify themſelves according to law.

Father *Peter* a Jeſuit in high favour.

Many of the Papiſts, that were men of quiet or of fearful tempers, did not like theſe methods. They thought the Prieſts went too faſt, and the King was too eager in purſuing every thing that was ſuggeſted by them. One *Peter*, deſcended from a noble family, a man of no learning, nor any way famed for his vertue, but who made

1686.

made all up in boldneſs and zeal, was the *Jeſuit* of them all that ſeemed animated with the moſt courage. He had, during the Popiſh plot, been introduced to the King, and had ſuggeſted things, that ſhewed him a reſolute and undertaking man. Upon that the King looked on him as the fitteſt man to be ſet at the head of his counſels. So he was now conſidered, as the perſon who of all others had the greateſt credit. He applied himſelf moſt to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and was for ſome time chiefly directed by him.

The King declared for a toleration.

The maxim that the King ſet up, and about which he entertained all that were about him, was, the great happineſs of an univerſal toleration. On this the King uſed to enlarge in a great variety of topicks. He ſaid, nothing was more reaſonable, more chriſtian, and more politick: And he reflected much on the Church of *England* for the ſeverities with which Diſſenters had been treated. This, how true or juſt ſoever it might be, yet was ſtrange doctrine in the mouth of a profeſſed Papiſt, and of a Prince on whoſe account, and by whoſe direction, the Church party had been, indeed but too obſequiouſly, puſhed on to that rigour. But, ſince the Church party could not be brought to comply with the deſign of the Court, applications were now made to the Diſſenters: And all on a ſudden the Churchmen were diſgraced, and the Diſſenters were in high favour. Chief Juſtice *Herbert* went to the Weſtern Circuit after *Jefferies*'s bloody one. And now all was grace and favour to them. Their former ſufferings were much reflected on, and pitied. Every thing was offered that could alleviate their ſufferings. Their teachers were now encouraged to ſet up their Conventicles again, which had been diſcontinued, or held very ſecretly, for four or five years. Intimations were every where given, that the King would not have them or their meetings, to be diſturbed. Some of them began to grow inſolent upon this ſhew of favour. But wiſer men among them ſaw thro' all this, and perceived the deſign of the Papiſts was now, to ſet on the Diſſenters againſt the Church, as much as they had formerly ſet the Church againſt them: And therefore, tho' they returned to their Conventicles, yet they had a juſt jealouſy of the ill deſigns that lay hid under all this ſudden and unexpected ſhew of grace and kindneſs: And they took care not to provoke the Church party.

The Clergy managed the points of controverſy with great zeal and ſucceſs.

Many of the Clergy acted now a part that made good amends for paſt errours. They began to preach generally againſt Popery, which the Diſſenters did not. They ſet themſelves to ſtudy the points of controverſy. And upon that there followed a great variety of ſmall books that were eaſily purchaſed and ſoon read. They examined all the points of Popery with a ſolidity of judgment, a clearneſs of arguing, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any thing that had before that time appeared in our language. The truth is, they were very unequally yoked: For, if they are juſtly to be reckoned among the beſt writers that have yet appeared on the Proteſtant ſide, thoſe they wrote againſt were certainly among the weakeſt that had ever appeared on the Popiſh ſide. Their books were poorly but inſolently writ; and had no other learning in them, but what was taken out of ſome *French* writers, which they put into very bad *Engliſh*: So that a victory over them need have been but a mean performance.

This had a mighty effect on the whole Nation: Even thoſe who could not ſearch things to the bottom, yet were amazed at the great inequality that appeared in this engagement. The Papiſts, who knew what ſervice the Biſhop of *Meaux*'s book had done in *France*, reſolved to purſue the ſame method here in ſeveral treatiſes, which they entitled *Papiſts repreſented and miſrepreſented*; to which ſuch clear anſwers were writ, that what effect ſoever that artifice might have, where it was ſupported by the authority of a great King, and the terrour of ill uſage, and a dragoonade in concluſion, yet it ſucceeded ſo ill in *England*, that it gave occaſion to enquire into the true opinions of that Church, not as ſome artful writers had diſguiſed them, but as they were laid down in the books that are of authority among them, ſuch as the deciſions of Councils received among them, and their eſtabliſhed Offices, and as they are held at *Rome*, and in all thoſe countries where Popery prevails without any intermixture with hereticks, or apprehenſion of them, as in *Spain* and *Portugal*. This was done in ſo authentical a manner, that Popery it ſelf was never ſo well underſtood by the Nation, as it came to be upon this occaſion.

The perſons who were chiefly engaged in this.

The perſons, who both managed and directed this controverſial War, were chiefly *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Tenniſon*, and *Patrick*. Next them were, *Sherlock*, *Williams*, *Claget*, *Gee*, *Aldrich*, *Atterbury*, *Whitby*, *Hooper*, and above all theſe *Wake*, who having

ving been long in *France*, Chaplain to the Lord *Preſton*, brought over with him many curious diſcoveries that were both uſeful and ſurpriſing. Beſides the chief writers of thoſe books of controverſy, there were many ſermons preached and printed on thoſe heads, that did very much edify the whole Nation. And this matter was managed with that concert, that for the moſt part once a week ſome new book or ſermon came out, which both inſtructed and animated thoſe who read them. There were but very few proſelytes gained to Popery: And theſe were ſo inconſiderable, that they were rather a reproach than an honour to them. *Walker*, the head of *Univerſity* College, and five or ſix more at *Oxford*, declared themſelves to be of that religion; but with this branch of infamy, that they had continued for ſeveral years complying with the doctrine and worſhip of the Church of *England* after they were reconciled to the Church of *Rome*. The Popiſh Prieſts were enraged at this oppoſition made by the Clergy, when they ſaw their religion ſo expoſed, and themſelves ſo much deſpiſed. They ſaid it was ill manners and want of duty to treat the King's religion with ſo much contempt. 1686.

It was reſolved to proceed ſeverely againſt ſome of the preachers, and to try if by that means they might intimidate the reſt. Dr. *Sharp* was the Rector of St. *Giles*'s, and was both a very pious man, and one of the moſt popular preachers of the age, who had a peculiar talent of reading his ſermons with much life and zeal. He received one day, as he was coming out of the pulpit, a paper ſent him, as he believed, by a Prieſt, containing a ſort of challenge upon ſome points of controverſy touched by him in ſome of his ſermons. Upon this, he, not knowing to whom he ſhould ſend an anſwer, preached a ſermon in anſwer to it: And, after he had confuted it, he concluded ſhewing how unreaſonable it was for Proteſtants to change their religion on ſuch grounds. This was carried to Court, and repreſented there, as a reflexion on the King for changing on thoſe grounds. Dr. *Sharp* in trouble.

The information, as to the words pretended to be ſpoken by *Sharp*, was falſe, as he himſelf aſſured me. But, without enquiring into that, the Earl of *Sunderland* ſent an order to the Biſhop of *London*, in the King's name, requiring him to ſuſpend *Sharp* immediately, and then to examine the matter. The Biſhop anſwered, that he had no power to proceed in ſuch a ſummary way: But, if an accuſation were brought into his Court in a regular way, he would proceed to ſuch a cenſure as could be warranted by the Eccleſiaſtical law: Yet, he ſaid, he would do that which was in his power, and ſhould be upon the matter a ſuſpenſion; for he deſired *Sharp* to abſtain from officiating, till the matter ſhould be better underſtood. But to lay ſuch a cenſure on a Clergyman, as a ſuſpenſion, without proof, in a judiciary proceeding, was contrary both to law and juſtice. *Sharp* went to Court to ſhew the notes of his ſermon, which he was ready to ſwear were thoſe from which he had read it, by which the falſhood of the information would appear. But, ſince he was not ſuſpended, he was not admitted. Yet he was let alone. And it was reſolved to proceed againſt the Biſhop of *London* for contempt. The Biſhop of *London* required to ſuſpend him. Which he could not obey.

Jefferies was much ſunk at Court, and *Herbert* was the moſt in favour. But now *Jefferies*, to recommend himſelf offered a bold and illegal advice, for ſetting up an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, without calling it the High Commiſſion, pretending it was only a ſtanding Court of Delegates. The Act that put down the High Commiſſion in the year 1640 had provided by a clauſe, as full as could be conceived, that no Court ſhould be ever ſet up for thoſe matters, beſides the ordinary Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Yet in contempt of that a Court was erected, with full power to proceed in a ſummary and arbitrary way in all Eccleſiaſtical matters, without limitations to any rule of law in their proceedings. This ſtretch of the ſupremacy, ſo contrary to law, was aſſumed by a King, whoſe religion made him condemn all that ſupremacy that the law had veſted in the Crown. An Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſet up.

The perſons with whom this power was lodged were the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chancellour, the Lord Treaſurer, and Lord Chief Juſtice, the Lord Chancellour being made Preſident in the Court *ſine quo non*; for they would truſt this to no other management. The Biſhop of *London* was marked out to be the firſt ſacrifice. *Sancroft* lay ſilent at *Lambeth*. He ſeemed zealous againſt Popery in private diſcourſe: But he was of ſuch a timorous temper, and ſo ſet on the enriching his nephew, that he ſhewed no ſort of courage. He would not go to this Court when it was firſt opened, and declare againſt it, and give his reaſons why he could not ſit and act in it, judging it to be

 againſt

1686. againſt law: But he contented himſelf with his not going to it. The other two Biſhops were more compliant. *Dureſme* was lifted up with it, and ſaid, now his name would be recorded in hiſtory: And, when ſome of his friends repreſented to him the danger of acting in a Court ſo illegally conſtituted, he ſaid, he could not live if he ſhould loſe the King's gracious ſmiles: So low and ſo fawning was he. *Dolben*, Archbiſhop of *York*, died this year. So, as *Sprat* had ſucceeded him in *Rocheſter*, he had ſome hopes let fall of ſucceeding likewiſe in *York*. But the Court had laid it down for a maxim to keep all the great Sees, that ſhould become vacant, ſtill empty, till they might fill them to their own mind. So he was miſtaken in his expectations, if ever he had them.

The Biſhop of *London* brought before it.

The Biſhop of *London* was the firſt perſon, that was ſummoned to appear before this new Court. He was attended on by many perſons of great Quality, which gave a new offence: And the Lord Chancellour treated him in that brutal way, that was now become as it were natural to him. The Biſhop ſaid, here was a new Court of which he knew nothing: So he deſired a copy of the commiſſion that authorized them. And after he had drawn out the matter by delays for ſome time, hoping that the King might accept of ſome general and reſpectful ſubmiſſion, and ſo let the matter fall, at laſt he came to make his defence, all ſecret methods to divert the ſtorm proving ineffectual. The firſt part of it was an exception to the authority of the Court, as being not only founded on no law, but contrary to the expreſs words of the Act of Parliament that put down the High Commiſſion. Yet this point was rather inſinuated, than urged with the force that might have been uſed: For it was ſaid, that, if the Biſhop ſhould inſiſt too much on that, it would draw a much heavier meaſure of indignation on him; therefore it was rather opened, and modeſtly repreſented to the Court, than ſtrongly argued. But it may be eaſily believed, that thoſe who ſate by virtue of this illegal Commiſſion would maintain their own authority. The other part of the Biſhop of *London*'s plea was, that he had obeyed the King's orders, as far as he legally could do; for he had obliged Dr. *Sharp* to act as a man that was ſuſpended; but that he could not lay an Eccleſiaſtical cenſure on any of his Clergy without a proceſs, and articles, and ſome proof brought. This was juſtified by the conſtant practice of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and by the judgment of all lawyers. But arguments, how ſtrong ſoever, are feeble things, when a ſentence is reſolved on before the cauſe is heard. So it was propoſed, that he ſhould be ſuſpended during the King's pleaſure. The Lord Chancellour and the poor-ſpirited Biſhop of *Dureſme* were for this: But the Earl and Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, were for acquitting him. There was not ſo much as a colour of law to ſupport the ſentence: So none could be given.

And was ſuſpended by it.

But the King was reſolved to carry this point, and ſpoke roundly about it to the Earl of *Rocheſter*. He ſaw he muſt either concur in the ſentence, or part with the White Staff. So he yielded. And the Biſhop was ſuſpended *ab officio*. They did not think fit to meddle with his revenues. For the lawyers had ſettled that point, that benefices were of the nature of freeholds. So, if the ſentence had gone to the temporalities, the Biſhop would have had the matter tried over again in the King's Bench, where he was like to find good juſtice, *Herbert* not being ſatisfied with the legality and juſtice of the ſentence. While this matter was in dependence, the Princeſs of *Orange* thought it became her to interpoſe a little in the Biſhop's favour. He had confirmed, and married her. So ſhe wrote to the King, earneſtly begging him to be gentle to the Biſhop, who ſhe could not think would offend willingly. She alſo wrote to the Biſhop, expreſſing the great ſhare ſhe took in the trouble he was fallen into. The Prince wrote to him to the ſame purpoſe. The King wrote an anſwer to the Princeſs, reflecting ſeverely on the Biſhop, not without ſome ſharpneſs on her for meddling in ſuch matters. Yet the Court ſeemed uneaſy, when they ſaw they had gained ſo poor a Victory: For now the Biſhop was more conſidered than ever. His Clergy, for all the ſuſpenſion, were really more governed by the ſecret intimations of his pleaſure, than they had been by his authority before. So they reſolved to come off as well as they could. Dr. *Sharp* was admitted to offer a general petition, importing how ſorry he was to find himſelf under the King's diſpleaſure: Upon which he was diſmiſſed with a gentle reprimand, and ſuffered to return to the exerciſe of his function. According to the form of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, a perſon under ſuch a ſuſpenſion muſt make a ſubmiſſion within ſix months: Otherwiſe he may be proceeded againſt as obſtinate. So, ſix months after the ſentence,

tence, the Biſhop ſent a petition to the King, deſiring to be reſtored to the exer- 1686.
ciſe of his Epiſcopal function. But he made no acknowledgment of any fault. So this had no other effect, but that it ſtopt all further proceedings: Only the ſuſpenſion lay ſtill on him. I have laid all this matter together, tho' the progreſs of it ran into the year eighty ſeven.

Affairs in *Scotland* went on much at the ſame rate as they did in *England*. Some few proſelytes were gained. But as they were very few, ſo they could do little ſervice to the ſide to which they joined themſelves. The Earl of *Perth* prevailed with his Lady, as ſhe was dying, to change her religion. And in a very few Weeks after her death he married very indecently a ſiſter of the Duke of *Gordon*'s. They were firſt couſins: And yet without ſtaying for a diſpenſation from *Rome* they ventured on a marriage, upon the aſſurances that they ſaid their Confeſſor gave them that it would be eaſily obtained. But Pope *Innocent* was a ſtiff man, and did not grant theſe things eaſily: So that Cardinal *Howard* could not at firſt obtain it. The Pope ſaid, theſe were ſtrange converts, that would venture on ſuch a thing without firſt obtaining a diſpenſation. The Cardinal pretended, that new converts did not ſo ſoon underſtand the laws of the Church: But he laid before the Pope the ill conſequences of offending converts of ſuch importance. So he prevailed at laſt, not without great difficulty. The Earl of *Perth* ſet up a private Chapel in the Court for Maſs, which was not kept ſo private, but that many frequented it. Affairs in *Scotland*.

The town of *Edenburgh* was much alarmed at this. And the rabble broke in with ſuch fury, that they defaced every thing in the Chapel. And if the Earl of *Perth* had not been conveyed away in diſguiſe, he had very probably fallen a ſacrifice to popular rage. The guards upon the alarm came, and diſperſed the rabble. Some were taken: And one that was a ringleader in the tumult was executed for it. When he was at the place of execution, he told one of the Miniſters of the town, that was with him aſſiſting him with his prayers, that he was offered his life, if he would accuſe the Duke of *Queensborough*, as the perſon that had ſet on the tumult, but he would not ſave his life by ſo falſe a calumny. Mr. *Macom*, the Miniſter, was an honeſt but weak man. So, when the criminal charged him to make this diſcovery, he did not call any of thoſe who were preſent to bear Witneſs of it: But in the ſimplicity of his heart he went from the execution to the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and told him what had paſt. The Archbiſhop acquainted the Duke of *Queensborough* with it. And he writ to Court, and complained of it. The King ordered the matter to be examined. So the poor Miniſter, having no Witneſs to atteſt what the criminal had ſaid to him, was declared the forger of that calumny. And upon that he was turned out. But how ſeverely ſoever thoſe in authority may handle a poor incautious man, yet the publick is apt to judge true. And, in this caſe, as the Miniſter's Weakneſs and Misfortune was pitied, ſo the Earl of *Perth*'s malice and treachery was as much deteſted. A tumult at *Edenburgh*.

In ſummer this year, the Earl of *Murray*, another new convert, was ſent the King's Commiſſioner to hold a Parliament in *Scotland*, and to try if it would be more compliant than the *Engliſh* Parliament had been. The King did by his letter recommend to them in very earneſt words the taking off all penal laws and teſts relating to religion. And all poſſible methods were uſed to prevail on a majority. But two accidents happened before the opening the Parliament, which made great impreſſion on the minds of many. A Parliament held there.

Whitford, ſon to one of their Biſhops before the Wars had turned a Papiſt. He was the perſon that killed *Dariſlaus* in *Holland*. And, that he might get out of *Cromwell*'s reach, he had gone into the Duke of *Savoy*'s ſervice; and was there when the laſt maſſacre was committed on the *Vaudois*. He had committed many barbarous murders with his own hands, and had a ſmall penſion given him after the Reſtoration. He died a few days before the Parliament met; and called for ſome Miniſters, and to them declared his forſaking of Popery, and his abhorrence of it for its cruelty. He ſaid, he had been guilty of ſome execrable murders in *Piedmont*, both of Women and children, which had purſued him with an intolerable horrour of mind ever after that. He had gone to Prieſts of all ſorts, the ſtricteſt as well as the eaſieſt: And they had juſtified him in what he had done, and given him abſolution. But his conſcience purſued him ſo, that he died as in deſpair, crying out againſt that bloody Religion.

1686.

The other was more solemn. Sir *Robert Sibbald*, a Doctor of phyſick, and the moſt learned antiquary in *Scotland*, who had lived in a courſe of philoſophical vertue, but in great doubts as to revealed religion, was prevailed on by the Earl of *Perth* to turn Papiſt, in hopes to find that certainty among them, which he could not arrive at upon his own principles. But he had no ſooner done this, than he began to be aſhamed that he had made ſuch a ſtep upon ſo little enquiry. So he went to *London*, and retired for ſome months from all company, and went into a deep courſe of ſtudy, by which he came to ſee into the errours of Popery, with ſo full a conviction, that he came down to *Scotland* ſome Weeks before the Parliament, and could not be at quiet till he had publiſhed his recantation openly in a Church. The Biſhop of *Edenburgh* was ſo much a Courtier, that, appehending many might go to hear it, and that it might give offence at Court, he ſent him to do it in a Church in the Country. But the recantation of ſo learned a man, upon ſo much ſtudy, had a great effect upon many.

Roſſe and *Paterſon*, the two governing Biſhops, reſolved to let the King ſee how compliant they would be. And they procured an addreſs to be ſigned by ſeveral of their Bench, offering to concur with the King in all that he deſired with relation to thoſe of his own religion, (for the courtly ſtile now was not to name Popery any other Way than by calling it the King's religion,) providing the laws might ſtill continue in force and be executed againſt the Presbyterians. With this *Paterſon* was ſent up. He communicated the matter to the Earl of *Middletoun*, who adviſed him never to ſhew that paper: It would be made uſe of againſt them, and render them odious: And the King and all his Prieſts were ſo ſenſible that it was an indecent thing for them to pretend to any ſpecial favour, than they were reſolved to move for nothing but a general toleration. And ſo he perſuaded him to go back without preſenting it. This was told me by one who had it from the Earl himſelf.

Which refuſed to comply with the King's deſires

When the ſeſſion of Parliament was opened, Duke *Hamilton* was ſilent in the debate. He promiſed, he would not oppoſe the motion: But he would not be active to promote it. The Duke of *Queensberough* was alſo ſilent: But the King was made believe that he managed the oppoſition under hand. *Roſſe* and *Paterſon* did ſo entirely forget what became their characters, that they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Parliament to comply with the King's deſire. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* oppoſed it, but fearfully. The Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *Bruce*, did it openly and reſolutely: And ſo did the Biſhop of *Galloway*. The reſt were ſilent, but were reſolved to vote for the continuance of the laws. Such was the meanneſs of moſt of the Nobility, and of the other members, that few did hope that reſiſtance to the Court could be maintained. Yet the Parliament would conſent to nothing, further than to a ſuſpenſion of thoſe laws during the King's life. The King deſpiſed this. So the ſeſſion was put off, and the Parliament was quickly diſſolved. And, ſoon after that, both the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* and the Biſhop of *Dunkeld* were turned out by an expreſs command from the King. And *Paterſon* was made Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*. And one *Hamilton*, noted for prophaneſs and impiety, that ſometimes broke out into blaſphemy, was made Biſhop of *Dunkeld*. No reaſon was aſſigned for turning out thoſe Biſhops, but the King's pleaſure.

A zeal appeared there againſt Popery.

The Nation, which was become very corrupt, and both ignorant and inſenſible in the matters of religion, began now to return to its old zeal againſt Popery. Few proſelytes were made after this. The Epiſcopal Clergy were in many places ſo ſunk into ſloth and ignorance, that they were incapable of conducting this zeal. Some of them about *Edenburgh*, and in divers other places, began to mind thoſe matters, and recovered ſome degrees of credit by the oppoſition they made to Popery. But the Presbyterians, tho' they were now freed from the great ſeverities they had long ſmarted under, yet expreſſed on all occaſions their unconquerable averſion to Popery. So the Court was ſoon convinced, that they were not to be depended on.

Affairs in *Ireland*.

But, what oppoſition ſoever the King met with in the iſle of *Britain*, things went on more to his mind in *Ireland*. The Earl of *Clarendon* upon his firſt coming over gave publick and poſitive aſſurances, that the King would maintain their Act of Settlement. This he did very often, and very ſolemnly; and proceeded accordingly. In the mean while the Earl of *Tirconnel* went on more roundly. He had not only put *Iriſh* Papiſts in ſuch poſts in the army as became void, but upon the ſlighteſt pretences he broke the *Engliſh* Proteſtant officers to make room for the others: And in concluſion, without ſo much as pretending a colour for it, he turned them all out. And

And now an army, paid by vertue of the act of Settlement to ſecure it, was wreſted out of legal hands, and put in the hands of thoſe who were engaged both in religion and intereſt to deſtroy the Settlement, and thoſe concerned in it; which was too groſs a violation of law to be in any ſort palliated. So the *Engliſh* Proteſtants of *Ireland* looked on themſelves as at mercy, ſince the army was now made up of their enemies. And all that the Lord Lieutenant, or the Lord Chancellour, could ſay did not quiet their fears: Good Words could not give ſecurity againſt ſuch deeds as they ſaw every day. Upon this the Earl of *Clarendon* and the Earl of *Tirconnel* fell into perpetual jarrings, and were making ſuch complaints one of another, that the King reſolved to put an end to thoſe diſorders by recalling both the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Porter*. He made the Earl of *Tirconnel* Lord Lieutenant, and *Fitton* Lord Chancellour, who were both not only profeſſed but zealous Papiſts. *Fitton* knew no other law but the King's pleaſure. 1686.

This ſtruck all people there with great terrour, when a man of *Tirconnel*'s temper, ſo entirely truſted and depended on by the *Iriſh*, capable of the boldeſt undertakings, and of the crueleſt execution, had now the government put ſo entirely in his hands. The Papiſts of *England* either diſſembled very artificiouſly, or they were much troubled at this, which gave ſo great an alarm every where. It was viſible, that Father *Peter* and the Jeſuits were reſolved to engage the King ſo far, that matters ſhould be put paſt all retreating and compounding; that ſo the King might think no more of governing by Parliament, but by a military force; and, if that ſhould not ſtick firm to him, by aſſiſtance from *France*, and by an *Iriſh* army.

The King made his miſtreſs counteſs of *Dorcheſter*.

An accident happened at this time, that gave the Queen great offence, and put the Prieſts much out of countenance. The King continued to go ſtill to Mrs. *Sidley*. And ſhe gained ſo much on him, that at laſt ſhe prevailed to be made Counteſs of *Dorcheſter*. As ſoon as the Queen heard of this, ſhe gave order to bring all the Prieſts, that were admitted to a particular confidence, into her cloſet. And, when ſhe had them about her, ſhe ſent to deſire the King to come and ſpeak to her. When he came, he was ſurprized to ſee ſuch a company about her, but much more when they fell all on their knees before him. And the Queen broke out into a bitter mourning for this new honour, which they expected would be followed with the ſetting her up openly as miſtreſs. The Queen was then in an ill habit of body; and had an illneſs that, as was thought, would end in a conſumption: And it was believed that her ſickneſs was of ſuch a nature, that it gave a very melancholy preſage, that, if ſhe ſhould live, ſhe could have no children. The Prieſts ſaid to the King, that a blemiſh in his life blaſted their deſigns: And the more it appeared, and the longer it was continued, the more ineffectual all their endeavours would prove. The King was much moved with this, and was out of countenance for what he had done. But, to quiet them all, he promiſed them, that he would ſee the Lady no more; and pretended, that he gave her this title in order to the breaking with her the more decently. And, when the Queen did not ſeem to believe this, he promiſed that he would ſend her to *Ireland*, which was done accordingly. But, after a ſtay there for ſome months, ſhe came over again: And that ill commerce was ſtill continued. The Prieſts were no doubt the more apprehenſive of this, becauſe ſhe was bold and lively, and was always treating them and their proceedings with great contempt.

The Court was now much ſet on making of converts; which failed in moſt inſtances, and produced repartees, that, whether true or falſe, were much repeated, and were heard with great ſatisfaction.

Attempts made on many to change their religion.

The Earl of *Mulgrave* was Lord Chamberlain. He was apt to comply in every thing that he thought might be acceptable; for he went with the King to Maſs, and kneeled at it. And, being looked on as indifferent to all religions, the Prieſts made an attack on him. He heard them gravely arguing for tranſubſtantiation. He told them, he was willing to receive inſtruction: He had taken much pains to bring himſelf to believe in God, who made the World and all men in it; But it muſt not be an ordinary force of argument, that could make him believe, that man was quits with God, and made God again.

The Earl of *Midletoun* had married into a Popiſh family, and was a man of great parts and a generous temper, but of looſe principles in religion. So a Prieſt was ſent to inſtruct him. He began with tranſubſtantiation, of which he ſaid he would convince him immediately: And began thus, You believe the Trinity. *Midletoun* ſtop'd him

1686. him, and said, Who told you so? At which he seemed amazed. So the Earl said, he expected he should convince him of his belief, but not question him of his own. With this the Priest was so disordered, that he could proceed no further. One day the King gave the Duke of *Norfolk* the sword of State to carry before him to the Chapel: And he stood at the door. Upon which the King said to him, My Lord, your father would have gone further: To which the Duke answered, Your Majesty's father was the better man, and he would not have gone so far. *Kirk* was also spoken to, to change his religion; and replied briskly, that he was already pre-engaged, for he had promised the King of *Morocco*, that if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

Particularly on the Earl of *Rochester.*

But the person that was the most considered, was the Earl of *Rochester*. He told me, that upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s defeat the King did so immediately turn to other measures, that, tho' before that the King talked to him of all his affairs with great freedom, and commonly every morning of the business that was to be done that day, yet the very day after his execution the King changed his method, and never talked to him more of any business, but what concerned the Treasury: So that, he saw, he had now no more the root he formerly had. He was looked on, as so much united to the Clergy, that the Papists were all set against him. He had, in a Want of money, procured a considerable loan, by which he was kept in his post longer than was intended. At last, as he related the matter to me, the King spoke to him, and desired he would suffer himself to be instructed in religion. He answered, he was fully satisfied about his religion. But upon the King's pressing it, that he would hear his Priests, he said, he desired them to have some of the *English* Clergy sent, to which the King consented: Only he excepted to *Tillotson* and *Stillingfleet*. Lord *Rochester* said, he would take those who should happen to be in waiting; for the forms of the Chapel were still kept up. And Doctor *Patrick* and *Jane* were the men. Upon this a day was set for the conference.

But his enemies had another story. He had notice given him, that he would shortly lose the White Staff: Upon which his Lady, who was then sick, wrote to the Queen, and begged she would honour her so far as to come, and let her have some discourse with her. The Queen came, and staid above two hours with her. She complained of the ill offices that were done them. The Queen said, all the Protestants were now turning against them, so that they knew not how they could trust any of them. Upon which that Lady said, her Lord was not so wedded to any opinion, as not to be ready to be better instructed. And it was said, that this gave the rise to the King's proposing a conference: For it has been observed to be a common method of making proselytes with the more pomp, to propose a conference: But this was generally done, after they were well assured, that, let the conference go which way it might, the person's decision for whom it was appointed should be on their side. The Earl denied, he knew any thing of all this to me: And his Lady died not long after. It was further said by his enemies, that the day before the conference he had an advertisement from a sure hand, that nothing he could do would maintain him in his post, and that the King had engaged himself to put the Treasury in commission, and to bring some of the Popish Lords into it. *Patrick* told me, that at the conference there was no occasion for them to say much.

The Priests began the attack. And, when they had done, the Earl said, if they had nothing stronger to urge, he would not trouble those learned Gentlemen to say any thing: For he was sure he could answer all that he had heard. And so answered it all with much heat and spirit, not without some scorn, saying, were these grounds to persuade men to change their religion? This he urged over and over again with great vehemence. The King, seeing in what temper he was, broke off the conference, charging all that were present to say nothing of it.

He was turned out.

Soon after that he lost his white Staff; but had a pension of 4000 *l.* a year for his own life and his son's, besides his grant upon the Lord *Grey*, and another valued at 20000 *l.* So here were great regards had to him: No place having ever been sold, even by a person in favour, to such advantage. The sum that he had procured to be lent the King being 400000 *l.* and it being all ordered to go towards the repair of the Fleet, this began to be much talked of. The stores were very ill furnished: And the vessels themselves were in decay. But now orders were given, with great dispatch to put the whole Fleet in condition to go to sea, tho' the King was then in full peace with all his neighbours. Such preparations seemed to be made upon some great design.

The

1686.

The Prieſts ſaid every where, but chiefly at *Rome*, that the deſign was againſt the States; and that both *France* and *England* would make War on them all of the ſudden; for it was generally known that the *Dutch* fleet was in no good condition. The intereſt of *France* and of the Prieſts made this to be the more eaſily believed. The embroiling the King with the Prince of *Orange* was that which the *French* deſired above all other things, hoping that ſuch a War, being ſucceſsful, might put the King on excluding the Prince from the ſucceſſion to the Crown in the right of his Wife, which was the thing that both the *French* and the Prieſts deſired moſt: For they ſaw that, unleſs the Queen had a ſon, all their deſigns muſt ſtand ſtill at preſent, and turn abortive in concluſion, as long as the Nation had ſuch a ſucceſſour in view.

Deſigns talked of againſt *Holland.*

This carries me now to open the ſtate of affairs in *Holland*, and at the Prince of *Orange*'s Court. I muſt firſt ſay ſomewhat of my ſelf: For this ſummer, after I had rambled above a year, I came into *Holland*. I ſtaid three or four months in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, after I came out of *Italy*. I ſtaid alſo ſome time among the *Lutherans* at *Strasbourg* and *Francfort*, and among the *Calviniſts* at *Heidleberg*, beſides the further opportunities I had to know their way in *Holland*. I made it my buſineſs to obſerve all their methods, and to know all the eminent men among them. I ſaw the Churches of *France* in their beſt ſtate, while they were every day looking when this dreadful ſtorm ſhould break out, which has ſcattered them up and down the World. I was all the Winter at *Geneva*, where we had conſtantly freſh ſtories brought us of the miſeries of thoſe who were ſuffering in *France*. Refugees were coming over every day poor, and naked, and half ſtarved before they got thither. And that ſmall State was under great apprehenſions of being ſwallowed up, having no ſtrength of their own, and being juſtly afraid that thoſe at *Bern* would grow weary of defending them, if they ſhould be vigorouſly attacked. The reſt of *Switzerland* was not in ſuch imminent danger. But, as they were full of Refugees, and all ſermons and diſcourſes were much upon the perſecution in *France*, ſo *Baſil* was expoſed in ſuch manner, that the *French* could poſſeſs themſelves of it when they pleaſed, without the leaſt reſiſtance. Thoſe of *Strasbourg*, as they have already loſt their liberty, ſo they were every day looking for ſome fatal edict, like that which the *French* had fallen under. The Churches of the *Palatinate*, as they are now the frontier of the Empire, expoſed to be deſtroyed by every new War, ſo they are fallen into the hands of a bigotted family. All the other Churches on the *Rhine* ſee how near they are to ruin. And as the United Provinces were a few years before this very near being ſwallowed up, ſo they were now well aſſured that two great Kings deſigned to ruin them.

I ſtaid ſome time in *Geneva.*

Under ſo cloudy a proſpect it ſhould be expected, that a ſpirit of true devotion and of a real reformation ſhould appear more, both among the Clergy and Laity; that they ſhould all apprehend that God was highly offended with them, and was therefore puniſhing ſome, and threatning others, in a moſt unuſual manner. It might have been expected, that thoſe unhappy conteſts between *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts*, *Arminians* and *Anti-Arminians*, with ſome minuter diſputes that have inflamed *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, ſhould have been at leaſt ſuſpended while they had a common enemy to deal with, againſt whom their whole force united was ſcarce able to ſtand. But theſe things were carried on rather with more eagerneſs and ſharpneſs than ever. It is true, there has appeared much of a primitive charity towards the *French* Refugees: They have been in all places well received, kindly treated, and bountifully ſupplied. Yet even among them there did not appear a ſpirit of piety and devotion ſuitable to their condition: Tho' perſons who have willingly ſuffered the loſs of all things, and have forſaken their country, their houſes, eſtates, and their friends, and ſome of their neareſt relations, rather than ſin againſt their conſciences, muſt be believed to have a deeper principle in them, than can well be obſerved by others.

The ſtate and temper I obſerved among the Reformed.

I was indeed amazed at the labours and learning of the Miniſters among the Reformed. They underſtood the Scriptures well in the original tongues: They had all the points of controverſy very ready, and did thoroughly underſtand the whole body of divinity. In many places they preached every day, and were almoſt conſtantly employed in viſiting their flock. But they performed their devotions but ſlightly, and read their prayers, which were too long, with great precipitation and little zeal. Their ſermons were too long and too dry. And they were ſo ſtrict, even to jealouſy, in the ſmalleſt points in which they put orthodoxy, that one who could not go into

1686. all their notions, but was resolved not to quarrel with them, could not converse much with them with any freedom. I have, upon all the observation that I have made, often considered the inward state of the Reformation, and the decay of the vitals of Christianity in it, as that which gives more melancholy impressions, than all the outward dangers that surround it.

In *England* things were much changed, with relation to the Court, in the compass of a year. The terrour all people were under from an ill chosen and an ill constituted Parliament was now almost over: And the Clergy were come to their Wits, and were beginning to recover their reputation. The Nation was like to prove much firmer than could have been expected, especially in so short a time. Yet after all, tho' many were like to prove themselves better Protestants than was looked for, they were not become much better Christians: And few were turning to a stricter course of life: Nor were the Clergy more diligent in their labours among their people, in which respect it must be confessed that the *English* Clergy are the most remiss of any. The Curates in Popery, besides their saying Mass every day, their exactness to their breviary, their attending on confessions and the multiplicity of offices to which they are obliged, do so labour in instructing the youth and visiting the sick, that, in all the places in which I could observe them, it seemed to be the constant employment of their lives: And in the foreign Churches, tho' the labours of the Ministers may seem mean, yet they are perpetually in them. All these things lay so much on my thoughts, that I was resolved to retire into some private place, and to spend the rest of my life in a course of stricter piety and devotion, and in writing such books, as the state of matters with relation to religion should call for, whether in points of speculation or practice. All my friends advised my coming near *England*, that I might be easier sent to, and informed of all our affairs, and might accordingly employ my thoughts and time. So I came down the *Rhine* this summer, and was resolved to have settled in *Groning* or *Frizeland*.

I was invited by the Prince of *Orange* to come to the *Hague*.

When I came to *Utrecht*, I found letters writ to me by some of the Prince of *Orange*'s Court, desiring me to come first to the *Hague*, and wait on the Prince and Princess, before I should settle any where. Upon my coming to the *Hague*, I was admitted to wait on them. I found they had received such characters of me from *England*, that they resolved to treat me with great confidence. For, at my first being with them, they entred into much free discourse with me concerning the affairs of *England*. The Prince, tho' naturally cold and reserved, yet laid aside a great deal of that with me. He seemed highly dissatisfied with the King's conduct. He apprehended that he would give such jealousies of himself, and come under such jealousies from his people, that these would throw him into a *French* management, and engage him into such desperate designs as would force violent remedies. There was a gravity in his whole deportment that struck me. He seemed very regardless of himself, and not apt to suspect designs upon his person. But I had learned somewhat of the design of a brutal *Savoyard*, who was capable of the blackest things, and who for a foul murder had fled into the territory of *Geneva*, where he lay hid in a very worthy family, to whom he had done some services before. He had formed a scheme of seizing on the Prince, who used to go in his chariot often on the sands near *Schevling* with but one person with him, and a page or two on the chariot. So he offered to go in a small vessel of twenty guns, that should lie at some distance at sea, and to land in a boat with seven persons besides himself, and to seize on the Prince, and bring him aboard, and so to *France*. This he wrote to Mr. *de Louvoy*, who upon that wrote to him to come to *Paris*, and ordered money for his journey. He, being a talking man, spoke of this, and shewed Mr. *de Louvoy*'s letter, and the copy of his own: And he went presently to *Paris*. This was brought me by Mr. *Fatio*, the celebrated mathematician, in whose father's house that person had lodged. When I told the Prince this, and had Mr. *Fatio* at the *Hague* to attest it, he was not much moved at it. The Princess was more apprehensive. And by her direction I acquainted Mr. *Fagell*, and some others of the States, with it, who were convinced that the thing was practicable. And so the States desired the Prince to suffer himself to be constantly attended on by a guard when he went abroad, with which he was not without some difficulty brought to comply. I fancied his belief of predestination made him more adventurous than was necessary. But he said as to that, he firmly believed a providence: For if he should let that go, all his religion would be much shaken: And he did not see, how providence could be certain, if all things did not

arise

1686.

arise out of the absolute Will of God. I found those who had the charge of his education had taken more care to possess him with the Calvinistical notions of absolute decrees, than to guard him against the ill effects of those opinions in practice: For in *Holland* the main thing the Ministers infuse into their people is an abhorrence of the *Arminian* doctrine, which spreads so much there, that their jealousies of it make them look after that, more than after the most important matters.

A character of the Prince and Princess of *Orange*.

The Prince had been much neglected in his education: For all his life long he hated constraint. He spoke little. He put on some appearance of application: But he hated business of all sorts. Yet he hated talking, and all house games, more. This put him on a perpetual course of hunting, to which he seemed to give himself up, beyond any man I ever knew: But I looked on that always, as a flying from company and business. The depression of *France* was the governing passion of his whole life. He had no vice, but of one sort, in which he was very cautious and secret. He had a way that was affable and obliging to the *Dutch*. But he could not bring himself to comply enough with the temper of the *English*, his coldness and slowness being very contrary to the genius of the Nation.

The Princess possessed all that conversed with her with admiration. Her person was majestick and created respect. She had great knowledge, with a true understanding, and a noble expression. There was a sweetness in her deportment that charmed, and an exactness in piety and of vertue that made her a pattern to all that saw her. The King gave her no appointments to support the dignity of a King's daughter. Nor did he send her any presents or jewels, which was thought a very indecent, and certainly was a very ill advised thing. For the settling an allowance for her and the Prince, would have given such a jealousy of them, that the *English* would have apprehended a secret correspondence and confidence between them: And the not doing it shewed the contrary very evidently. But, tho' the Prince did not increase her Court and State upon this additional dignity, she managed her Privy Purse so well, that she became eminent in her charities: And the good grace with which she bestowed favours did always encrease their value: She had read much, both in history and divinity. And when a course of humours in her eyes forced her from that, she set her self to work with such a constant diligence, that she made the Ladies about her ashamed to be idle. She knew little of our affairs, till I was admitted to wait on her. And I began to lay before her the state of our Court, and the intrigues in it, ever since the Restoration; which she received with great satisfaction, and shewed true judgment, and a good mind, in all the reflexions that she made. I will only mention one in this place: She asked me, what had sharpned the King so much against Mr. *Jurieu*, the copiousest and the most zealous Writer of the age, who wrote with great vivacity as well as learning. I told her, he mixed all his books with a most virulent acrimony of stile, and among other things he had wrote with great indecency of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, which cast reflexions on them that were descended from her; and was not very decent in one that desired to be considered as zealous for the Prince and herself. She said, *Jurieu* was to support the cause that he defended, and to expose those that persecuted it, in the best way he could. And, if what he said of *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was true, he was not to be blamed, who made that use of it: And, she added, that if Princes would do ill things, they must expect that the World will take revenges on their memory, since they cannot reach their persons: That was but a small suffering, far short of what others suffered at their hands. So far I have given the character of those persons, as it appeared to me upon my first admittance to them. I shall have occasion to say much more of them in the sequel of this Work.

I was much trusted by them.

I found the Prince was resolved to make use of me. He told me, it would not be convenient for me to live any where but at the *Hague*: For none of the outlawed persons came thither. So I would keep my self by staying there out of the danger that I might legally incur by conversing with them, which would be unavoidable if I lived any where else. He also recommended me both to *Fagell*, *Dykvelt*, and *Haletwyn*'s confidence, with whom he chiefly consulted. I had a mind to see a little into the Prince's notions, before I should engage my self deeper into his service. I was afraid left his struggle with the *Louvestein* party, as they were called, might have given him a jealousy of liberty and of a free government. He assured me, it was quite the contrary: Nothing but such a constitution could resist a powerful aggressor long, or have the credit that was necessary to raise such sums, as a great War might

1686.

The Prince's ſenſe of our affairs.

require. He condemned all the late proceedings in *England* with relation to the Charters, and expreſſed his ſenſe of a legal and limited authority very fully. I told him, I was ſuch a friend to liberty, that I could not be ſatisfied with the point of religion alone, unleſs it was accompanied with the ſecurities of law. I asked his ſenſe of the Church of *England*. He ſaid, he liked our Worſhip well, and our government in the Church, as much better than parity: But he blamed our condemning the foreign Churches, as he had obſerved ſome of our Divines did. I told him, whatever ſome hotter men might ſay, all were not of that mind. When he found I was in my opinion for toleration, he ſaid, that was all he would ever deſire to bring us to, for quieting our contentions at home. He alſo promiſed to me, that he ſhould never be prevailed with to ſet up the Calviniſtical notions of the decrees of God, to which I did imagine ſome might drive him. He wiſhed, ſome of our ceremonies, ſuch as the Surplice, and the Croſs in Baptiſm, with our bowing to the Altar, might be laid aſide. I thought it neceſſary to enter with him into all theſe particulars, that ſo I might be furniſhed from his own mouth to give a full account of his ſenſe to ſome in *England*, who would expect it of me, and were diſpoſed to believe what I ſhould aſſure them of. This diſcourſe was of ſome hours continuance: And it paſt in the Princeſs's preſence. Great notice came to be taken of the free acceſs and long conferences I had with them both. I told him, it was neceſſary for his ſervice to put the fleet of *Holland* in a good condition. And this he propoſed ſoon after to the States, who gave the hundredth penny for a fund to perfect that. I moved to them both, the writing to the Biſhop of *London*, and to the King concerning him. And, tho' the Princeſs feared it might irritate the King too much, in concluſion I perſuaded them to it.

The King, hearing of this admiſſion I had, began in two or three letters to reflect on me, as a dangerous man, whom they ought to avoid and beware of. To this no anſwer was made. Upon the ſetting up the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, ſome from *England* preſſed them to write over againſt it, and to begin a breach upon that. I told them, I thought that was no way adviſeable: They could not be ſuppoſed to underſtand our laws ſo well, as to oppoſe thoſe things on their own knowledge: So that, I thought, this could not be expected by them, till ſome reſolute perſon would diſpute the authority of the Court, and bring it to an argument, and ſo to a ſolemn deciſion. I likewiſe ſaid, that I did not think every errour in government would warrant a breach: If the foundations were ſtruck at, that would vary the caſe: But illegal acts in particular inſtances could not juſtify ſuch a concluſion. The Prince ſeemed ſurprized at this: For the King made me paſs for a rebel in my heart. And he now ſaw, how far I was from it. I continued on this ground to the laſt.

The Princeſs's reſolution with reſpect to the Prince.

That which fixed me in their confidence was, the liberty I took, in a private converſation with the Princeſs, to ask her, what ſhe intended the Prince ſhould be, if ſhe came to the Crown. She, who was new to all matters of that kind, did not underſtand my meaning, but fancied that whatever accrued to her would likewiſe accrue to him in the right of marriage. I told her, it was not ſo: And I explained King *Henry* the ſeventh's title to her, and what had paſt when Queen *Mary* married *Philip* of *Spain*. I told her, a titular Kingſhip was no acceptable thing to a man, eſpecially if it were to depend on another's life: And ſuch a nominal dignity might endanger the real one that the Prince had in *Holland*. She deſired me to propoſe a remedy. I told her, the remedy, if ſhe could bring her mind to it, was to be contented to be his Wife, and to engage herſelf to him, that ſhe would give him the real authority as ſoon as it came into her hands, and endeavour effectually to get it to be legally veſted in him during life: This would lay the greateſt obligation on him poſſible, and lay the foundation of a perfect union between them, which had been of late a little embroiled: This would alſo give him another ſenſe of all our affairs: I asked pardon for the preſumption of moving her in ſuch a tender point: But I ſolemnly proteſted, that no perſon living had moved me in it, or ſo much as knew of it, or ſhould ever know of it, but as ſhe ſhould order it. I hoped, ſhe would conſider well of it: For, if ſhe once declared her mind, I hoped ſhe would never go back or retract it. I deſired her therefore to take time to think of it. She preſently anſwered me, ſhe would take no time to conſider of any thing by which ſhe could expreſs her regard and affection to the Prince; and ordered me to give him an account of all that I had laid before her, and to bring him to her, and I ſhould hear what ſhe would ſay upon it. He was that day a hunting: And next day I acquaint-

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ed him with all that had paſt, and carried him to her; where ſhe in a very frank manner told him, that ſhe did not know that the laws of *England* were ſo contrary to the laws of God, as I had informed her: She did not think that the husband was ever to be obedient to the wife: She promiſed him, he ſhould always bear rule: And ſhe asked only, that he would obey the command of *husbands love your wives*, as ſhe ſhould do that, *wives be obedient to your husbands in all things*. From this lively introduction we engaged into a long diſcourſe of the affairs of *England*. Both ſeemed well pleaſed with me, and with all that I had ſuggeſted. But ſuch was the Prince's cold way, that he ſaid not one word to me upon it, that looked like acknowledgment. Yet he ſpoke of it to ſome about him in another ſtrain. He ſaid, he had been nine years married, and had never the confidence to preſs this matter on the Queen, which I had now brought about eaſily in a day. Ever after that he ſeemed to truſt me entirely. 1686.

Complaints came daily over from *England* of all the high things that the Prieſts were every where throwing out. *Pen* the Quaker came over to *Holland*. He was a talking vain man, who had been long in the King's favour, he being the Vice-Admiral's ſon. He had ſuch an opinion of his own faculty of perſuading, that he thought none could ſtand before it: Tho' he was ſingular in that opinion: For he had a tedious luſcious way, that was not apt to overcome a mans reaſon, tho' it might tire his patience. He undertook to perſuade the Prince to come into the King's meaſures, and had two or three long audiences of him upon the ſubject: And he and I ſpent ſome hours together on it. The Prince readily conſented to a toleration of Popery, as well as of the Diſſenters, provided it were propoſed and paſſed in Parliament: And he promiſed his aſſiſtance, if there was need of it, to get it to paſs. But for the teſts he would enter into no treaty about them. He ſaid, it was a plain betraying the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, to give them up. Nothing was left unſaid, that might move him to agree to this in the way of intereſt: The King would enter into an entire confidence with him, and would put his beſt friends in the chief truſts. *Pen* undertook for this ſo poſitively, that he ſeemed to believe it himſelf, or he was a great proficient in the art of diſſimulation. Many ſuſpected that he was a concealed Papiſt. It is certain, he was much with Father *Peter*, and was particularly truſted by the Earl of *Sunderland*. So, tho' he did not pretend any commiſſion for what he promiſed, yet we looked on him as a man employed. To all this the Prince anſwered, that no man was more for toleration in principle, than he was: He thought the conſcience was only ſubject to God: And as far as a general toleration, even of Papiſts, would content the King, he would concur in it heartily: But he looked on the teſts as ſuch a real ſecurity, and indeed the only one, when the King was of another Religion, that he would join in no counſels with thoſe that intended to repeal thoſe laws that enacted them. *Pen* ſaid, the King would have all or nothing: But that, if this was once done, the King would ſecure the toleration by a ſolemn and unalterable law. To this the late repeal of the edict of *Nantes*, that was declared perpetual and irrevocable, furniſhed an anſwer that admitted of no reply. So *Pen*'s negotiation with the Prince had no effect.

Pen ſent over to treat with the Prince.

He preſſed me to go over to *England*, ſince I was in principle for toleration: And he aſſured me the King would prefer me highly. I told him, ſince the teſts muſt go with this toleration, I could never be for it. Among other diſcourſes he told me one thing, that was not accompliſhed in the way in which he had a mind I ſhould believe it would be, but had a more ſurpriſing accompliſhment. He told me a long ſeries of predictions, which, as he ſaid, he had from a man that pretended a commerce with Angels, who had foretold many things that were paſt very punctually. But he added, that in the year 1688 there would ſuch a change happen in the face of affairs as would amaze all the World. And after the Revolution, which happened that year, I asked him before much Company, if that was the event that was predicted. He was uneaſy at the queſtion; but did not deny what he had told me, which, he ſaid, he underſtood of the full ſettlement of the Nation upon a toleration, by which he believed all mens minds would be perfectly quieted and united.

Now I go from this to proſecute the recital of *Engliſh* affairs. Two eminent Biſhops died this year, *Pearſon* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, and *Fell* Biſhop of *Oxford*. The firſt of theſe was in all reſpects the greateſt Divine of the age: A man of great learning, ſtrong reaſon, and of a clear judgment. He was a judicous and grave preacher, more inſtructive than affective; and a Man of a ſpotleſs life, and of an excellent tem-

Some Biſhops died in *England*.

1686. per. His book on the Creed is among the beſt that our Church has produced. He was not active in his Dioceſe, but too remiſs and eaſy in his Epiſcopal function; and was a much better Divine than a Biſhop. He was a ſpeaking inſtance of what a great man could fall to: For his memory went from him ſo entirely, that he became a child ſome years before he died.

Fell, Biſhop of *Oxford*, was a man of great ſtrictneſs in the courſe of his life, and of much devotion. His learning appears in that noble edition of St. *Cyprian* that he publiſhed. He had made great beginnings in learning before the Reſtoration: But his continued application to his employments after that ſtopt the progreſs that otherwiſe he might have made. He was made ſoon after Dean of *Chriſts-Church*, and afterwards Biſhop of *Oxford*. He ſet himſelf to promote learning in the Univerſity, but moſt particularly in his own College, which he governed with great care: And was indeed in all reſpects a moſt exemplary man, a little too much heated in the matter of our diſputes with the Diſſenters. But, as he was among the firſt of our Clergy that apprehended the deſign of bringing in Popery, ſo he was one of the moſt zealous againſt it. He had much zeal for reforming abuſes; and managed it perhaps with too much heat, and in too peremptory a way. But we have ſo little of that among us, that no wonder if ſuch men are cenſured by thoſe who love not ſuch patterns, nor ſuch ſevere task-maſters.

Ward of *Salisbury* fell alſo under a loſs of memory and underſtanding: So, that he, who was both in Mathematicks and Philoſophy, and in the ſtrength of judgment and underſtanding, one of the firſt men of his time, tho' he came too late into our profeſſion to become very eminent in it, was now a great inſtance of the deſpicable weakneſs to which man can fall. The Court intended once to have named a Coadjutor for him. But, there being no precedent for that ſince the Reformation, they reſolved to ſtay till he ſhould die.

Cartwright and *Parker* promoted.

The other two Biſhopricks were leſs conſiderable: So they reſolved to fill them with the two worſt men that could be found out. *Cartwright* was promoted to *Cheſter*. He was a man of good capacity, and had made ſome progreſs in learning. He was ambitious and ſervile, cruel and boiſterous: And, by the great liberties he allowed himſelf, he fell under much ſcandal of the worſt ſort. He had ſet himſelf long to raiſe the King's authority above law; which, he ſaid, was only a method of government to which Kings might ſubmit as they pleaſed; but their authority was from God, abſolute and ſuperiour to law, which they might exert, as oft as they found it neceſſary for the ends of government. So he was looked on as a man that would more effectually advance the deſign of Popery, than if he ſhould turn over to it. And indeed, bad as he was, he never made that ſtep, even in the moſt deſperate ſtate of his affairs.

The See of *Oxford* was given to Dr. *Parker*, who was a violent Independent at the time of the Reſtoration, with a high profeſſion of piety in their way. But he ſoon changed, and ſtruck into the higheſt form of the Church of *England*; and wrote many books with a ſtrain of contempt and fury againſt all the Diſſenters, that provoked them out of meaſure; of which an account was given in the hiſtory of the former reign. He had exalted the King's authority in matters of religion in ſo indecent a manner, that he condemned the ordinary form of ſaying the King was under God and Chriſt, as a crude and prophane expreſſion; ſaying, that tho' the King was indeed under God, yet he was not under Chriſt, but above him. Yet, not being preferred as he expected, he writ after that many books on deſign to raiſe the authority of the Church to an independence on the Civil power. There was an entertaining livelineſs in all his books: But it was neither grave nor correct. He was a covetous and ambitious man; and ſeemed to have no other ſenſe of religion but as a political intereſt, and a ſubject of party and faction. He ſeldom came to prayers, or to any exerciſes of devotion; and was ſo lifted up with pride, that he was become inſufferable to all that came near him. Theſe two men were pitched on, as the fitteſt inſtruments that could be found among all the Clergy, to betray and ruin the Church. Some of the Biſhops brought to Archbiſhop *Sancroft* articles againſt them, which they deſired he would offer to the King in Council, and pray that the Mandate for conſecrating them might be delayed, till time were given to examine particulars. And Biſhop *Lloyd* told me, that *Sancroft* promiſed to him not to conſecrate them, till he had examined the truth of the articles; of which ſome were too ſcandalous to be repeated. Yet, when *Sancroft* ſaw what danger he might incur, if he were ſued in a *Premunire*, he conſented to conſecrate them.

The

1686.

The Deanry of *Chriſts-Church*, the moſt important poſt in the Univerſity, was given to *Maſſey*, one of the new converts, tho' he had neither the gravity, the learning, nor the age that was ſuitable to ſuch a dignity. But all was ſupplied by his early converſion: And it was ſet up for a maxim, to encourage all converts. He at firſt went to prayers in the Chapel. But ſoon after he declared himſelf more openly. Not long after this the Preſident of *Magdalen* College died. That is eſteemed the richeſt foundation in *England*, perhaps in *Europe*: For, tho' their certain rents are but about 4 or 5000 *l.* yet it is thought that the improved value of the eſtate belonging to it is about 40000 *l.* So it was no wonder that the Prieſts ſtudied to get this endowment into their hands.

They had endeavoured to break in upon the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in a matter of leſs importance, but without ſucceſs: And now they reſolved to attack *Oxford*, by a ſtrange fatality in their counſels. In all nations the privileges of Colleges and Univerſities are eſteemed ſuch ſacred things, that few will venture to diſpute theſe, much leſs to diſturb them, when their title is good, and their poſſeſſion is of a long continuance: For in theſe, not only the preſent body eſpouſes the matter; but all who have been of it, even thoſe that have only followed their ſtudy in it, think themſelves bound in honour and gratitude to aſſiſt and ſupport them. The Prieſts began where they ought to have ended, when all other things were brought about to their mind. The Jeſuits fancied, that, if they could get footing in the Univerſity, they would gain ſuch a reputation by their methods of teaching youth, that they would carry them away from the Univerſity tutors, who were certainly too remiſs. Some of the more moderate among them propoſed, that the King ſhould endow a new College in both Univerſities, which needed not have coſt above two thouſand pound a year, and in theſe ſet his Prieſts to work. But either the King ſtuck at the charge which this would put him to, or his Prieſts thought it too mean and below his dignity not to lay his hand upon thoſe great bodies: So rougher methods were reſolved on. It was reckoned, that by frightning them they might be driven to compound the matter, and deliver up one or two Colleges to them: And then, as the King ſaid ſometimes in the circle, they who taught beſt would be moſt followed.

The King's letter refuſed in *Cambridge*.

They began with *Cambridge* upon a ſofter point, which yet would have made way for all the reſt. The King ſent his letter, or *Mandamus*, to order *F. Francis*, an ignorant Benedictine Monk, to be received a Maſter of Arts; once to open the way for letting them into the degrees of the Univerſity. The truth is, the King's letters were ſcarce ever refuſed in conferring degrees: And when Ambaſſadours or foreign Princes came to thoſe places, they uſually gave ſuch degrees to thoſe who belonged to them as were deſired. The *Morocco* Ambaſſadour's Secretary, that was a Mahometan, had that degree given him, but a great diſtinction was made between honorary degrees given to ſtrangers, who intended not to live among them, and thoſe given to ſuch as intended to ſettle among them: For every Maſter of Arts having a vote in the Convocation, they reckoned, that, if they gave this degree, they muſt give all that ſhould be pretended to on the like authority: And they knew, all the King's Prieſts would be let in upon them, which might occaſion in preſent great diſtraction and contentions among them; and in time they might grow to be a majority in the Convocation, which is their Parliament. They refuſed the *Mandamus* with great unanimity, and with a firmneſs that the Court had not expected from them. New and repeated orders, full of ſevere threatnings in caſe of diſobedience, were ſent to them: And this piece of raillery was every where ſet up, that a Papiſt was reckoned worſe than a Mahometan, and that the King's letters were leſs conſidered than the Ambaſſadour from *Morocco* had been. Some feeble or falſe men of the Univerſity tried to compound the matter, by granting this degree to *F. Francis*, but enacting at the ſame time, that it ſhould not be a precedent for the future for any other of the like nature. This was not given way to: For it was ſaid, that in all ſuch caſes the obedience that was once paid would be a much ſtronger argument for continuing to do it, as oft as it ſhould be deſired, than any ſuch proviſo could be againſt it.

The Vice-Chancellour turned out by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners.

Upon this the Vice-Chancellour was ſummoned before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to anſwer this contempt. He was a very honeſt, but a very weak man. He made a poor defence. And it was no ſmall reflexion on that great body, that their chief Magiſtrate was ſo little able to aſſert their privileges, or to juſtify their proceedings. He was treated with great contempt by *Jefferies*. But he having acted only as the chief perſon of that body, all that was thought fit to be done againſt him was, to

1686. to turn him out of his office. That was but an annual office, and of no profit: So this was a ſlight cenſure, chiefly when it was all that followed on ſuch heavy threatnings. The Univerſity choſe another Vice-Chancellour, who was a man of much ſpirit: And in his ſpeech, which in courſe he made upon his being choſen, he promiſed, that, during his magiſtracy, neither religion, nor the rights of the body, ſhould ſuffer by his means. The Court did not think fit to inſiſt more upon this matter; which was too plain a confeſſion, either of their weakneſs in beginning ſuch an ill grounded attempt, or of their feebleneſs in letting it fall, doing ſo little, after they had talked ſo much about it. And now all people began to ſee, that they had taken wrong meaſures of the King, when they thought that it would be eaſy to engage him into bold things, before he could ſee into the ill conſequences that might attend them, but that being once engaged he would reſolve to go through with them at all adventures. When I knew him, he ſeemed to have ſet up that for a maxim, that a King when he made a ſtep was never to go back, nor to encourage faction and diſobedience by yielding to it.

An attempt to impoſe a Popiſh Preſident on *Magdalen* College.

After this unſucceſsful attempt upon *Cambridge*, another was made upon *Oxford*, that laſted longer and had greater effects; which I ſhall ſet down all together, tho' the concluſion of this affair ran far into the year after this that I now write of. The Preſidentſhip of *Magdalen*'s was given by the election of the Fellows. So the King ſent a *Mandamus*, requiring them to chooſe one *Farmer*, an ignorant and vitious perſon, who had not one qualification that could recommend him to ſo high a poſt, beſides that of changing his religion. *Mandamus* letters had no legal authority in them: But all the great preferments of the Church being in the King's diſpoſal, thoſe who did pretend to favour, were not apt to refuſe his recommendation, leſt that ſhould be afterwards remembred to their prejudice. But now, ſince it was viſible in what channel favour was like to run, leſs regard was had to ſuch a letter. The Fellows of that houſe did upon this chooſe Dr. *Hough*, one of their body, who as he was in all reſpects a ſtatutable man, ſo he was a worthy and a firm man, not apt to be threatned out of his right. They carried their election according to their ſtatutes to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, their Viſitor: And he confirmed it. So that matter was legally ſettled. This was highly reſented at Court. It was ſaid, that, in caſe of a *Mandamus* for an undeſerving man, they ought to have repreſented the matter to the King, and ſtaid till they had his pleaſure: It was one of the chief ſervices that the Univerſities expected from their Chancellours, which made them always chooſe men of great credit at Court, that by their intereſt ſuch letters might be either prevented or recalled. The Duke of *Ormond* was now their Chancellour: But he had little credit in the Court; and was declining in his age, which made him retire into the country. It was much obſerved, that this Univerſity, that had aſſerted the King's prerogative in the higheſt ſtrains of the moſt abject flattery poſſible, both in their addreſſes, and in a wild decree they had made but three years before this, in which they had laid together a ſet of ſuch high flown maxims as muſt eſtabliſh an uncontrollable tyranny, ſhould be the firſt body of the Nation that ſhould feel the effects of it moſt ſenſibly. The cauſe was brought before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion. The Fellows were firſt asked, why they had not choſen *Farmer* in obedience to the King's letter? And to that they anſwered, by offering a liſt of many juſt exceptions againſt him. The ſubject was fruitful, and the ſcandals he had given were very publick. The Court was aſhamed of him, and inſiſted no more on him: But they ſaid, that the Houſe ought to have ſhewed more reſpect to the King's letter, than to have proceeded to an election in contempt of it.

They diſobey, and are cenſured for it.

The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion took upon them to declare *Hough*'s election null, and to put the Houſe under ſuſpenſion. And, that the deſign of the Court in this matter might be carried on without the load of recommending a Papiſt, *Parker*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, was now recommended: And the Fellows were commanded to proceed to a new election in his favour. They excuſed themſelves, ſince they were bound by their oaths to maintain their ſtatutes: And by theſe, an election being once made and confirmed, they could not proceed to a new choice, till the former was annulled in ſome Court of law: Church benefices and College preferments were freeholds, and could only be judged in a Court of Record: And, ſince the King was now talking ſo much of liberty of conſcience, it was ſaid, that the forcing men to act againſt their oaths, ſeemed not to agree with thoſe profeſſions. In oppoſition to this it was ſaid, that the ſtatutes of Colleges had been always conſidered, as things that depended entirely

tirely on the King's good pleaſure; ſo that no oaths to obſerve them could bind them, when it was in oppoſition to the King's command. 1686.

This did not ſatisfy the Fellows: And, tho' the King, as he went thro' *Oxford* in his progreſs in the year 1687, ſent for them, and ordered them to go preſently and chooſe *Parker* for their Preſident, in a ſtrain of language ill ſuited to the Majeſty of a crowned head, (for he treated them with foul language pronounced in a very angry tone;) yet it had no effect on them. They inſiſted ſtill on their oaths, tho' with a humility and ſubmiſſion, that they hoped would have mollified him. They continued thus firm. A ſubaltern Commiſſion was ſent from the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion to finiſh the matter. Biſhop *Cartwright* was the head of this Commiſſion, as Sir *Charles Hedges* was the King's Advocate to manage the matter. *Cartwright* acted in ſo rough a manner, that it ſhewed, he was reſolved to ſacrifice all things to the King's pleaſure. It was an afflicting thing, which ſeemed to have a peculiar character of indignity in it, that this firſt act of violence committed againſt the legal poſſeſſions of the Church, was executed by one Biſhop, and done in favour of another. 1687.

The new Preſident was turned out. And, becauſe he would not deliver the keys of his Houſe, the doors were broke open: And *Parker* was put in poſſeſſion. The Fellows were required to make their ſubmiſſions, and to ask pardon for what was paſt, and to accept of the Biſhop for their Preſident. They ſtill pleaded their oath: And were all turned out, except two that ſubmitted. So that it was expected, to ſee that Houſe ſoon ſtockt with Papiſts. The Nation, as well as the Univerſity, looked on all this proceeding with a juſt indignation. It was thought an open piece of robbery and burglary, when men, authorized by no legal commiſſion, came and forcibly turned men out of their poſſeſſion and freehold. This agreed ill with the profeſſions that the King was ſtill making, that he would maintain the Church of *England* as by law eſtabliſhed: For this ſtruck at the whole eſtate, and all the temporalities of the Church. It did ſo enflame the Church party and the Clergy that they ſent over very preſſing meſſages upon it to the Prince of *Orange*, deſiring that he would interpoſe, and eſpouſe the concerns of the Church; and that he would break upon it, if the King would not redreſs it. This I did not ſee in their letters. Thoſe were of ſuch importance, ſince the writing them might have been carried to high treaſon, that the Prince did not think fit to ſhew them. But he often ſaid, he was preſſed by many of thoſe, who were afterwards his bittereſt enemies, to engage in their quarrel. When that was communicated to me, I was ſtill of opinion, that, tho' this was indeed an act of deſpotical and arbitrary power, yet I did not think it ſtruck at the whole: So that it was not in my opinion a lawful caſe of reſiſtance: And I could not concur in a quarrel occaſioned by ſuch a ſingle act, tho' the precedent ſet by it might go to every thing. And were all turned out.

Now the King broke with the Church of *England*. And, as he was apt to go warmly upon every provocation, he gave himſelf ſuch liberties in diſcourſe upon that ſubject, that it was plain, all the ſervices they had done him, both in oppoſing the Excluſion, and upon his firſt acceſſion to the Crown were forgot. Agents were now found out, to go among the Diſſenters, to perſuade them to accept of the favour the King intended them, and to concur with him in his deſigns.

The Diſſenters were divided into four main bodies. The Presbyterians, the Independents, the Anabaptiſts, and the Quakers. The two former had not the viſible diſtinction of different rites: And their depreſſed condition made, that the diſpute about the conſtitution and ſubordination of Churches, which had broken them when power was in their hands, was now out of doors: And they were looked on as one body, and were above three parts in four of all the Diſſenters. The main difference between theſe was, that the Presbyterians ſeemed reconcilable to the Church; for they loved Epiſcopal Ordination and a Liturgy, and upon ſome amendments ſeemed diſpoſed to come into the Church; and they liked the civil government, and limited Monarchy. But as the Independents were for a Commonwealth in the State, ſo they put all the power of the Church in the people, and thought that their choice was an ordination; Nor did they approve of ſet forms of Worſhip. Both were enemies to this high prerogative, that the King was aſſuming, and were very averſe to Popery. They generally were of a mind, as to the accepting the King's favour; but were not inclined to take in the Papiſts into a full toleration; much leſs could they be prevailed The Diſſenters were much courted by the King.

1687.

on to concur in taking off the Teſts. The Anabaptiſts were generally men of vertue, and of an univerſal charity: And as they were far from being in any treating terms with the Church of *England*, ſo nothing but an univerſal toleration could make them capable of favour or employments. The Quakers had ſet up ſuch a viſible diſtinction in the matter of the Hat, and ſaying Thou and Thee, that they had all as it were a badge fixed on them: So they were eaſily known. Among theſe *Penn* had the greateſt credit, as he had a free acceſs at Court. To all theſe it was propoſed, that the King deſigned the ſettling the minds of the different parties in the Nation, and the enriching it by enacting a perpetual law, that ſhould be paſſed with ſuch ſolemnities as had accompanied the *Magna Charta*; ſo that not only penal laws ſhould be for ever repealed, but that publick employments ſhould be opened to men of all perſuaſions, without any teſts or oaths limiting them to one ſort or party of men.

Debates and reſolutions among them.

There were many meetings among the leading men of the ſeveral ſects. It was viſible to all men, that the courting them at this time was not from any kindneſs or good opinion that the King had of them. They had left the Church of *England*, becauſe of ſome forms in it, that they thought looked too like the Church of *Rome*. They needed not to be told, that all the favour expected from Popery was once to bring it in, under the colour of a general toleration, till it ſhould be ſtrong enough to ſet on a general perſecution: And therefore, as they could not engage themſelves to ſupport ſuch an arbitrary prerogative as was now made uſe of, ſo neither ſhould they go into any engagements for Popery. Yet they reſolved to let the points of controverſy alone, and leave thoſe to the management of the Clergy, who had a legal bottom to ſupport them. They did believe, that this indignation againſt the Church party, and this kindneſs to them were things too unnatural to laſt long. So the more conſiderable among them reſolved not to ſtand at too great a diſtance from the Court, nor to provoke the King ſo far, as to give him cauſe to think they were irreconcileable to him, leſt they ſhould provoke him to make up matters on any terms with the Church party. On the other hand, they reſolved not to provoke the Church party, or by any ill behaviour of theirs drive them into a reconciliation with the Court. It is true, *Penn* ſhewed both a ſcorn of the Clergy, and virulent ſpite againſt them, in which he had not many followers.

The Army encamped at *Hounſlow-Heath*.

The King was ſo fond of his army, that he ordered them to encamp on *Hounſlow-Heath*, and to be exerciſed all the ſummer long. This was done with great magnificence, and at a vaſt expence, but that which abated the King's joy in ſeeing ſo brave an Army about him was, that it appeared viſibly, and on many occaſions, that his ſoldiers had as great an averſion to his religion, as his other ſubjects had expreſſed. The King had a Chapel in his camp, where Maſs was ſaid: But ſo few went to it, and thoſe few were treated by the reſt with ſo much ſcorn, that it was not eaſy to bear it. It was very plain, that ſuch an Army was not to be truſted in any quarrel in which religion was concerned.

The few Papiſts that were in the Army were an unequal match to the reſt. The heats about religion were like to breed quarrels: And it was once very near a mutiny. It was thought, that theſe encampments had a good effect on the Army. They encouraged one another, and vowed they would ſtick together, and never forſake their religion. It was no ſmall comfort to them, to ſee they had ſo few Papiſts among them; which might have been better diſguiſed at a diſtance, than when they were all in view. A reſolution was formed upon this at Court to make recruits in *Ireland*, and to fill them up with *Iriſh* Papiſts; which ſucceeded as ill as all their other deſigns did, as ſhall be told in its proper place.

An Ambaſſadour ſent to *Rome*.

The King had for above a year managed his correſpondence with *Rome* ſecretly. But now the Prieſts reſolved to drive the matter paſt reconciling. The correſpondence with that Court, while there was none at *Rome* with a publick character, could not be decently managed, but by Cardinal *Howard*'s means. He was no friend to the Jeſuits, nor did he like their over driving matters. So they moved to the King to ſend an Ambaſſadour to *Rome*. This was high treaſon by law. *Jefferies* was very uneaſy in it. But the King's power of pardoning had been much argued in the Earl of *Danby*'s caſe, and was believed to be one of the unqueſtionable rights of the Crown. So he knew a ſafe way in committing crimes; which was, to take out pardons as ſoon as he had done illegal things.

The King's choice of *Palmer*, Earl of *Caſtlemain*, was liable to great exception. For, as he was believed to be a Jeſuit, ſo he was certainly as hot and eager in all high notions, as any of them could be. The *Romans* were amazed, when they heard that he was to be the perſon. His misfortunes were ſo eminent and publick, that they, who take their meaſures much from aſtrology, and from the characters they think are fixed on men, thought it ſtrange to ſee ſuch a negotiation put in the hands of ſo unlucky a man. It was managed with great ſplendour and at a vaſt charge. 1687.

He was unhappy in every ſtep of it. He diſputed with a nice ſort of affectation every punctilio of the ceremonial. And, when the day ſet for his audience came, there happen'd to be ſuch an extraordinary thunder, and ſuch deluges of rain, as diſgraced the ſhew, and heightned the opinion of the ominouſneſs of this Embaſſy. After this was over, he had yet many diſputes with relation to the ceremony of viſits. The points he preſſed were, firſt the making *P. Renaldi* of *Eſte*, the Queen's uncle, a Cardinal: in which he prevailed: And it was the only point in which he ſucceeded. He tried, if it was poſſible, to get Father *Peter* to be made a Cardinal. But the Pope was known to be intractable in that point, having fixed it as a maxim not to raiſe any of that Order to the Purple. Count *Mansfield* told me, as he came from *Spain* that our Court had preſſed the Court of *Spain* to join their intereſt with ours at *Rome* for his promotion. They gave it out, that he was a *German* by birth, and undertook that he ſhould ſerve the *Auſtrian* intereſt. They alſo promiſed the Court of *Madrid* great aſſiſtance in other matters of the laſt importance, if they would procure this: Adding, that this would prove the moſt effectual means for the converſion of *England*. Upon which the Count told me, he was asked concerning Father *Peter*. He, who had gone often to *Spain* thro' *England*, happen'd to know that Jeſuit, and told them, he was no *German* but an *Engliſhman*. They tried their ſtrength at *Rome* for his promotion, but with no ſucceſs. He managed every thing unhappily.

The Ambaſſadour at *Rome* preſſed Cardinal *Cibo* much to put an end to the differences between the Pope and the King of *France*, in the matter of the franchiſes, that it might appear that the Pope had a due regard to a King that had extirpated hereſy, and to another King who was endeavouring to bring other Kingdoms into the ſheepfold. What muſt the World ſay, if two ſuch Kings, like whom no ages had produced any, ſhould be neglected and ill uſed at *Rome* for ſome punctilios? He added, that, if theſe matters were ſettled, and if the Pope would enter into concert with them, they would ſet about the deſtroying hereſy every where, and would begin with the *Dutch*, upon whom, he ſaid, they would fall without any declaration of War, treating them as a company of rebels and pirates, who had not a right, as free States and Princes have, to a formal denunciation of War. *Cibo*, who was then Cardinal Patron, was amazed at this, and gave notice of it to the Imperial Cardinals. They ſent it to the Emperour, and he ſignified it to the Prince of *Orange*. It is certain, that one Prince's treating with another to invade a third gives a right to that third Prince to defend himſelf, and to prevent thoſe deſigns. And, ſince what an Ambaſſadour ſays is underſtood as ſaid by the Prince whoſe character he bears, this gave the States a right to make uſe of all Advantages that might offer themſelves. But they had yet better grounds to juſtify their proceedings, as will appear in the ſequel.

When the Ambaſſadour ſaw that his remonſtrances to the Cardinal Patron were ineffectual, he demanded an audience of the Pope. And there he lamented, that ſo little regard was had to two ſuch great Kings. He reflected on the Pope, as ſhewing more zeal about temporal concerns than the ſpiritual; which, he ſaid, gave ſcandal to all Chriſtendom. He concluded, that, ſince he ſaw interceſſions made in his maſter's name were ſo little conſidered, he would make haſte home: To which the Pope made no other anſwer, but, *lei è pardone*, he might do as he pleaſed. But he ſent one after the Ambaſſadour, as he withdrew from the audience, to let him know, how much he was offended with his diſcourſes, that he received no ſuch treatment from any perſon, and that the Ambaſſadour was to expect no other private audience. Cardinal *Howard* did what he could to ſoften matters. But the Ambaſſadour was ſo entirely in the hands of the Jeſuits, that he had little regard to any thing that the Cardinal ſuggeſted. And ſo he left *Rome* after a very expenſeful, but inſignificant Embaſſy.

The

1687.

Pope *Innocent*'s character.

The Pope sent in return a Nuntio, *Dada*, now a Cardinal. He was highly civil in all his deportment. But it did not appear that he was a man of great depth, nor had he power to do much. The Pope was a jealous and fearful man, who had no knowledge of any sort, but in the matters of the revenue, and of money: For he was descended from a family, that was become rich by dealing in banks. And, in that respect, it was a happiness to the Papacy that he was advanced: For it was so involved in vast debts by a succession of many wasteful Pontificates, that his frugal management came in good time to set those matters in better order. It was known, that he did not so much as understand *Latin*. I was told at *Rome*, that when he was made Cardinal, he had a master to teach him to pronounce that little *Latin* that he had occasion for at high Masses. He understood nothing of Divinity. I remembred what a Jesuit at *Venice* had said to me, whom I met sometimes at the *French* Ambassadour's there, when we were talking of the Pope's infallibility: He said, that being in *Rome* during *Altieri*'s Pontificate, who lived some years in a perfect dotage, he confessed it required a very strong faith to believe him infallible: But he added pleasantly, the harder it was to believe it, the act of faith was the more meritorious. The submitting to Pope *Innocent*'s infallibility was a very implicit act of faith, when all appearances were so strongly against it. The Pope hated the Jesuits, and expressed a great esteem for the *Jansenists*; not that he understood the ground of the difference, but because they were enemies to the Jesuits, and were ill looked on by the Court of *France*. He understood the business of the Regale a little better, it relating to the temporalities of the Church. And therefore he took all those under his protection, who refused to submit to it. Things seemed to go far towards a breach between the two Courts: Especially after the articles, which were set out by the Assembly of the Clergy of *France* in the year 1682, in favour of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, in opposition to the Papal pretensions. The King of *France*, who was not accustomed to be treated in such a manner, sent many threatning messages to *Rome*, which alarmed the Cardinals so much, that they tried to mollify the Pope. But it was reported at *Rome*, that he made a noble answer to them, when they asked him what he could do, if so great a King should send an Army to fall upon him? He said, he could suffer Martyrdom.

Disputes about the franchises.

He was so little terrified with all those threatnings, that he had set on foot a dispute about the franchises. In *Rome* all those of a Nation put themselves under the protection of their Ambassadour, and are upon occasions of ceremony his Cortege. These were usually lodged in his neighbourhood, pretending that they belonged to him. So that they exempted themselves from the orders and justice of *Rome*, as a part of the Ambassadour's family. And that extent of houses or streets in which they lodged was called the franchises; for in it they pretended they were not subject to the government of *Rome*. This had made these houses to be well filled, not only with those of that Nation, but with such *Romans* as desired to be covered with that protection. *Rome* was now much sunk from what it had been: So that these franchises were become so great a part of the City, that the privileges of those that lived in them were giving every day new disturbances to the course of justice, and were the common sanctuaries of criminals. So the Pope resolved to reduce the privileges of Ambassadours to their own families, within their own palaces. He first dealt with the Emperour's, and the King of *Spain*'s Ambassadours: And brought them to quit their pretensions to the franchises, but with this provision, that, if the *French* did not the same, they would return to them. So now the Pope was upon forcing the *French* to submit to the same methods. The Pope said, his Nuntio or Legate at *Paris* had no privilege but for his family, and for those that lived in his palace. The *French* rejected this with great scorn. They said, the Pope was not to pretend to an equality with so great a King. He was the common Father of Christendom: So those who came thither, as to the center of unity, were not to be put on the level with the Ambassadours that passed between Sovereign Princes. Upon this the King of *France* pretended, that he would maintain all the privileges and franchises that his Ambassadours were possessed of. This was now growing up to be the matter of a new quarrel, and of fresh disputes, between those Courts.

The *English* Ambassadour being so entirely in the *French* interests, and in the confidence of the Jesuits, he was much less considered at *Rome*, than he thought he ought to have been. The truth is, the *Romans*, as they have very little sense of religion, so they considered the reduction of *England* as a thing impracticable. They saw

saw no prospect of any profits like to arise in any of their offices by bulls or compositions: And this was the notion that they had of the conversion of Nations, chiefly as it brought Wealth and advantages to them. 1687.

I will conclude all that I shall say in this place of the affairs of *Rome* with a lively saying of Queen *Christina* to my self at *Rome*. She said, it was certain that the Church was governed by the immediate care and providence of God: For none of the four Popes that she had known since she came to *Rome* had common sense. She added, they were the first and the last of men. She had given her self entirely for some years to the study of Astrology: And upon that she told me, the King would live yet many years, but added that he would have no son.

Queen *Christina*'s character of some Popes.

I come, from the relation of this Embassade to *Rome*, to give an account of other negotiations. The King found, *Skelton* managed his affairs in *Holland* with so little sense, and gave such an universal distaste, that he resolved to change him. But he had been so servilely addicted to all his interests, that he would not discourage him. And, because all his concerns with the Court of *France* were managed with *Barillon* the *French* Ambassadour at *London*, he was sent to *Paris*.

The King found out one *White*, an *Irishman*, who had been long a spy of the *Spaniards*. And when they did not pay his appointments well, he accepted of the title of the Marquis *D'Albeville* from them in part of payment. And then he turned to the *French*, who paid their tools more punctually. But, tho' he had learned the little arts of corrupting Under-Secretaries, and had found out some secrets by that Way, which made him pass for a good spy; yet, when he came to negotiate matters in a higher form, he proved a most contemptible and ridiculous man, who had not the common appearances either of decency or of truth.

D'Albeville sent Envoy to *Holland*.

He had orders, before he entred upon business with the Prince or Princess, to ask of them, not only to forbid me the Court, but to promise to see me no more. The King had writ two violent letters against me to the Princess. She trusted me so far, that she shewed them to me; and was pleased to answer them according to the hints that I suggested. But now it was put so home, that this was to be complied with, or a breach was immediately to follow upon it. So this was done. And they were both so true to their promise, that I saw neither the one nor the other till a few days before the Prince set sail for *England*. The Prince sent *Dykvelt* and *Halewyn* constantly to me, with all the advertisements that came from *England*. So I had the whole secret of *English* affairs still brought me.

I was upon the King's pressing instances forbid to see the Prince and Princess of *Orange*.

That which was first resolved on was, to send *Dykvelt* to *England* with directions how to talk with all sorts of people: To the King, to those of the Church, and to the Dissenters. I was ordered to draw his instructions, which he followed very closely. He was ordered to expostulate decently, but firmly, with the King upon the methods he was pursuing, both at home and abroad; and to see, if it was possible to bring him to a better understanding with the Prince. He was also to assure all the Church party, that the Prince would ever be firm to the Church of *England*, and to all our national interest. The Clergy, by the methods in which they corresponded with him, which I suppose was chiefly by the Bishop of *London*'s means, had desired him to use all his credit with the Dissenters, to keep them from going into the measures of the Court: and sent over very positive assurances, that, in case they stood firm now to the common interest, they would in a better time come into a comprehension of such as could be brought into a conjunction with the Church, and to a toleration of the rest. They had also desired him to send over some of the preachers, whom the violence of the former years had driven to *Holland*; and to prevail effectually with them to oppose any false brethren, whom the Court might gain to deceive the rest: Which the Prince had done. And to many of them he gave such presents, as enabled them to pay their debts, and to undertake the journey. *Dykvelt* had orders to press them all to stand off: and not to be drawn in by any promises the Court might make them, to assist them in the elections of Parliament. He was also instructed to assure them of a full toleration; and likewise of a comprehension, if possible, whensoever the Crown should devolve on the Princess. He was to try all sorts of people, and to remove the ill characters that had been given them of the Prince: For the Church party was made believe, he was a Presbyterian, and the Dissenters were possessed with a conceit of his being arbitrary and imperious. Some had even the impudence to give out, that he was a Papist. But the ill terms in which the King and he lived put an end to those reports at that time. Yet they were afterwards

Dykvelt sent to *England*.

1687. taken up, and managed with much malice to create a jealousy of him. *Dykvelt* was not gone off, when *D'Albeville* came to the *Hague*. He did all he could to divert the journey: For he knew well *Dykvelt*'s way of penetrating into secrets, he himself having been often employed by him, and well paid for several discoveries made by his means.

The negotiations between the King and the Prince.

D'Albeville assured the Prince and the States, that the King was firmly resolved to maintain his alliance with them: That his naval preparations were only to enable him to preserve the peace of *Europe*. For he seemed much concerned to find, that the States had such apprehensions of these, that they were putting themselves in a condition not to be surprized by them. In his secret negotiations with the Prince and Princess, he began with very positive assurances, that the King intended never to wrong them in their right of succession: That all that the King was now engaged in was only, to assert the rights of the Crown, of which they would reap the advantage in their turn: The test was a restraint on the King's liberty, and therefore he was resolved to have it repealed: And he was also resolved to lay aside all penal laws in matters of religion: They saw too well the advantages that *Holland* had by the liberty of conscience that was settled among them, to oppose him in this particular: The King could not abandon men, because they were of his own religion, who had served him well, and had suffered only on his account, and on the account of their conscience. He told them, how much the King condemned the proceedings in *France*; and that he spoke of that King as a poor bigot, who was governed by the Archbishop of *Paris* and *Madam de Maintenon*, whereas he knew *Pere de la Chaise* had opposed the persecution as long as he could. But the King hated those maxims: And therefore he received the refugees very kindly, and had given orders for a collection of charity over the Kingdom for their relief.

This was the substance, both of what *D'Albeville* said to the Prince and Princess, and of what the King himself said to *Dykvelt* upon those subjects. At that time the King thought, he had made a majority of the House of Commons sure: And so he seemed resolved to have a session of Parliament in *April*. And of this *D'Albeville* gave the Prince positive assurances. But the King had reckoned wrong: For many of those, who had been with him in his closet, were either silent, or had answered him in such respectful words, that he took these for promises. But, when they were more strictly examined, the King saw his errour: And so the sitting of the Parliament was put off.

To all these propositions the Prince and the Princess, and *Dykvelt* in their name, answered, that they were fixed in a principle against persecution in matters of conscience: But they could not think it reasonable to let Papists in to sit in Parliament, or to serve in publick trusts: The restless spirit of some of that religion, and of their Clergy in particular, shewed they could not be at quiet till they were masters: And the power they had over the King's spirit, in making him forget what he had promised upon his coming to the Crown, gave but too just a ground of jealousy: It appeared, that they could not bear any restraints, nor remember past services longer than those who did them could comply in every thing with that which was desired of them: They thought, the prerogative as limited by law was great enough: And they desired no such exorbitant power as should break thro' all laws: They feared, that such an attack upon the constitution might rather drive the Nation into a Commonwealth: They thought, the surest, as well as the best, way was, to govern according to law: The Church of *England* had given the King signal proofs of their affection and fidelity; and had complied with him in every thing, till he came to touch them in so tender a point, as the legal security they had for their religion: Their sticking to that was very natural: And the King's taking that ill from them was liable to great censure: The King, if he pleased to improve the advantages he had in his hand, might be both easy and great at home, and the arbiter of all affairs abroad: But he was prevailed on by the importunities of some restless Priests, to embroil all his affairs to serve their ends: They could never consent to abolish those laws which were the best, and now the only fence of that religion, which they themselves believed true. This was the substance of their answers to all the pressing messages that were often repeated by *D'Albeville*. And upon this occasion the Princess spoke so often and with such firmness to him, that he said, she was more intractable on those matters than the Prince himself. *Dykvelt* told me, he argued often with the King on all these topicks: But he found him obstinately fixed in his resolution.

he ſaid, he was the head of the family, and the Prince ought to comply with him; but that he had always ſet himſelf againſt him. *Dykvelt* anſwered, that the Prince could not carry his compliance ſo far, as to give up his religion to his pleaſure; but that in all other things he had ſhewed a very ready ſubmiſſion to his Will: The peace of *Nimeguen*, of which the King was guarantee, was openly violated in the article relating to the principality of *Orange*: Yet, ſince the King did not think fit to diſcuſs his intereſts in that matter, he had been ſilent, and had made no proteſtations upon it: So the King ſaw, that he was ready to be ſilent under ſo great an injury, and to ſacrifice his own concerns, rather than diſturb the King's affairs. To that the King made no anſwer. The Earl of *Sunderland*, and the reſt of the Miniſtry, preſſed *Dykvelt* mightily, to endeavour to bring the Prince to concur with the King. And they engaged to him, that, if that were once ſettled, the King would go into cloſe meaſures with him againſt *France*. But he put an end to all thoſe propoſitions. He ſaid, the Prince could never be brought to hearken to them. 1687.

A letter writ by the Jeſuits of *Liege* that diſcovers the King's deſigns.

At this time a great diſcovery was made of the intentions of the Court by the Jeſuits of *Liege*, who in a letter, that they wrote to their brethren in *Friburg* in *Switzerland*, gave them a long account of the affairs of *England*. They told them, that the King was received into a communication of the merits of their order: That he expreſſed great joy at his becoming a ſon of the ſociety; and profeſſed, he was as much concerned in all their intereſts, as in his own: He wiſhed, they could furniſh him with many Prieſts to aſſiſt him in the converſion of the Nation, which he was reſolved to bring about, or to die a Martyr in endeavouring it, and that he would rather ſuffer death for carrying on that, than live ever ſo long and happy without attempting it. He ſaid, he muſt make haſte in this Work: Otherwiſe, if he ſhould die before he had compaſſed it, he would leave them worſe than he found them. They added, among many particulars, that, when one of them kneeled down to kiſs his hand, he took him up, and ſaid, ſince he was a Prieſt, he ought rather to kneel to him, and to kiſs his hand. And, when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was an heretick, he ſaid, God would provide an heir.

The Jeſuits at *Friburg* ſhewed this about. And one of the Miniſters, on whom they were taking ſome pains, and of whom they had ſome hopes, had got a ſight of it. And he obtained leave to take a copy of it, pretending that he would make good uſe of it. He ſent a copy of it to *Heidegger*, the famous Profeſſor of Divinity at *Zurich*: And from him I had it. Other copies of it were likewiſe ſent, both from *Geneva* and *Switzerland*. One of thoſe was ſent to *Dykvelt*; who upon that told the King, that his Prieſts had other deſigns, and were full of thoſe hopes, that gave jealouſies which could not be eaſily removed: And he named the *Liege* letter, and gave the King a copy of it. He promiſed to him, he would read it; and he would ſoon ſee, whether it was an impoſture made to make them more odious, or not. But he never ſpoke of it to him afterwards. This *Dykvelt* thought, was a confeſſing that the letter was no forgery. Thus *Dykvelt*'s negotiation at *London*, and *D'Albeville*'s at the *Hague*, ended without any effect on either ſide.

Dykvelt's conduct in *England*.

But, if his treating with the King was without ſucceſs, his management of his inſtructions was more proſperous. He deſired, that thoſe who wiſhed well to their religion and their country would meet together, and concert ſuch advices and advertiſements, as might be fit for the Prince to know, that he might govern himſelf by them. The Marquis of *Hallifax*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Devonſhire*, *Danby*, and *Nottingham*, the Lords *Mordaunt* and *Lumley*, *Herbert* and *Ruſſel* among the Admirals, and the Biſhop of *London*, were the Perſons chiefly truſted. And upon the advices that were ſent over by them the Prince governed all his motions. They met often at the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s. And there they concerted matters, and drew the declaration on which they adviſed the Prince to engage.

A Proclamation of indulgence ſent to *Scotland*.

In this ſtate things lay for ſome months. But the King reſolved to go on in his deſign of breaking thro the laws. He ſent a Proclamation of indulgence to *Scotland* in *February*. It ſet forth in the preamble, that the King had an abſolute power veſted in him, ſo that all his ſubjects were bound to obey him without reſerve: By vertue of this power, the King repealed all the ſevere laws that were paſt in his Grandfather's name during his infancy: He with that took off all diſabilities that were by any law laid on his Roman Catholick ſubjects, and made them capable of all employments and benefices: He alſo ſlackned all the laws made againſt the moderate Presbyterians: And promiſed he would never force his ſubjects by any invincible neceſſity

to

1687. to change their religion: And he repealed all laws impoſing teſts on thoſe who held any employments: Inſtead of which he ſet up a new one, by which they ſhould renounce the principles of rebellion, and ſhould oblige themſelves to maintain the King in this his abſolute power againſt all mortals.

Which was much cenſured. This was publiſhed in *Scotland*, to make way for that which followed it ſome months after in *England*. It was ſtrangely drawn, and liable to much juſt cenſure. The King by this raiſed his power to a pitch, not only of ſuſpending, but of repealing laws, and of enacting new ones by his own authority. His claiming an abſolute power, to which all men were bound to obey without reſerve, was an invaſion of all that was either legal or ſacred. The only precedent that could be found for ſuch an extraordinary pretenſion, was in the declaration that *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain* ſent by the Duke of *Alva* into the *Netherlands*, in which he founded all the authority that he committed to that bloody man on the abſolute power that reſted in him. Yet in this the King went further than *Philip*, who did not pretend that the ſubjects were bound to obey without reſerve. Every Prince that believes the truth of religion muſt confeſs, that there are reſerves in the obedience of their ſubjects, in caſe their commands ſhould be contrary to the laws of God. The requiring all perſons that ſhould be capable of employments to ſwear to maintain this, was to make them feel their ſlavery too ſenſibly. The King's promiſing to uſe *no invincible neceſſity* to force his ſubjects to change their religion, ſhewed that he allowed himſelf a very large reſerve in this grace that he promiſed his ſubjects; tho' he allowed them none in their obedience. The laws that had paſſed during King *James*'s minority had been often ratified by himſelf after he was of age. And they had received many ſubſequent confirmations, in the ſucceeding reigns; and one in the King's own reign. And the teſt that was now taken away was paſt by the preſent King, when he repreſented his brother. Some took alſo notice of the word *moderate Presbyterians*, as very ambiguous.

The Court finding that ſo many objections lay againſt this Proclamation, (as indeed it ſeemed penned on purpoſe to raiſe new jealouſies,) let it fall; and ſent down another ſome months after that was more cautiouſly worded; only abſolute power was ſo dear to them, that it was ſtill aſſerted in the new one. By it, full liberty was granted to all Presbyterians to ſet up Conventicles in their own way. They did all accept of it without pretending any ſcruples. And they magnified this, as an extraordinary ſtroke of Providence, that a Prince, from whom they expected an encreaſe of the ſeverities under which the laws had brought them, ſhould thus of a ſudden allow them ſuch an unconfined liberty. But they were not ſo blind, as not to ſee what was aimed at by it. They made addreſſes upon it full of acknowledgments, and of proteſtations of loyalty. Yet, when ſome were ſent among them, preſſing them to diſpoſe all their party to concur with the King in taking away the teſts and penal laws, they anſwered them only in cold and general words.

A declaration for toleration in *England*. In *April* the King ſet out a declaration of toleration and liberty of conſcience for *England*. But it was drawn up in much more modeſt terms than the *Scottiſh* Proclamation had been. In the preamble, the King expreſſed his averſion to perſecution on the account of religion, and the neceſſity that he found of allowing his ſubjects liberty of conſcience, in which he did not doubt of the concurrence of his Parliament: He renewed his promiſe of maintaining the Church of *England*, as it was by law eſtabliſhed: But with this he ſuſpended all penal and ſanguinary laws in matters of religion: And, ſince the ſervice of all his ſubjects was due to him by the laws of nature, he declared them all equally capable of employments, and ſuppreſſed all oaths or teſts that limited this: In concluſion, he promiſed he would maintain all his ſubjects in all their properties, and particularly in the poſſeſſion of the Abbey lands.

This gave great offence to all true patriots, as well as to the whole Church party. The King did now aſſume a power of repealing laws by his own authority: For tho' he pretended only to ſuſpend them, yet no limitation was ſet to this ſuſpenſion: So it amounted to a repeal, the laws being ſuſpended for all time to come. The preamble, that pretended ſo much love and charity, and that condemned perſecution, ſounded ſtrangely in the mouth of a Popiſh Prince. The King's ſaying that he did not doubt of the Parliament's concurring with him in this matter, ſeemed ridiculous: For it was viſible by all the prorogations, that the King was but too well aſſured, that the Parliament would not concur with him in it. And the promiſe to maintain the ſubjects in their poſſeſſions of the Abbey lands, looked as if the deſign of ſetting

up Popery was thought very near being effected, ſince otherwiſe there was no need of mentioning any ſuch thing. 1687.

Upon this a new ſet of addreſſes went round the Diſſenters. And they, who had ſo long reproached the Church of *England*, as too courtly in their ſubmiſſions and flatteries, ſeemed now to vie with them in thoſe abject ſtrains. Some of them, being penned by perſons whom the Court had gained, contained ſevere reflexions on the Clergy, and on their proceedings. They magnified the King's mercy and favour, and made great proteſtations of fidelity and gratitude. Many promiſed to endeavour, that ſuch perſons ſhould be choſen to ſerve in Parliament, as ſhould concur with the King in the enacting what he now granted ſo graciouſly. Few concurred in thoſe addreſſes: And the perſons that brought them up were mean and inconſiderable. Yet the Court was lifted up with this. The King and his Prieſts were delighted with theſe addreſſes out of meaſure: And they ſeemed to think that they had gained the Nation, and had now conquered thoſe who were hitherto their moſt irreconcilable enemies. The King made the cruelty of the Church of *England* the common ſubject of diſcourſe. He reproached them for ſetting on ſo often a violent perſecution of the Diſſenters. He ſaid, he had intended to have ſet on this toleration ſooner; but that he was reſtrained by ſome of them, who had treated with him, and had undertaken to ſhew favour to thoſe of his religion, provided they might be ſtill ſuffered to vex the Diſſenters. He named the perſons that had made thoſe propoſitions to him. In which he ſuffered much in his honour: For as the perſons denied the whole thing, ſo the freedom of diſcourſe in any ſuch treaty ought not to have been made uſe of to defame them. Addreſſes made upon it.

But, to carry this further, and to give a publick and an odious proof of the rigour of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, the King ordered an enquiry to be made into all the vexatious ſuits into which Diſſenters had been brought in theſe Courts, and into all the compoſitions that they had been forced to make to redeem themſelves from further trouble; which, as was ſaid, would have brought a ſcandalous diſcovery of all the ill practices of thoſe Courts. For the uſe that many that belonged to them had made of the laws with relation to the Diſſenters, was, to draw preſents from ſuch of them as could make them; threatning them with a proceſs in caſe they failed to do that, and upon their doing it leaving them at full liberty to neglect the laws as much as they pleaſed. It was hoped at Court, that this fury againſt the Church would have animated the Diſſenters to turn upon the Clergy with ſome of that fierceneſs, with which they themſelves had been lately treated. Some few of the hotter of the Diſſenters anſwered their expectations. Angry ſpeeches and virulent books were publiſhed. Yet thoſe were diſowned by the wiſer men among them: And the Clergy, by a general agreement, made no anſwer to them. So that the matter was let fall, to the great grief of the Popiſh party. Some of the Biſhops, that were gained by the Court, carried their compliance to a ſhameful pitch: For they ſet on addreſſes of thanks to the King for the promiſe he had made in the late declaration of maintaining the Church of *England*; tho' it was viſible that the intent of it was to deſtroy the Church. Some few were drawn into this. But the Biſhop of *Oxford* had ſo ill ſucceſs in his Dioceſe, that he got but one ſingle Clergyman to concur with him in it. Some fooliſh men retained ſtill their old peeviſhneſs. But the far greater part of the Clergy began to open their eyes, and ſee how they had been engaged by ill meaning men, who were now laying off the maſk, into all the fury that had been driven on for many years by a Popiſh party. And it was often ſaid, that, if ever God ſhould deliver them out of the preſent diſtreſs, they would keep up their domeſtick quarrels no more, which were ſo viſibly and ſo artfully managed by our enemies to make us devour one another, and ſo in the end to be conſumed one of another. And when ſome of thoſe who had been always moderate told theſe, who were putting on another temper, that they would perhaps forget this as ſoon as the danger was over, they promiſed the contrary very ſolemnly. It ſhall be told afterwards, how well they remembred this. Now the Bed-chamber and Drawing-room were as full of ſtories to the prejudice of the Clergy, as they were formerly to the prejudice of the Diſſenters. It was ſaid, they had been loyal as long as the Court was in their intereſts, and was venturing all on their account; but as ſoon as this changed, they changed likewiſe. The King's indignation againſt the Church party.

1687.

The Parliament was dissolved.

The reception of the Pope's Nuntio.

The King, seeing no hope of prevailing on his Parliament, dissolved it; but gave it out, that he would have a new one before Winter. And, the Queen being advised to go to the *Bath* for her health, the King resolved on a great progress thro' some of the Western Counties.

Before he set out, he resolved to give the Pope's Nuntio a solemn reception at *Windsor*. He apprehended some disorder might have happened, if it had been done at *London*. He thought it below both his own dignity and the Pope's, not to give the Nuntio a publick audience. This was a hard point for those who were to act a part in this ceremony; for, all commerce with the See of *Rome* being declared high treason by law, this was believed to fall within the statute. It was so apprehended by Queen *Mary*. Cardinal *Pool* was obliged to stay in *Flanders* till all those laws were repealed. But the King would not stay for that. The Duke of *Somerset* being the Lord of the Bed-chamber then in waiting, had advised with his lawyers: And they told him, he could not safely do the part that was expected of him in the audience. So he told the King, that he could not serve him upon that occasion; for he was assured it was against the law. The King asked him, if he did not know that he was above the law. The other answered, that, whatever the King might be, he himself was not above the law. The King expressed a high displeasure, and turned him out of all employments. The ceremony past very heavily: And the compliment was pronounced with so low a voice, that no person could hear it; which was believed done by concert.

The King made a progress thro' many parts of *England*.

When this was over, the King set out for his progress, and went from *Salisbury* all round as far as to *Chester*. In the places thro' which the King past, he saw a visible coldness both in the Nobility and Gentry, which was not easily born by a man of his temper. In many places they pretended occasions to go out of their countries. Some staid at home. And those who waited on the King seemed to do it rather out of duty and respect, than with any cordial affection. The King on his part was very obliging to all that came near him, and most particularly to the Dissenters, and to those who had passed long under the notion of Commonwealth's men. He looked very graciously on all that had been of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s party. He addressed his discourse generally to all sorts of people. He ran out on the point of liberty of conscience: He said, this was the true secret of the greatness and wealth of *Holland*. He was well pleased to hear all the ill natured stories that were brought him of the violences committed of late, either by the Justices of Peace, or by the Clergy. He every where recommended to them the chusing such Parliament men, as would concur with him in settling this liberty as firmly as the *Magna Charta* had been: And to this he never forgot to add the taking away the tests. But he received such cold and general answers, that he saw, he could not depend on them. The King had designed to go thro' many more places: But the small success he had in those which he visited made him shorten his progress. He went and visited the Queen at the *Bath*, where he staid only a few days, two or three at most.: And she continued on in her course of bathing. Many books were now writ for liberty of conscience: And, since all people saw what security the tests gave, these spoke of an equivalent to be offered, that should give a further security, beyond what could be pretended from the tests. It was never explained what was meant by this: So it was thought an artificial method to lay men asleep with a high sounding word. Some talked of new laws to secure civil liberty, which had been so much shaken by the practices of these last years, ever since the *Oxford* Parliament. Upon this a very extravagant thing was given out, that the King was resolved to set up a sort of a Commonwealth: And the Papists began to talk every where very high for publick liberty, trying by that to recommend themselves to the Nation.

A change of the Magistracy in *London*, and over *England*.

When the King came back from his progress, he resolved to change the Magistracy in most of the Cities of *England*. He began with *London*. He not only changed the Court of Aldermen, but the government of many of the companies of the City: For great powers had been reserved in the new Charters that had been given, for the King to put in and to put out at pleasure: But it was said at the granting them, that these clauses were put in only to keep them in a due dependence on the Court, but that they should not be made use of, unless great provocation was given. Now all this was executed with great severity and contempt. Those, who had stood up for the King during the debates about the Exclusion, were now turned out with disgrace: And those who had appeared most violently against him were put in the

Magiſtracy, who took liberties now in their turn to inſult their neighbours. All this turned upon the King, who was ſo given up to the humours of his Prieſts, that he ſacrificed both his honour and gratitude as they dictated. The new men, who were brought in, ſaw this too viſibly to be much wrought on by it. 1687.

The King threw off his old party in too outrageous a manner ever to return to them again. But he was much ſurpriſed to find that the new Mayor and Aldermen took the reſt, and ordered the obſervation of Gunpowder-treaſon day to be continued. When the Sheriffs came according to cuſtom to invite the King to the Lord Mayor's feaſt, he commanded them to go and invite the Nuntio; which they did. And he went upon the invitation, to the ſurprize of all who ſaw it. But the Mayor and Aldermen diſowned the invitation; and made an entry of it in their books, that the Nuntio came without their knowledge. This the King took very ill. And upon it he ſaid, he ſaw the Diſſenters were an ill natured ſort of people, that could not be gained. The King ſignified to the Lord Mayor, that he might uſe what form of worſhip he liked beſt in *Guildhall* Chapel. The deſign in this was to engage the Diſſenters to make the firſt change from the eſtabliſhed worſhip: And, if a Presbyterian Mayor ſhould do this in one year, a Popiſh Mayor might do it in another. But the Mayor put the deciſion of this upon perſons againſt whom the Court could have no exception. He ſent to thoſe, to whom the governing of the Dioceſe of *London* was committed during the ſuſpenſion, and asked their opinion in it; which they could not but give in behalf of the eſtabliſhed worſhip: And they added, that the changing it was againſt law. So this project miſcarried: And the Mayor, tho' he went ſometimes to the meetings of the Diſſenters, yet he came often to Church, and behaved himſelf more decently than was expected of him.

This change in the City not ſucceeding as the Court had expected, did not diſcourage them from appointing a Committee to examine the Magiſtracy in the other Cities, and to put in or out as they ſaw cauſe for it. Some were putting the Nation in hope, that the old Charters were to be reſtored. But the King was ſo far from that, that he was making every day a very arbitrary uſe of the power of changing the Magiſtracy, that was reſerved in the new Charters. Theſe Regulators, who were for moſt part Diſſenters gained by the Court, went on very boldly; and turned men out upon every ſtory that was made of them, and put ſuch men in their room as they confided in. And in theſe they took their meaſures often ſo haſtily, that men were put in in one week, and turned out in another.

After this the King ſent orders to the Lords Lieutenants of the Counties, to examine the Gentlemen and Freeholders upon three queſtions. The firſt was, whether, in caſe they ſhould be choſen to ſerve in Parliament, they would conſent to repeal the penal laws, and thoſe for the teſts. The ſecond was, whether they would give their vote for chooſing ſuch men as would engage to do that. And the third was, whether they would maintain the King's declaration. In moſt of the Counties the Lords Lieutenants put thoſe queſtions in ſo careleſs a manner, that it was plain they did not deſire they ſhould be anſwered in the affirmative. Some went further, and declared themſelves againſt them. And a few of the more reſolute refuſed to put them. They ſaid, this was the preliminting, and the packing of a Parliament, which in its nature was to be free, and under no previous engagement. Many Counties anſwered very boldly in the negative: And others refuſed to give any anſwer, which was underſtood to be equivalent to a negative. The Mayor and moſt of the new Aldermen of *London* refuſed to anſwer. Upon this many were turned out of all Commiſſions. Queſtions put about elections of Parliament.

This, as all the other artifices of the Prieſts, had an effect quite contrary to what they promiſed themſelves from it: For thoſe who had reſolved to oppoſe the Court were more encouraged than ever, by the diſcovery now made of the ſenſe of the whole Nation in thoſe matters. Yet ſuch care was taken in naming the Sheriffs and Mayors that were appointed for the next year, that it was believed that the King was reſolved to hold a Parliament within that time, and to have ſuch a Houſe of Commons returned, whether regularly choſen, or not, as ſhould ſerve his ends.

It was concluded, that the King would make uſe both of his power and of his troops, either to force elections, or to put the Parliament under a force when it ſhould meet: For it was ſo poſitively ſaid, that the King would carry his point, and there was ſo little appearance of his being able to do it in a fair and regular way, that it was generally believed, ſome very deſperate reſolution was now taken up. His Miniſters

1687. niſters were now ſo deeply engaged in illegal things, that they were very uneaſy, and were endeavouring either to carry on his deſigns with ſucceſs, ſo as to get all ſettled in a body that ſhould carry the face and appearance of a Parliament, or at leaſt to bring him to let all fall, and to come into terms of agreement with his people; in which caſe, they reckoned, one article would be an indemnity for all that had been done.

The King was every day ſaying, that he was King, and he would be obeyed, and would make thoſe who oppoſed him feel that he was their King: And he had both Prieſts and flatterers about him, that were ſtill puſhing him forward. All men grew melancholy with this ſad proſpect. The hope of the true Proteſtants was in the King's two daughters; chiefly on the eldeſt, who was out of his reach, and was known to be well inſtructed, and very zealous in matters of religion. The Princeſs *Anne* was ſtill very ſtedfaſt and regular in her devotions, and was very exemplary in the courſe of her life. But, as care had been taken to put very ordinary Divines about her for her Chaplains, ſo ſhe had never purſued any ſtudy in thoſe points with much application. And, all her Court being put about her by the King and Queen, ſhe was beſet with ſpies. It was therefore much apprehended, that ſhe would be ſtrongly aſſaulted, when all other deſigns ſhould ſo far ſucceed as to make that ſeaſonable. In the mean while ſhe was let alone by the King, who was indeed a very kind and indulgent Father to her. Now he reſolved to make his firſt attack on the Princeſs of *Orange*. *D'Albeville* went over to *England* in the ſummer, and did not come back before the twenty fourth of *December*, *Chriſtmas* Eve. And then he gave the Princeſs a letter from the King, bearing date the fourth of *November*. He was to carry this letter: And his diſpatches being put off longer than was intended, that made this letter came ſo late to her.

The King wrote to the Princeſs of *Orange* about religion.

The King took the riſe of his letter from a queſtion ſhe had put to *D'Albeville*, deſiring to know what were the grounds upon which the King himſelf had changed his religion. The King told her, he was bred up in the doctrine of the Church of *England* by Dr. *Stewart*, whom the King his father had put about him; in which he was ſo zealous, that when he perceived the Queen his Mother had a deſign upon the Duke of *Gloceſter*, tho' he preſerved ſtill the reſpect that he owed her, yet he took care to prevent it. All the while that he was beyond ſea, no Catholick, but one Nun, had ever ſpoken one word to perſuade him to change his religion: And he continued for the moſt part of that time firm to the doctrine of the Church of *England*. He did not then mind thoſe matters much: And, as all young people are apt to do, he thought it a point of honour not to change his religion. The firſt thing that raiſed ſcruples in him was, the great devotion that he had obſerved among Catholicks: He ſaw they had great helps for it: They had their Churches better adorned, and did greater acts of charity, than he had ever ſeen among Proteſtants. He alſo obſerved, that many of them changed their courſe of life, and became good Chriſtians, even tho' they continued to live ſtill in the World. This made him firſt begin to examine both religions. He could ſee nothing in the three reigns in which religion was changed in *England*, to incline him to believe that they who did it were ſent of God. He read the hiſtory of that time, as it was writ in the Chronicle. He read both Dr. *Heylin*, and *Hooker*'s preface to his Eccleſiaſtical Policy, which confirmed him in the ſame opinion. He ſaw clearly, that Chriſt had left an infallibility in his Church, againſt which *the gates of Hell cannot prevail*: And it appeared that this was lodged with St. *Peter* from our Saviour's words to him, St. *Mat.* xvi. ver. 18. Upon this the certainty of the Scriptures, and even of Chriſtianity it ſelf, was founded. The Apoſtles acknowledged this to be in St. *Peter*, *Acts* xv. when they ſaid, *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us.* It was the authority of the Church that declared the Scriptures to be Canonical: And certainly they who declared them could only interpret them: And wherever this infallibility was, there muſt be a clear ſucceſſion. The point of the infallibility being once ſettled, all other controverſies muſt needs fall. Now the *Roman* Church was the only Church that either has infallibility, or that pretended to it. And they who threw off this authority did open a door to Atheiſm and Infidelity, and took people off from true devotion, and ſet even Chriſtianity it ſelf looſe to all that would queſtion it, and to Socinians and Latitudinarians who doubted of every thing. He had diſcourſed of theſe things with ſome Divines of the Church of *England*; but had received no ſatisfaction from them. The Chriſtian Religion gained its credit by the miracles which the Apoſtles wrought,

 and

and by the holy lives and ſufferings of the Martyrs, whoſe blood was the ſeed of the Church. Whereas *Luther* and *Calvin*, and thoſe who had ſet up the Church of *England*, had their heads fuller of temporal matters than of ſpiritual, and had let the World looſe to great diſorders. Submiſſion was neceſſary to the peace of the Church: And when every man will expound the Scriptures, this makes way to all ſects, who pretend to build upon it. It was alſo plain, that the Church of *England* did not pretend to infallibility: Yet ſhe acted as if ſhe did: For ever ſince the Reformation ſhe had perſecuted thoſe who differed from her, Diſſenters as well as Papiſts, more than was generally known. And he could not ſee why Diſſenters might not ſeparate from the Church of *England*, as well as ſhe had done from the Church of *Rome*. Nor could the Church of *England* ſeparate her ſelf from the Catholick Church, any more than a County of *England* could ſeparate it ſelf from the reſt of the Kingdom. This, he ſaid, was all that his leiſure allowed him to write. But he thought that theſe things, together with the King his brother's papers, and the Ducheſs's papers, might ſerve, if not to juſtify the Catholick Religion to an unbiaſſed judgment, yet at leaſt to create a favourable opinion of it. 1687.

I read this letter in the original: For the Prince ſent it to me together with the Princeſs's anſwer, but with a charge not to take a copy of either, but to read them over as often as I pleaſed; which I did till I had fixed both pretty well in my memory. And, as ſoon as I had ſent them back, I ſat down immediately to write out all that I remembred, which the Princeſs owned to me afterwards, when ſhe read the abſtracts I made, were punctual almoſt to a tittle. It was eaſy for me to believe that this letter was all the King's enditing; for I had heard it almoſt in the very ſame words from his own mouth. The letter was writ very decently, and concluded very modeſtly. The Princeſs received this letter, as was told me, on the twenty fourth of *December* at night. Next day being *Chriſtmas* day, ſhe received the Sacrament, and was during the greateſt part of the day in publick devotions: Yet ſhe found time to draw firſt an anſwer, and then to write it out fair: And ſhe ſent it by the poſt on the twenty ſixth of *December*. Her draught, which the Prince ſent me, was very little blotted or altered. It was long, about two ſheets of paper: For as an anſwer runs generally out into more length than the paper that is to be anſwered, ſo the ſtrains of reſpect, with which her letter was full, drew it out to a greater length.

Which ſhe anſwered.

She began with anſwering another letter that ſhe had received by the poſt; in which the King had made an excuſe for failing to write the former poſt day. She was very ſenſible of the happineſs of hearing ſo conſtantly from him: For no difference in religion could hinder her from deſiring both his bleſſing and his prayers, tho' ſhe was ever ſo far from him. As for the paper that *M. D'Albeville* delivered her, he told her, that his Majeſty would not be offended, if ſhe wrote her thoughts freely to him upon it.

She hoped, he would not look on that as want of reſpect in her. She was far from ſticking to the religion in which ſhe was bred out of a point of honour; for ſhe had taken much pains to be ſettled in it upon better grounds. Thoſe of the Church of *England* who had inſtructed her, had freely laid before her that which was good in the Romiſh Religion, that ſo, ſeeing the good and the bad of both, ſhe might judge impartially; according to the Apoſtle's rule of *proving all things, and holding faſt that which was good*. Tho' ſhe had come young out of *England*, yet ſhe had not left behind her either the deſire of being well informed, or the means for it. She had furniſhed her ſelf with books, and had thoſe about her who might clear any doubts to her. She ſaw clearly in the Scriptures, that ſhe muſt work her own ſalvation with fear and trembling, and that ſhe muſt not believe by the faith of another, but according as things appeared to her ſelf. It ought to be no prejudice againſt the Reformation, if many of thoſe who profeſſed it led ill lives. If any of them lived ill, none of the principles of their religion allowed them in it. Many of them led good lives, and more might do it by the grace of God. But there were many devotions in the Church of *Rome*, on which the Reformed could ſet no value.

She acknowledged, that, if there was an infallibility in the Church, all other controverſies muſt fall to the ground. But ſhe could never yet be informed where that infallibility was lodged: Whether in the Pope alone, or in a General Council, or in both. And ſhe deſired to know in whom the infallibility reſted, when there were two or three Popes at a time, acting one againſt another, with the aſſiſtance of

1687. Councils, which they called General: And at leaſt the ſucceſſion was then much diſordered. As for the authority that is pretended to have been given to St. *Peter* over the reſt, that place which was chiefly alledged for it was otherwiſe interpreted by thoſe of the Church of *England*, as importing only the confirmation of him in the office of an Apoſtle, when in anſwer to that queſtion, *Simon, ſon of Jonas, loveſt thou me?* he had by a triple confeſſion waſhed off his triple denial. The words that the King had cited were ſpoken to the other Apoſtles, as well as to him. It was agreed by all, that the Apoſtles were infallible, who were guided by God's holy Spirit. But that gift, as well as many others, had ceaſed long ago. Yet in that St. *Peter* had no authority over the other Apoſtles: Otherwiſe St. *Paul* underſtood our Saviour's words ill, who *withſtood him to his face, becauſe he was to be blamed.* And if St. *Peter* himſelf could not maintain that authority, ſhe could not ſee how it could be given to his ſucceſſors, whoſe bad lives agreed ill with his doctrine.

Nor did ſhe ſee, why the ill uſe that ſome made of the Scriptures ought to deprive others of them. It is true, all ſects made uſe of them, and find ſomewhat in them that they draw in to ſupport their opinions: Yet for all this our Saviour ſaid to the *Jews, ſearch the Scriptures*; and St. *Paul* ordered his epiſtles to be read to all the Saints in the Churches; and he ſays in one place, *I write as to wiſe men, judge what I ſay.* And if they might judge an Apoſtle, much more any other teacher. Under the law of *Moſes*, the Old Teſtament was to be read, not only in the hearing of the Scribes and the Doctors of the law. but likewiſe in the hearing of the women and children. And ſince God had made us reaſonable creatures, it ſeemed neceſſary to employ our reaſons chiefly in the matters of the greateſt concern. Tho' faith was above our reaſon, yet it propoſed nothing to us that was contradictory to it. Every one ought to ſatisfy himſelf in theſe things: As our Saviour convinced *Thomas*, by making him to thruſt his own hand into the print of the nails, not leaving him to the teſtimony of the other Apoſtles, who were already convinced. She was confident, that, if the King would hear many of his own ſubjects, they would fully ſatisfy him as to all thoſe prejudices, that he had at the Reformation; in which nothing was acted tumultuouſly, but all was done according to law. The deſign of it was only, to ſeparate from the *Roman* Church, in ſo far as it had ſeparated from the primitive Church: In which they had brought things to as great a degree of perfection, as thoſe corrupt Ages were capable of. She did not ſee how the Church of *England* could be blamed for the perſecution of the Diſſenters: For the laws made againſt them were made by the State, and not by the Church: And they were made for crimes againſt the State. Their enemies had taken great care to foment the diviſion, in which they had been but too ſucceſsful. But, if he would reflect on the grounds upon which the Church of *England* had ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*, he would find them to be of a very different nature from thoſe for which the Diſſenters had left it.

Thus, ſhe concluded, ſhe gave him the trouble of a long account of the grounds upon which ſhe was perſuaded of the truth of her religion: In which ſhe was ſo fully ſatisfied, that ſhe truſted by the grace of God that ſhe ſhould ſpend the reſt of her days in it: And ſhe was ſo well aſſured of the truth of our Saviour's words, that ſhe was confident the gates of hell ſhould not prevail againſt it, but that he would be with it to the end of the world. All ended thus, that the religion which ſhe profeſſed taught her her duty to him, ſo that ſhe ſhould ever be his moſt obedient daughter and ſervant.

To this the next return of the poſt brought an anſwer from the King, which I ſaw not. But the account that was ſent me of it was: The King took notice of the great progreſs he ſaw the Princeſs had made in her enquiries after thoſe matters: The King's buſineſs did not allow him the time that was neceſſary to enter into the detail of her letter: He deſired, ſhe would read thoſe books that he had mentioned to her in his former letters, and ſome others that he intended to ſend her: And, if ſhe deſired to be more fully ſatisfied, he propoſed to her to diſcourſe about them with *F. Morgan*, an *Engliſh* Jeſuit then at the *Hague*.

Reflexions on theſe letters.

I have ſet down very minutely every particular that was in thoſe letters, and very near in the ſame words. It muſt be confeſſed, that perſons of this Quality ſeldom enter into ſuch a diſcuſſion. The King's letter contained a ſtudied account of the change of his religion, which he had repeated often: And it was perhaps prepared for him by ſome others. There were ſome things in it, which, if he had made a little

1687.

little more reflexion on them, it may be ſuppoſed he would not have mentioned. The courſe of his own life was not ſo ſtrict, as to make it likely that the good lives of ſome Papiſts had made ſuch impreſſions upon him. The eaſy abſolutions that are granted in that Church are a much juſter prejudice in this reſpect againſt it, than the good lives of a few can be ſuppoſed to be an argument for it. The adorning their Churches, was a reflexion that did no great honour to him that made it. The ſeverities uſed by the Church of *England* againſt the Diſſenters were urged with a very ill grace by one of the Church of *Rome* that has delighted her ſelf ſo often by being, as it were, bathed with the blood of thoſe they call hereticks: And, if it had not been for the reſpect that a daughter paid her father, here greater advantages might have been taken. I had a high opinion of the Princeſs's good underſtanding, and of her knowledge in thoſe matters, before I ſaw this letter: But this ſurpriſed me. It gave me an aſtoniſhing joy, to ſee ſo young a perſon all of the ſudden, without conſulting any one perſon, to be able to write ſo ſolid and learned a letter, in which ſhe mixed with the reſpect that ſhe paid a father ſo great a firmneſs, that by it ſhe cut off all further treaty. And her repulſing the attack, that the King made upon her, with ſo much reſolution and force, did let the Popiſh party ſee, that ſhe underſtood her religion as well as ſhe loved it.

A proſecution ſet on againſt me.

But now I muſt ſay ſomewhat of my ſelf: After I had ſtaid a year in *Holland*, I heard from many hands, that the King ſeemed to forget his own greatneſs when he ſpoke of me, which he took occaſion to do very often. I had publiſhed ſome account of the ſhort *Tour* I had made in ſeveral letters; in which my chief deſign was to expoſe both Popery and Tyranny. The book was well received, and was much read: And it raiſed the King's diſpleaſure very high.

My continuing at the *Hague* made him conclude, that I was managing deſigns againſt him. And ſome papers in ſingle ſheets came out, reflecting on the proceedings of *England*, which ſeemed to have a conſiderable effect on thoſe who read them. Theſe were printed in *Holland:* And many copies of them were ſent into all the parts of *England*. All which enflamed the King the more againſt me; for he believed they were writ by me, as indeed moſt of them were. But that which gave the criſis to the King's anger was, that he heard I was to be married to a conſiderable fortune at the *Hague*. So a project was formed to break this, by charging me with high treaſon for correſponding with Lord *Argile*, and for converſing with ſome that were outlawed for high treaſon.

The King ordered a letter to be writ in his name to his Advocate in *Scotland* to proſecute me for ſome probable thing or other; which was intended only to make a noiſe, not doubting but this would break the intended marriage. A ſhip coming from *Scotland* the day in which this proſecution was ordered, that had a quick paſſage, brought me the firſt news of it long before it was ſent to *D' Albeville*. So I petitioned the States, who were then ſitting, to be naturalized in order to my intended marriage. And this paſt in courſe, without the leaſt difficulty, which perhaps might have been made, if this proſecution, now begun in *Scotland*, had been known. Now I was legally under the protection of the States of *Holland*. Yet I writ a full juſtification of my ſelf, as to all particulars laid to my charge, in ſome letters that I ſent to the Earl of *Midletoun*. But in one of theſe I ſaid, that, being now naturalized in *Holland*, my allegiance was, during my ſtay in theſe parts, transferred from his Majeſty to the States. I alſo ſaid in another letter, that, if upon my non-appearance a ſentence ſhould paſs againſt me, I might be perhaps forced to juſtify my ſelf, and to give an account of the ſhare that I had in affairs theſe twenty years paſt: In which I might be led to mention ſome things, that I was afraid would diſpleaſe the King: And therefore I ſhould be ſorry, if I were driven to it.

Now the Court thought they had ſomewhat againſt me: For they knew they had nothing before. So the firſt citation was let fall, and a new one was ordered on theſe two accounts. It was pretended to be high treaſon, to ſay my allegiance was now transferred: And it was ſet forth, as a high indignity to the King, to threaten him with writing a hiſtory of the tranſactions paſt theſe laſt twenty years. The firſt of theſe ſtruck at a great point, which was a part of the law of Nations. Every man that was naturalized took an oath of allegiance to the Prince or State that naturalized him. And ſince no man can ſerve two maſters, or be under a double allegiance, it is certain, that there muſt be a transfer of allegiance, at leaſt during the ſtay in the country where one is ſo naturalized.

This

1687. This matter was kept up againſt me for ſome time, the Court delaying proceeding to any ſentence for ſeveral months. At laſt a ſentence of outlawry was given: And upon that *D' Albeville* ſaid, that, if the States would not deliver me up, he would find ſuch inſtruments as ſhould ſeize on me, and carry me away forcibly. The methods he named of doing this were very ridiculous. And he ſpoke of it to ſo many perſons, that I believe his deſign was rather to frighten me, than that he could think to effect them. Many overtures were made to ſome of my friends in *London*, not only to let this proſecution fall, but to promote me if I would make my ſelf capable of it. I entertained none of theſe. I had many ſtories brought me of the diſcourſes among ſome of the brutal *Iriſh*, then in the *Dutch* ſervice. But, I thank God, I was not moved with them. I reſolved to go on, and to do my duty, and to do what ſervice I could to the publick, and to my Country: And reſigned my ſelf up entirely to that Providence that had watched over me to that time with an indulgent care, and had made all the deſigns of my enemies againſt me to turn to my great advantage.

1688. I come now to the year 1688, which proved memorable, and produced an extraordinary and unheard-of Revolution. The year in this Century made all people reflect on the ſame year in the former Century, in which the power of *Spain* received ſo great a check, that the decline of that Monarchy began then; and *England* was ſaved from an invaſion, that, if it had ſucceeded as happily as it was well laid, muſt have ended in the abſolute conqueſt and utter ruin of the Nation. Our books are ſo full of all that related to that *Armada*, boaſted to be invincible, that I need add no more of ſo known and ſo remarkable a piece of our hiſtory. A new eighty eight raiſed new expectations, in which the ſurpriſing events did far exceed all that could have been looked for.

D' Albeville's memorial to the States.

I begin the year with *D' Albeville's* negotiation after his coming to the *Hague*. He had before his going over given in a threatning memorial upon the buſineſs of *Bantam*, that looked like a prelude of a declaration of war; for he demanded a preſent anſwer, ſince the King could no longer bear the injuſtice done him in that matter, which was ſet forth in very high words. He ſent this memorial to be printed at *Amſterdam*, before he had communicated it to the States. The chief effect that this had was, that the Actions of the Company did ſink for ſome days. But they roſe ſoon again: And by this it was ſaid, that *Albeville* himſelf made the greateſt gain. The *Eaſt-India* fleet was then expected home every day. So the Merchants, who remembred well the buſineſs of the *Smyrna* fleet in the year ſeventy two, did apprehend that the King had ſent a fleet to intercept them, and that this memorial was intended only to prepare an apology for that breach, when it ſhould happen: But nothing of that ſort followed upon it. The States did anſwer this memorial with another, that was firm, but more decently expreſſed: By their laſt treaty with *England* it was provided, that, in caſe any diſputes ſhould riſe between the Merchants of either ſide, Commiſſioners ſhould be named of both ſides to hear and judge the matter: The King had not yet named any of his ſide: So that the delay lay at his door: They were therefore amazed to receive a memorial in ſo high a ſtrain, ſince they had done all that by the treaty was incumbent on them. *D' Albeville* after this gave in another memorial, in which he deſired them to ſend over Commiſſioners for ending that diſpute. But, tho' this was a great fall from the height in which the former memorial was conceived, yet in this the thing was ſo ill apprehended, that the *Dutch* had reaſon to believe that the King's Miniſters did not know the treaty, or were not at leiſure to read it: For, according to the treaty, and the preſent poſture of that buſineſs, the King was obliged to ſend over Commiſſioners to the *Hague* to judge of that affair. When this memorial was anſwered, and the treaty was examined, the matter was let fall.

D' Albeville's next negotiation related to my ſelf. I had printed a paper in juſtification of my ſelf, together with my letters to the Earl of *Midletoun*. And he in a memorial complained of two paſſages in that paper. One was, that I ſaid it was yet too early to perſecute men for religion, and therefore crimes againſt the State were pretended by my enemies: This, he ſaid, did inſinuate, that the King did in time intend to perſecute for religion. The other was, that I had put in it an intimation, that I was in danger by ſome of the *Iriſh* Papiſts. This, he ſaid, was a reflexion on the King, who hated all ſuch practices. And to this he added, that by the laws of *England*,

land all the King's ſubjects were bound to ſeize on any perſon that was condemned in his Courts, in what manner ſoever they could: And therefore he deſired, that both I and the printer of that paper might be puniſhed. But now upon his return to the *Hague*, I being outlawed by that time, he demanded, that, in purſuance of an article of the treaty that related to rebels or fugitives, I might be baniſhed the Provinces. And to this he craved once and again a ſpeedy anſwer. 1688.

I was called before the Deputies of the States of *Holland*, that I might anſwer the two memorials that lay before them relating to my ſelf. I obſerved the difference between them. The one deſired that the States would puniſh me, which did acknowledge me to be their ſubject. The other, in contradiction to that, laid claim to me as the King's rebel. As to the particulars complained of, I had made no reflexion on the King; but to the contrary, I ſaid, my enemies found it was not yet time to perſecute for religion. This inſinuated, that the King could not be brought to it. And no perſon could be offended with this, but he who thought it was now not too early to perſecute. As to that of the danger in which I apprehended my ſelf to be in, I had now more reaſon than before to complain of it, ſince the Envoy had ſo publickly affirmed, that every one of the King's ſubjects might ſeize on any one that was condemned, in what manner ſoever they could, which was either dead or alive. I was now the ſubject of the States of *Holland*, naturalized in order to a marriage among them, as they all knew: And therefore I claimed their protection. So, if I was charged with any thing that was not according to law, I ſubmitted my ſelf to their juſtice. I ſhould decline no trial, nor the utmoſt ſeverity, if I had offended in any thing. As for the two memorials that claimed me as a fugitive and a rebel, I could not be looked on as a fugitive from *Scotland*. It was now fourteen years ſince I had left that Kingdom, and three ſince I came out of *England* with the King's leave. I had lived a year in the *Hague* openly; and nothing was laid to my charge. As for the ſentence that was pretended to be paſt upon me, I could ſay nothing to it, till I ſaw a copy of it.

The States were fully ſatisfied with my anſwers; and ordered a memorial to be drawn according to them. They alſo ordered their Ambaſſadour to repreſent to the King, that he himſelf knew how ſacred a thing naturalization was. The faith and honour of every State was concerned in it. I had been naturalized upon marrying one of their ſubjects, which was the juſteſt of all reaſons. If the King had any thing to lay to my charge, juſtice ſhould be done in their Courts. The King took the matter very ill; and ſaid, it was an affront to him, and a juſt cauſe of War. Yet, after much paſſion, he ſaid, he did not intend to make War upon it; for he was not then in condition to do it. But he knew there were deſigns againſt him, to make War on him, againſt which he ſhould take care to ſecure himſelf: And he ſhould be on his guard. The Ambaſſadour asked him, of whom he meant that. But he did not think fit to explain himſelf further. He ordered a third memorial to be put in againſt me, in which the article of the treaty was ſet forth: But no notice was taken of the anſwers made to that by the States: But it was inſiſted on, that, ſince the States were bound not to give ſanctuary to fugitives and rebels, they ought not to examine the grounds on which ſuch judgments were given, but were bound to execute the treaty. Upon this it was obſerved, that the Words in treaties ought to be explained according to their common acceptation, or the ſenſe given them in the civil law, and not according to any particular forms of Courts, where for non-appearance a Writ of outlawry or rebellion might lie: The ſenſe of the word Rebel in common uſe was, a man that had born arms, or had plotted againſt his Prince: And a fugitive was a man that fled from juſtice. Tht heat with which the King ſeemed inflamed againſt me, carried him to ſay and do many things that were very little to his honour. The States anſwer to what related to me.

I had advertiſements ſent me of a further progreſs in his deſigns againſt me. He had it ſuggeſted to him, that, ſince a ſentence was paſt againſt me for non-appearance, and the States refuſed to deliver me up, he might order private perſons to execute the ſentence as they could: And it was writ over very poſitively, that 5000 *l.* would be given to any one that ſhould murder me. A Gentleman of an unblemiſhed reputation writ me word, that he himſelf by accident ſaw an order drawn in the Secretaries Office, but not yet ſigned, for 3000 *l.* to a blank perſon that was to ſeize or deſtroy me. And he alſo affirmed, that Prince *George* had heard of the ſame thing, and had deſired the perſon to whom he truſted it to convey the notice of it to me: Other deſigns againſt me.

1688. And my author was employed by that perſon to ſend the notice to me. The King asked *Jefferies*, what he might do againſt me in a private way, now that he could not get me into his hands. *Jefferies* anſwered, he did not ſee how the King could do any more than he had done. He told this to Mr. *Kirk* to ſend it to me: For he concluded, the King was reſolved to proceed to extremities, and only wanted the opinion of a man of the law to juſtify a more violent method. I had ſo many different advertiſements ſent me of this, that I concluded a whiſper of ſuch a deſign might have been ſet about, on deſign to frighten me into ſome mean ſubmiſſion, or into ſilence at leaſt. But it had no other effect on me, but that I thought it fit to ſtay more within doors, and to uſe a little more than ordinary caution. I thank God, I was very little concerned at it. I reſigned up my life very freely to God. I knew my own innocence, and the root of all the malice that was againſt me. And I never poſſeſſed my own ſoul in a more perfect calm, and in a clearer cheerfulneſs of ſpirit, than I did during all thoſe threatnings, and the apprehenſions that others were in concerning me.

Penſioner *Fagel*'s letters.

Soon after this a letter writ by *Fagel* the Penſioner of *Holland* was printed: Which leads me to look back a little into a tranſaction that paſſed the former year. There was one *Steward*, a lawyer of *Scotland*, a man of great parts, and of as great ambition. He had given over the practice of the law, becauſe all that were admitted to the bar in *Scotland* were required to renounce the Covenant, which he would not do. This recommended him to the confidence of that whole party. They had made great uſe of him, and truſted him entirely. *Pen* had engaged him, who had been long conſidered by the King as the chief manager of all the rebellions and plots that had been on foot theſe twenty years paſt, more particularly of *Argile*'s, to come over: And he undertook, that he ſhould not only be received into favour, but into confidence. He came, before he croſſed the Seas, to the Prince, and promiſed an inviolable fidelity to him, and to the common intereſts of religion and liberty. He had been oft with the Penſioner, and had a great meaſure of his confidence. Upon his coming to court, he was careſſed to a degree that amazed all who knew him. He either believed, that the King was ſincere in the profeſſions he made, and that his deſigns went no farther than to ſettle a full liberty of conſcience: Or he thought, that it became a man who had been ſo long in diſgrace, not to ſhew any jealouſies at firſt, when the King was ſo gracious to him. He undertook to do all that lay in his power to advance his deſigns in *Scotland*, and to repreſent his intentions ſo at the *Hague*, as might incline the Prince to a better opinion of them.

He opened all this in ſeveral letters to the Penſioner. And in theſe he preſſed him vehemently, in the King's name, and by his direction, to perſuade the Prince to concur with the King in procuring the laws to be repealed. He laid before him the inconſiderable number of the Papiſts: So that there was no reaſon to apprehend much from them. He alſo enlarged on the ſeverities that the penal laws had brought on the Diſſenters. The King was reſolved not to conſent to the repealing them, unleſs the Teſts were taken away with them: So that the refuſing to conſent to this might at another time bring them under another ſevere proſecution. *Steward*, after he had writ many letters to this purpoſe without receiving any anſwers, tried if he could ſerve the King in *Scotland* with more ſucceſs, than it ſeemed he was like to have at the *Hague*. But he found there, that his old friends were now much alienated from him, looking on him as a perſon entirely gained by the Court.

The Penſioner laid all his letters before the Prince. They were alſo brought to me. The Prince upon this thought, that a full anſwer made by *Fagel*, in ſuch a manner as that it might be publiſhed as a declaration of his intentions, might be of ſervice to him in many reſpects; chiefly in Popiſh Courts, that were on civil accounts inclined to an alliance againſt *France*, but were now poſſeſſed with an opinion of the Prince, and of his party in *England*, as deſigning nothing but the ruin and extirpation of all the Papiſts in thoſe Kingdoms. So the Penſioner wrote a long anſwer to *Steward*, which was put in *Engliſh* by me.

He began it with great aſſurances of the Prince and Princeſs's duty to the King. They were both of them much againſt all perſecution on the account of religion. They freely conſented to the covering Papiſts from the ſeverities of the laws made againſt them on the account of their religion, and alſo that they might have the free exerciſe of it in private. They alſo conſented to grant a full liberty to Diſſenters. But they could not conſent to the repeal of thoſe laws that tended only to the ſecuring

curing the proteſtant religion; ſuch as thoſe concerning the Teſts, which imported no puniſhment, but only an incapacity of being in publick employments, which could not be complained of as great ſeverities. This was a caution obſerved in all Nations, and was now neceſſary, both for ſecuring the publick peace and the eſtabliſhed religion. If the numbers of the Papiſts were ſo ſmall as to make them inconſiderable, then it was not reaſonable to make ſuch a change for the ſake of a few. And if thoſe few, that pretended to publick employments, would do all their own party ſo great a prejudice, as not to ſuffer the King to be content with the repeal of the penal laws, unleſs they could get into the offices of truſt, then their ambition was only to be blamed, if the offers now made were not accepted. The matter was very ſtrongly argued thro' the whole letter: And the Prince and Princeſs's zeal for the Proteſtant religion was ſet out in terms, that could not be very acceptable to the King. The letter was carried by *Steward* to the King, and was brought by him into the Cabinet Council. But nothing followed then upon it. The King ordered *Steward* to write back, that he would either have all or nothing. All the Lay-Papiſts of *England*, who were not engaged in the intrigues of the Prieſts, preſſed earneſtly that the King would accept of the repeal of the penal laws; which was offered, and would have made them both eaſy and ſafe for the future. The Emperour was fully ſatisfied with what was offered; and promiſed to uſe his intereſt at *Rome*, to get the Pope to write to the King to accept of this, as a ſtep to the other: But I could not learn whether he did it, or not. If he did, it had no effect. The King was in all points governed by the Jeſuits, and the *French* Ambaſſadour. 1688.

Father *Peter*, as he had been long in the confidence, was now brought to the Council board, and made a Privy Counſellour: And it was given out, that the King was reſolved to get a Cardinal's Cap for him, and to make him Archbiſhop of *York*. The Pope was ſtill firm to his reſolution againſt it. But it was hoped, that the King would conquer it, if not in the preſent, yet at furtheſt in the next Pontificate. The King reſolved at the ſame time not to diſguſt the Secular Prieſts: So Biſhop *Leyburn*, whom Cardinal *Howard* had ſent over with the Epiſcopal character, was made much uſe of in appearance, tho' he had no ſhare in the counſels. There was a faction formed between the Seculars and the Jeſuits, which was ſometimes near breaking out into an open rupture. But the King was ſo partial to the Jeſuits, that the others found they were not on equal terms with them. There were three other Biſhops conſecrated for *England*. And theſe four were ordered to make a progreſs and circuit over *England*, confirming, and doing other Epiſcopal offices, in all the parts of *England*. Great numbers gathered about them, whereſoever they went. Father *Peter* made a Privy Counſellour.

The Jeſuits thought all was ſure, and that their ſcheme was ſo well laid that it could not miſcarry. And they had ſo poſſeſſed that contemptible tool of theirs, *D'Albeville*, with this, that he ſeemed upon his return to the *Hague* to be ſo ſanguine, that he did not ſtick to ſpeak out, what a wiſer man would have ſuppreſſed tho' he had believed it. One day, when the Prince was ſpeaking of the promiſes the King had made, and the oath that he had ſworn to maintain the laws and the eſtabliſhed Church, he, inſtead of pretending that the King ſtill kept his word, ſaid, upon ſome occaſions Princes muſt forget their promiſes. And, when the Prince ſaid, that the King ought to have more regard to the Church of *England*, which was the main body of the Nation, *D'Albeville* anſwered, that the body which he called the Church of *England* would not have a being two years to an end. Thus he ſpoke out the deſigns of the Court, both too early and too openly. But at the ſame time he behaved himſelf in all other reſpects ſo poorly, that he became the jeſt of the *Hague*. The foreign Miniſters, Mr. *D'Avaux* the *French* Ambaſſadour not excepted, did not know how to excuſe or bear with his Weakneſs, which appeared on all occaſions and in all companies. The confidence of the Jeſuits.

What he wrote to *England* upon his firſt audiences was not known. But it was ſoon after ſpread up and down the Kingdom, very artificially and with much induſtry, that the Prince and Princeſs had now conſented to the repeal of the Teſts, as well as of the penal laws. This was writ over by many hands to the *Hague*. The Prince, to prevent the ill effects that might follow on ſuch reports, gave orders to print the Penſioner's letter to *Steward*; which was ſent to all the parts of *England*, and was received with an univerſal joy. The Diſſenters ſaw themſelves now ſafe in his intentions towards them. The Church party was confirmed in their zeal for maintaining the Teſts. And the Lay-Papiſts ſeemed likewiſe to be ſo well pleaſed with it, The Penſioner's letter was printed.

1688. it, that they complained of thoſe ambitious Prieſts, and hungry Courtiers, who were reſolved, rather than lay down their aſpirings and other projects, to leave them ſtill expoſed to the ſeverities of the laws, tho' a freedom from theſe was now offered to them. But it was not eaſy to judge, whether this was ſincerely meant by them, or if it was only a popular art, to recommend themſelves under ſuch a moderate appearance. The Court ſaw the hurt that this letter did them. At firſt they hoped to have ſtifled it by calling it an impoſture. But when they were driven from that, the King began to ſpeak ſeverely and indecently of the Prince, not only to all about him, but even to foreign Miniſters: And reſolved to put ſuch marks of his indignation upon him, as ſhould let all the World ſee how deep it was.

The King asked the Regiments of his ſubjects in the States ſervice.

There were ſix Regiments of the King's ſubjects, three *Engliſh* and three *Scottiſh*, in the ſervice of the States. Some of them were old Regiments, that had continued in their ſervice during the two Wars in the late King's reign. Others were raiſed ſince the peace in ſeventy three. But theſe came not into their ſervice under any capitulation, that had reſerved an authority to the King to call for them at his pleaſure. When *Argile* and *Monmouth* made their invaſion, the King deſired that the States would lend them to him. Some of the Towns of *Holland* were ſo jealous of the King, and wiſhed *Monmouth*'s ſucceſs ſo much, that the Prince found ſome difficulty in obtaining the conſent of the States to ſend them over. There was no diſtinction made among them between Papiſts and Proteſtants, according to a maxim of the States with relation to their armies: So there were ſeveral Papiſts in thoſe Regiments. And the King had ſhewed ſuch particular kindneſs to theſe, while they were in *England*, that at their return they formed a faction which was breeding great diſtractions among them. This was very uneaſy to the Prince, who began to ſee that he might have occaſion to make uſe of thoſe bodies, if things ſhould be carried to a rupture between the King and him: And yet he did not know how he could truſt them, while ſuch Officers were in command. He did not ſee neither, how he could get rid of them well. But the King helped him out of that difficulty: He wrote to the States, that he had occaſion for the ſix Regiments of his ſubjects that were in their ſervice, and deſired that they ſhould be ſent over to him.

Which was refuſed, but the Officers had leave to go.

This demand was made all of the ſudden, without any previous application to any of the States, to diſpoſe them to grant it, or to many of the Officers to perſuade them to ask their *Congè* to go over. The States pretended the Regiments were theirs: They had paid levy money for them, and had them under no capitulation: So they excuſed themſelves, that they could not part with them. But they gave orders, that all the Officers that ſhould ask their *Congè*, ſhould have it. Thirty or forty came and asked, and had their *Congè*. So now the Prince was delivered from ſome troubleſome men by this management of the King's. Upon that, theſe bodies were ſo modeled, that the Prince knew, that he might depend entirely on them: And he was no more diſturbed by thoſe inſolent Officers, who had for ſome years behaved themſelves rather as enemies, than as perſons in the States pay.

The diſcourſe of a Parliament was often taken up, and as often let fall: And it was not eaſy to judge in what ſuch fluctuating counſels would end. Father *Peter* had gained ſuch an aſcendant, that he was conſidered as the firſt Miniſter of State. The Nuntio had moved the King to interpoſe, and mediate a reconciliation between the Court of *Rome* and *France*. But he anſwered, that ſince the Pope would not gratify him in the promotion of Father *Peter*, he would leave him to free himſelf of the trouble into which he had involved himſelf the beſt way he could. And our Court reckoned, that as ſoon as the Pope felt himſelf preſſed, he would fly to the King for protection, and grant him every thing that he asked of him in order to obtain it. That Jeſuit gave daily new proofs of a weak and ill governed paſſion, and diſcovered all the ill qualities of one, that ſeemed raiſed up to be the common incendiary, and to drive the King and his party to the precipice.

A new declaration for toleration.

Towards the end of *April* the King thought fit to renew the declaration, that he had ſet out the former year for liberty of conſcience; with an addition, declaring that he would adhere firmly to it, and that he would put none in any publick employments, but ſuch as would concur with him in maintaining it. He alſo promiſed, that he would hold a Parliament in the *November* following. This promiſe of a Parliament ſo long beforehand was ſomewhat extraordinary. Both Father *Peter* and *Penn* engaged the King to it, but with a different proſpect. *Penn*, and all the tools who

who were employed by him, had ſtill ſome hopes of carrying a Parliament to agree with the King, if too much time was not loſt: Whereas the delaying a Parliament raiſed jealouſies, as if none were intended, but that it was only talked of to amuſe the Nation till other deſigns were ripe. 1688.

On the other hand, Father *Peter* and his cabal ſaw that the King was kept off from many things that they propoſed, with the expectation of the concurrence of a Parliament: And the fear of giving new diſguſts, which might obſtruct that, had begot a caution that was very uneaſy to them. They thought that much time was already loſt, and that they made but a ſmall progreſs. They began to apprehend, that the Regulators, who were ſtill feeding them with hopes, and were asking more time and more money, did intend only to amuſe them, and to wear out the buſineſs into more length, and to keep themſelves the longer in credit and in pay; but that they did not in their hearts wiſh well to the main deſign, and therefore acted but an inſincere part with the King. Therefore they reſolved to put that matter to the laſt trial, reckoning that, if the King ſaw it was in vain to hope for any thing in a Parliamentary way, he might be more eaſily carried to extream and violent methods.

The King was not ſatisfied with the publiſhing his declaration: But he reſolved to oblige the Clergy to read it in all their Churches in the time of divine ſervice. And now it appeared, what bad effects were like to follow on that officious motion that *Sancroft* had made, for obliging the Clergy to read the declaration that King *Charles* ſet out in the year 1681, after the diſſolution of the *Oxford* Parliament. An order paſt in Council, requiring the Biſhops to ſend copies of the declaration to all their Clergy, and to order them to read it on two ſeveral *Sundays* in time of divine ſervice. Which the Clergy were ordered to read.

This put the Clergy under great difficulties. And they were at firſt much divided about it. Even many of the beſt and worthieſt of them were under ſome diſtraction of thought. They had many meetings, and argued the point long among themſelves, in and about *London*. On the one hand it was ſaid, that if they refuſed to read it, the King would proceed againſt them for diſobedience. It did not ſeem reaſonable to run ſo great a hazard upon ſuch a point, that was not ſtrong enough to bear the conſequences that might follow on a breach. Their reading it did not import their approving it. But was only a publication of an act of their King's. So it was propoſed, to ſave the whole by making ſome declaration, that their reading it was a meer act of obedience, and did not import any aſſent and approbation of theirs. Others thought, that the publiſhing this in ſuch manner was only impoſed on them to make them odious and contemptible to the whole Nation, for reading that which was intended for their ruin. If they carried their compliance ſo far, that might provoke the Nobility and Gentry to carry theirs much further. If they once yielded the point, that they were bound to read every declaration, with this ſalvo that it did not import their approving it, they would be then bound to read every thing that ſhould be ſent to them: The King might make declarations in favour of all the points of Popery, and require them to read them: And they could not ſee where they muſt make their ſtops, if they did it not now. So it ſeemed neceſſary to fix on this, as a rule, that they ought to publiſh nothing in time of divine ſervice, but that which they approved of. The point at preſent was not, whether a toleration was a lawful or an expedient thing. The declaration was founded on the claim of a diſpenſing power, which the King did now aſſume, that tended to the total ſubverſion of the government, and the making it arbitrary; whereas by the conſtitution it was a legal adminiſtration. It alſo allowed ſuch an infinite liberty, with the ſuſpenſion of all penal laws, and that without any limitation, that Paganiſm it ſelf might be now publickly profeſſed. It was viſible, that the deſign in impoſing the reading of it on them, was only to make them ridiculous, and to make them contribute to their own ruin. As for the danger that they might incur, they ſaw their ruin was reſolved on: And nothing they could do was like to prevent it, unleſs they would baſely ſacrifice their religion to their worldly intereſts. It would be perhaps a year ſooner or later by any other management: It was therefore fit, that they ſhould prepare themſelves for ſuffering; and not endeavour to prevent it by doing that, which would draw on them the hatred of their friends, and the ſcorn of their enemies.

Theſe reaſons prevailed: And they reſolved not to read the declaration. They ſaw of what importance it was, that they ſhould be unanimous in this. Nothing could be of more fatal conſequence than their being divided in their practice. For, if any conſi- To which they would not give obedience.

1688. considerable body of the Clergy, ſuch as could carry the name of the Church of *England*, could have been prevailed on to give obedience, and only ſome number, how valuable ſoever the men might be, ſhould refuſe to obey; then the Court might ſtill pretend, that they would maintain the Church of *England*, and ſingle out all thoſe who had not given obedience, and fall on them, and ſo break the Church within itſelf upon this point, and then deſtroy the one half by the means of the reſt. The moſt eminent reſolved not to obey: And thoſe who might be prevailed on to comply would by that means fall under ſuch contempt, that they could not have the credit or ſtrength to ſupport the eſtabliſhed religion. The Court depended upon this, that the greater part would obey: And ſo they would be furniſhed with a point of State, to give a colour for turning out the diſobedient, who were like to be the men that ſtood moſt in their way, and croſſed their deſigns moſt, both with their learning and credit.

Thoſe few Biſhops that were engaged in the deſign of betraying the Church, were perſuaded that this would be the event of the matter: And they poſſeſſed the King with the hope of it ſo poſitively, that he ſeemed to depend upon it. The correſpondence over *England* was managed with that ſecrecy, that theſe reſolutions were ſo communicated to the Clergy in the Country, that they were generally engaged to agree in their conduct, before the Court came to apprehend that they would be ſo unanimous, as it proved in concluſion that they were.

The Archbiſhop and ſix Biſhops petition the King.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Sancroft*, reſolved upon this occaſion to act ſuitably to his poſt and character. He wrote round his Province, and deſired that ſuch of the Biſhops as were able would come up, and conſult together in a matter of this great concern: And he asked the opinion of thoſe, whom their age and infirmities diſabled from taking the journey. He found, that eighteen of the Biſhops, and the main body of the Clergy, concurred in the reſolution againſt reading the declaration. So he, with ſix of the Biſhops that came up to *London*, reſolved in a petition to the King, to lay before him the reaſons that determined them not to obey the order of Council that had been ſent them: This flowed from no want of reſpect to his Majeſty's authority, nor from any unwillingneſs to let favour be ſhewed to Diſſenters; in relation to whom they were willing to come to ſuch a temper, as ſhould be thought fit, when that matter ſhould be conſidered and ſettled in Parliament and Convocation: But, this declaration being founded on ſuch a diſpenſing power, as had been often declared illegal in Parliament, both in the year 1662 and in the year 1672, and in the beginning of his own reign, and was a matter of ſo great conſequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State; they could not in prudence, honour, and conſcience, make themſelves ſo far parties to it, as the publication of it once and again in God's houſe, and in the time of divine ſervice, muſt amount to.

The Archbiſhop was then in an ill State of health. So he ſent over the ſix Biſhops with the petition to the King, ſigned by himſelf and the reſt. The King was much ſurpriſed with this, being flattered and deceived by his ſpies. *Cartwright*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, was poſſeſſed with a ſtory that was too eaſily believed by him, and was by him carried to the King, who was very apt to believe every thing that ſuited with his own deſigns. The ſtory was, that the Biſhops intended by a petition to the King to let him underſtand that orders of this kind uſed to be addreſſed to their Chancellours, but not to themſelves; and to pray him to continue that method: And that by this means they hoped to get out of this difficulty. This was very acceptable to the Court, and procured the Biſhops a quick admittance. And they had proceeded ſo carefully that nothing concerted among them had broken out; for they had been very ſecret and cautious. The King, when he heard their petition, and ſaw his miſtake, ſpoke roughly to them. He ſaid, he was their King, and he would be obeyed: And they ſhould be made to feel what it was to diſobey him. The ſix Biſhops were St. *Aſaph*, *Ely*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Chicheſter*, and *Briſtol*. The anſwer they made the King was in theſe words: *The will of God be done.* And they came from the Court in a ſort of triumph. Now matters were brought to a criſis. The King was engaged on his part, as the Biſhops were on theirs. So all people looked on with great expectations, reckoning that upon the iſſue of this buſineſs a great deciſion would be made, both of the deſigns of the Court, and of the temper of the Nation.

The

The King conſulted for ſome days with all that were now employed by him, what he ſhould do upon this emergent; and talked with people of all perſuaſions. *Lob*, an eminent man among the Diſſenters, who was entirely gained to the Court, adviſed the King to ſend the Biſhops to the Tower. Father *Peter* ſeemed now as one tranſported with joy: For he thought the King was engaged to break with the Church of *England*. And it was reported, that he broke out into that indecent expreſſion upon it, that they ſhould be made to eat their own dung. The King was long in doubt. Some of the Popiſh Nobility preſſed him earneſtly to let the matter fall: For now it appeared, that the body of the Clergy were reſolved not to read the declaration. Thoſe who did obey, were few and inconſiderable. Only ſeven obeyed in the City of *London*, and not above two hundred all *England* over: And of theſe ſome read it the firſt *Sunday*, but changed their minds before the ſecond: Others declared in their ſermons, that tho' they obeyed the order, they did not approve of the declaration: And one, more pleaſantly than gravely, told his people, that, tho' he was obliged to read it, they were not obliged to hear it; and he ſtopt till they all went out, and then he read it to the walls: In many places, as ſoon as the Miniſter began to read it, all the people roſe, and went out. 1688.

The King did what he could to encourage thoſe that did obey his order. *Parker*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, died about this time. He wrote a book againſt the teſts full of petulant ſcurrility, of which I ſhall only give one inſtance. He had reflected much on the whole Popiſh Plot, and on *Oates*'s evidence: And upon that he called the teſt, the Sacrament of the *Oateſian* villainy. He treated the Parliament that enacted the teſts with a ſcorn that no Popiſh writer had yet ventured on: And he ſaid much to excuſe Tranſubſtantiation, and to free the Church of *Rome* from the charge of idolatry. This raiſed ſuch a diſguſt of him, even in thoſe that had been formerly but too much influenced by him, that, when he could not help ſeeing that, he ſunk upon it. I was deſired to anſwer his book with the ſeverity that he deſerved: And I did with an acrimony of ſtile, that nothing but ſuch a time, and ſuch a man could in any ſort excuſe. It was ſaid, the King ſent him my papers, hearing that no body elſe durſt put them in his hands, hoping that it would raiſe his indignation, and engage him to anſwer them. And one *Hall*, a Conformiſt in *London*, who was looked on as half a Presbyterian, yet becauſe he read the declaration, was made Biſhop of *Oxford*. One of the Popiſh Biſhops was upon the King's *Mandamus* choſen by the illegal Fellows of *Magdalen*'s College their Preſident. The ſenſe of the Nation, as well as of the Clergy, had appeared ſo ſignally on this occaſion, that it was viſible, that the King had not only the ſeven petitioning Biſhops to deal with, but the body of the whole Nation, both Clergy and Laity.

The King ordered the Biſhops to be proſecuted for it.

The violent advices of Father *Peter*, and the Jeſuit party, were ſo fatally ſuited to the King's own temper and paſſion, that they prevailed over the wiſer counſels of almoſt all that were adviſed with. But the King, before he would bring the matter to the Council, ſecretly engaged all the Privy Counſellours to concur with him: And, after a fortnight's conſultation, the Biſhops were cited to appear before the Council. The petition was offered to them; and they were asked, if they owned it to be their Petition. They anſwered, it ſeemed they were to be proceeded againſt upon that account; ſo they hoped the King would not preſs them to a confeſſion, and then make uſe of it againſt them: After they had offered this, they owned the petition. They were next charged with the publication of it; for it was then printed. But they abſolutely denied that was done by their means. The Archbiſhop had written the petition all in his own hand, without employing any perſon to copy it out: And tho' there was one draught written of the petition, as it was agreed on, from which he had written out the original which they had all ſigned, yet he had kept that ſtill in his own poſſeſſion, and had never ſhewn it to any perſon: So it was not publiſhed by them: That muſt have been done by ſome of thoſe to whom the King had ſhewed it.

They were ſent to the Tower.

They were in the next place required to enter into bonds to appear in the Court of the King's bench, and anſwer to an information of miſdemeanour. They excepted to this; and ſaid, that by their Peerage they were not bound to do it. Upon their inſiſting on this, they were ſent to the Tower, by a warrant ſigned by the whole board except Father *Peter*, who was paſt over by the King's order. This ſet all the whole City into the higheſt fermentation that was ever known in memory of man. The Biſhops were ſent by water to the Tower; And all along as they paſt, the Banks of the river were full of people, who kneeled down and asked their bleſſing, and with loud

 ſhouts

1688. shouts expressed their good wishes for them, and their concern in their preservation. The soldiers, and other officers in the Tower, did the same. An universal consternation appeared in all peoples looks. But the King was not moved with all this. And, tho' two days after, upon the Queen's pretended delivery, the King had a fair occasion to have granted a general pardon to celebrate the joy of that birth, (and it was given out by those Papists that had always affected to pass for moderate men, that they had all pressed this vehemently,) the King was inflexible. He said, his authority would become contemptible, if he suffered such an affront to pass unpunished.

A week after their commitment, they were brought upon a *Habeas Corpus*, to the King's bench bar, where their Counsel offered to make it appear to be an illegal commitment: But the Court allowed it good in law. They were required to enter into bonds for small sums, to answer to the information that day fortnight.

But soon after discharged. The Bishops were discharged of their imprisonment: And people of all sorts ran to visit them as Confessors, one company going in as another went out. The appearance in *Westminster-Hall* was very solemn: About thirty of the Nobility accompanying them. All the streets were full of shoutings the rest of the day, and with bonefires at night.

They were tried. When the day fixed for their trial came, there was a vast concourse. *Westminster-Hall*, and all the places about, were full of people, who were strangely affected with the matter. Even the Army that was then encamped on *Hounslow-Heath*, shewed such a disposition to mutiny, that it gave the King no small uneasiness. The trial came on, which was chiefly managed against the Bishops by Sir *William Williams*. He had been Speaker in two successive Parliaments, and was a zealous promoter of the Exclusion: And he had continued many years a bold pleader in all causes against the Court: But he was a corrupt and vicious man, who had no principles, but followed his own interests. *Sawyer* the Attorney General, who had for many years served the ends of the Court in a most abject and obsequious manner, would not support the dispensing power: So he was turned out, *Powis* being advanced to be Attorney General: And *Williams* was made Sollicitor General. *Powis* acted his part in this trial as fairly as his post could admit of. But *Williams* took very indecent liberties. And he had great advantages over *Sawyer* and *Finch*, who were among the Bishops Counsel, by reflecting on the precedents and proceedings during their being the King's Counsel. The King's Counsel could not have full proof, that the Bishops hands were truly theirs, and were forced to have recourse to the confession they had made at the Council board; which was thought very dishonourable, since they had made that confession in confidence, trusting to the King's honour, tho' it did not appear that any promise was made, that no advantage should be taken of that confession. No proof was brought of their publishing it, which was the main point. The presenting it to the King, and afterwards their owning it to be their petition, when it was put to them at the Council board, was all that the King's Counsel could offer for proof of this; which was an apparent strain, in which even those Judges, that were the surest to the Court, did not seem to be satisfied. It was much urged against them, that this petition was a libel, tending to the defaming the King's government.

But to this it was answered, that they having received an order, to which they found they could not give obedience, thought it was incumbent on them, as Bishops, and as subjects, to lay before the King their reasons for it: All subjects had a right to petition the King: They as Peers were of his great Council, and so had yet a better claim to that: And that more particularly in matters of religion; for the act of uniformity in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time had required them under a curse to look carefully after those matters: The dispensing power had been often brought into debate in Parliament, and was always voted to be against law: And the late King had yielded the point by recalling his declaration: So they thought, they had a right to represent these things to the King. And occasion was often taken to reflect on the dispensing power. To this the King's Counsel replied, that the votes of one or both houses were not laws, till they were enacted by King and Parliament: And the late King's passing once from a point of his prerogative did not give it up, but only waved it for that time: They urged much the sacredness of the King's authority, that a paper might be true in fact, and yet be a libel; that in Parliament the two Houses had a right to petition, but it was sedition to do it in a point of government out of Parliament.

1688.

The trial did laſt long, above ten hours. The crouds continued in expectation all the while, and expreſſed ſo great a concern for the Biſhops, that the witneſſes who were brought againſt them were not only treated with much ſcorn, and loud laughter upon every occaſion, but ſeemed to be in ſuch danger, that they eſcaped narrowly, going away by a back paſſage. Two of the Judges, *Powel* and *Halloway*, deliver'd their opinion, that there was no ſeditious matter in the petition, and that it was no libel. *Wright* was now brought into this Court and made Chief Juſtice; and *Herbert* was made Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas: *Herbert* was with the Court in the main of the King's diſpenſing power, but was againſt them in moſt particulars: So he could not ſerve their ends in this Court. *Wright* was the properer tool. He in his charge called the petition a libel: But he did not think the publication was proved.

And acquitted.

The Jury was fairly returned. When they were ſhut up, they were ſoon agreed upon their verdict to acquit the Biſhops. But it was thought to be both the more ſolemn, and the ſafer way, to continue ſhut up till the morning. The King ſtill flattered himſelf with the hope that the Biſhops would be brought in guilty. He went that morning to the camp: For the ill humour the Army was in the day before, made him think it neceſſary to go and keep them in awe and order by his own preſence.

To the great joy of the Town and Nation.

The Court ſat again next day. And then the Jury came in with their verdict. Upon which there were ſuch ſhoutings, ſo long continued, and as it were echoed into the City, that all people were ſtruck with it. Every man ſeemed tranſported with joy. Bonefires were made all about the ſtreets. And the news going over the Nation, produced the like rejoycings and Bonefires all *England* over. The King's preſence kept the Army in ſome order. But he was no ſooner gone out of the camp, than he was followed with an univerſal ſhouting, as if it had been a victory obtained. And ſo fatally was the King puſhed on to his ruin, that he ſeemed not to be by all this enough convinced of the folly of thoſe violent counſels. He intended ſtill to purſue them. It was therefore reſolved on, to bring this matter of the contempt of the order of Council in not reading the declaration before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners. They did not think fit to cite the Archbiſhop and Biſhops before them: For they did not doubt they would plead to their juriſdiction, and refuſe to acknowledge their authority; which they hoped their Chancellours, and the inferiour Clergy, would not venture on.

The Clergy was next deſigned againſt

Citations were ſent out requiring the Chancellours, and Archdeacons to ſend in the liſts of all the Clergy, both of ſuch as had obeyed, and of thoſe who had not obeyed the order of Council. Some of theſe were now ſo much animated with the ſenſe that the Nation had expreſſed of the Biſhops impriſonment and trial, that they declared they would not obey this order: And others excuſed themſelves in ſofter terms. When the day came to which they were cited, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, tho' he himſelf had obeyed the order, and had hitherto gone along, ſitting with the other Commiſſioners, but had always voted on the milder ſide, yet now, when he ſaw matters were running ſo faſt to the ruin of the Church, he would not only ſit no longer with them, but wrote a letter to them; in which he ſaid, it was impoſſible for him to go on with them any longer, for tho' he himſelf had obeyed the order of Council, which he proteſted he did becauſe he thought he was bound in conſcience to do it, yet he did not doubt but that thoſe who had not obeyed it had gone upon the ſame principle of following their conſcience, and he would much rather chooſe to ſuffer with them than to concur in making them ſuffer. This ſtopped proceedings for that day, and put the Court to a ſtand. So they adjourned themſelves till *December*: And they never ſat any more.

The effect this had every where.

This was the progreſs of that tranſaction, which was conſidered all *Europe* over as the trial whether the King or the Church were like to prevail. The deciſion was as favourable as was poſſible. The King did aſſume to himſelf a power to make laws void, and to qualify men for employments, whom the law had put under ſuch incapacities that all they did was null and void. The Sheriffs and Mayors of towns were no legal Officers: Judges, (one of them being a profeſſed Papiſt, *Alibon*,) who took not the Teſt, were no Judges: So that the government, and the legal adminiſtration of it, was broken. A Parliament returned by ſuch men was no legal Parliament. All this was done by vertue of the diſpenſing power, which changed the whole frame of our government, and ſubjected all the laws to the King's pleaſure: For, upon the

1688. ſame pretence of that power, other declarations might have come out voiding any other laws that the Court found ſtood in their way; ſince we had ſcarce any law that was fortified with ſuch clauſes to force the execution of it, as thoſe that were laid aſide had in them. And when the King pretended, that this was ſuch a ſacred point of government, that a petition, offered in the modeſteſt terms, and in the humbleſt manner poſſible, calling it in queſtion, was made ſo great a crime, and carried ſo far againſt men of ſuch eminence; this I confeſs ſatisfied me, that here was a total deſtruction of our conſtitution, avowedly begun, and violently proſecuted. Here was not jealouſies nor fears: The thing was open and avowed. This was not a ſingle act of illegal violence, but a declared deſign againſt the whole of our conſtitution. It was not only the judgment of a Court of law: The King had now by two publick acts of ſtate, renewed in two ſucceſſive years, openly publiſhed his deſign. This appeared ſuch a total ſubverſion, that, according to the principles that ſome of the higheſt aſſertors of ſubmiſſion and obedience, *Barklay* and *Grotius*, had laid down, it was now lawful for the Nation to look to it ſelf, and ſee to its own preſervation. And, as ſoon as any man was convinced that this was lawful, there remained nothing but to look to the Prince of *Orange*, who was the only perſon that either could ſave them, or had a right to it: Since by all the laws in the world, even private as well as publick, he that has in him the reverſion of any eſtate, has a right to hinder the poſſeſſor, if he goes about to deſtroy that which is to come to him after the poſſeſſor's death.

Ruſſel preſſed the Prince.

Upon all this diſorder that *England* was falling into, Admiral *Ruſſel* came to the *Hague*. He had a good pretence for coming over to *Holland*, for he had a ſiſter then living in it. He was deſired by many of great power and intereſt in *England* to ſpeak very freely to the Prince, and to know poſitively of him, what might be expected from him. All people were now in a gaze: Thoſe who had little or no religion had no mind to turn Papiſts, if they could ſee any probable way of reſiſting the fury with which the Court was now driving: But men of fortune, if they ſaw no viſible proſpect, would be governed by their preſent intereſt: They were at preſent united: But, if a breaking ſhould once happen, and ſome men of figure ſhould be prevailed on to change, that might go far; eſpecially in a corrupt and diſſolute army, that was as it were let looſe to commit crimes and violences every where, in which they were rather encouraged than puniſhed; for it ſeemed to be ſet up as a maxim, that the army by rendring it ſelf odious to the Nation would become thereby entirely devoted to the Court: But after all, tho' ſoldiers were bad *Engliſhmen* and worſe Chriſtians, yet the Court found them too good Proteſtants to truſt much to them. So *Ruſſel* put the Prince to explain himſelf what he intended to do.

The Prince's anſwer.

The Prince anſwered, that if he was invited by ſome men of the beſt intereſt, and the moſt valued in the Nation, who ſhould both in their own name, and in the name of others who truſted them, invite him to come and reſcue the Nation and the Religion, he believed he could be ready by the end of *September* to come over. The main confidence we had was in the Electoral Prince of *Brandenburgh*; for the old Elector was then dying. And I told *Ruſſel* at parting, that, unleſs he died, there would be great difficulties, not eaſily maſtered, in the deſign of the Prince's expedition to *England*.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s death.

He was then ill of a dropſy, which, coming after a gout of a long continuance, ſeemed to threaten a ſpeedy end of his life. I had the honour to ſee him at *Cleve*; and was admitted to two long audiences, in which he was pleaſed to ſpeak to me with great freedom. He was a Prince of great courage. He both underſtood military matters well, and loved them much. He had a very perfect view of the ſtate *Europe* had been in for fifty years, in which he had born a great ſhare in all affairs, having directed his own counſels himſelf. He had a wonderful memory, even in the ſmalleſt matters; for every thing paſt under his eye. He had a quick apprehenſion, and a cholerick temper. The heat of his ſpirits was apt to kindle too quick, till his intereſt cooled him: And that fetched him back, which brought him under the cenſure of changing ſides too ſoon and too often. He was a very zealous man in all the concerns of religion. His own life was regular and free of all blemiſhes. He tried all that was poſſible to bring the *Lutherans* and *Calviniſts* to ſome terms of reconciliation. He complained much of the rigidity of the *Lutherans*, more particularly of thoſe in *Pruſſia*: Nor was he well pleaſed with the ſtiffneſs of the *Calviniſts*: And he inveighed againſt the Synod of *Dort*, as that which had ſet all on fire, and made matters almoſt paſt reconciling. He thought, all poſitive deciſions in thoſe matters ought

ought to be laid aſide by both parties, without which nothing could bring them to a better temper. 1688.

He had a very ſplendid Court: And to maintain that, and his great armies, his ſubjects were preſſed hard by many uneaſy taxes. He ſeemed not to have a juſt ſenſe of the miſeries of his people. His Miniſters had great power over him in all leſſer matters, while he directed the greater: And he ſuffered them to enrich themſelves exceſſively.

In the end of his life the Electoreſs had gained great credit, and governed his counſels too much. He had ſet it up for a maxim, that the Electoral families in *Germany* had weakned themſelves ſo much, that they would not be able to maintain the liberty of the Empire againſt the *Auſtrian* Family, which was now riſing by their victories in *Hungary:* The Houſes of *Saxe*, and the *Palatine*, and of *Brunſwick*, and *Heſſe*, had done this ſo much, by the diſmembring ſome of their dominions to their younger children, that they were mouldring to nothing: He therefore reſolved to keep all his dominions entire in one hand: This would make his Family the balance to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, on whom the reſt of the Empire muſt depend: And he ſuffered his Electoreſs to provide for her children, and to enrich herſelf by all the ways ſhe could think on, ſince he would not give them any ſhare of his dominions. This ſhe did not fail to do. And the Elector having juſt cauſe of complaint for being abandoned by the Allies in the peace of *Nimeguen*, and ſo forced to reſtore what he had got from the *Swedes*, the *French* upon that gave him a great penſion, and made the Electoreſs ſuch preſents, that he was prevailed on to enter into their intereſts: And in this he made ſome ill ſteps in the decline of his life. But nothing could ſoften him with relation to that Court, after they broke the edict of *Nantes*, and began the perſecution of the Proteſtants. He took great care of all the Refugees. He ſet men on the frontier of *France* to receive and defray them; and gave them all the marks of Chriſtian compaſſion, and of a bounty becoming ſo great a Prince. But his age and infirmities, he being crippled with the gout, and the ill underſtanding that was between the Prince Electoral and Electoreſs, had ſo disjointed his Court, that little was to be expected from him.

Death came upon him quicker than was looked for. He received the intimations of it with the firmneſs that became both a Chriſtian and a Hero. He gave his laſt advices to his ſon, and to his Miniſters, with a greatneſs and a tenderneſs that both ſurpriſed and melted them all: And above all other things he recommended to them the concerns of the Proteſtant Religion, then in ſuch an univerſal danger. His ſon had not his genius. He had not a ſtrength of body nor a force of mind capable of great matters. But he was filled with zeal for the Reformed Religion: And he was at that time ſo entirely poſſeſſed with a confidence in the Prince of *Orange*, and with a high eſteem of him, as he was his couſin german, that we had a much better proſpect of all our affairs by his ſucceeding his father. And this was encreaſed by the great credit that *Dankelman*, who had been his Governour, continued to have with him: For he had true notions of the affairs of *Europe*, and was a zealous Proteſtant, and was like to prove a very good Miniſter, tho' he was too abſolute in his favour, and was too much ſet on raiſing his own family. All at the *Hague* were looking with great concern on the affairs of *Europe*; theſe being, in many reſpects, and in many different places, brought to a very critical ſtate.

I muſt now look back to *England*, where the Queen's delivery was the ſubject of all mens diſcourſe. And ſince ſo much depends on this, I will give as full and as diſtinct an account of all that related to that matter, as I could gather up either at that time, or afterwards. The Queen had been for ſix or ſeven years in ſuch an ill ſtate of health, that every winter brought her very near death. Thoſe about her ſeemed well aſſured that ſhe, who had buried all her children ſoon after they were born, and had now for ſeveral years ceaſed bearing, would have no more children. Her own Prieſts apprehended it, and ſeemed to wiſh for her death. She had great and frequent diſtempers that returned often, which put all people out of their hopes or fears of her having any children. Her ſpirits were now much on the fret. She was eager in the proſecution of all the King's deſigns. It was believed, that ſhe had a main hand in driving him to them all. And he, perhaps to make her gentler to him in his vagrant amours, was more eaſy to her in every thing elſe. The Lady *Dorcheſter* was come back from *Ireland:* And the King went oft to her. But it was viſible, ſhe was not like to gain that credit in affairs, to which ſhe had aſpired: And therefore this was leſs conſidered.

The Queen gave out that ſhe was with child.

She

1688. She had another mortification, when *Fitz-James* the King's ſon was made Duke of *Berwick*. He was a ſoft and harmleſs young man, and was much beloved by the King: But the Queen's diſlike kept him from making any great figure. He made two campaigns in *Hungary*, that were little to his honour: For, as his Governour diverted the allowance that was given for keeping a table, and ſent him always to eat at other tables, ſo, tho' in the ſiege of *Buda* there were many occaſions given him to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf, yet he had appeared in none of them. There was more care taken of his perſon, than became his age and condition. Yet his Governour's brother was a Jeſuit, and in the ſecret: So every thing was ventured on by him, and all was forgiven him.

In *September*, the former year, the Queen went to the *Bath*, where, as was already told, the King came and ſaw her, and ſtaid a few days with her. She after that purſued a full courſe of bathing: And, having reſolved to return in the end of *September*, an accident took her to which the ſex is ſubject: And that made her ſtay there a week longer. She came to *Windſor* on the ſixth of *October*. It was ſaid, that, at the very time of her coming to the King, her mother, the Ducheſs of *Modena*, made a vow to the Lady *Loretto*, that her daughter might by her means have a ſon. And it went current, that the Queen believed herſelf to be with child in that very inſtant, in which her mother made her vow: Of which, ſome travellers have aſſured me, there was a ſolemn record made at *Loretto*. A conception ſaid to be thus begun looked ſuſpicious. It was now fixed to the ſixth of *October*: So the nine months were to run to the ſixth of *July*. She was in the progreſs of her big belly let blood ſeveral times: And the moſt aſtringent things that could be propoſed were uſed.

It was ſoon obſerved, that all things about her perſon were managed with a myſterious ſecrecy, into which none were admitted but a few Papiſts. She was not dreſſed nor undreſſed with the uſual ceremony. Prince *George* told me, that the Princeſs went as far in deſiring to be ſatisfied by feeling the motion, after ſhe ſaid ſhe was quick, as ſhe could go without breaking with her: And ſhe had ſometimes ſtaid by her even indecently long in mornings, to ſee her riſe, and to give her her ſhift: But ſhe never did either. She never offered any ſatisfaction in that matter by letter to the Princeſs of *Orange*, nor to any of the Ladies of quality, in whoſe word the world would have acquieſced. The thing upon this began to be ſuſpected: And ſome libels were writ, treating the whole as an impoſture. The uſe the Queen made of this was, to ſay, that ſince ſhe ſaw ſome were ſuſpecting her as capable of ſo black a contrivance, ſhe ſcorned to ſatisfy thoſe who could entertain ſuch thoughts of her. How juſt ſoever this might be with relation to the libellers, yet certainly, if ſhe was truly with child, ſhe owed it to the King and herſelf, to the King's daughters, but moſt of all to the infant ſhe carried in her belly, to give ſuch reaſonable ſatisfaction, as might put an end to jealouſy. This was in her power to do every day: And her not doing it gave juſt grounds of ſuſpicion.

Things went thus on till *Monday* in *Eaſter* week. On that day the King went to *Rocheſter*, to ſee ſome of the naval preparations; but was ſoon ſent for by the Queen, who apprehended ſhe was in danger of miſcarrying. Dr. *Scarborough* was come to *Knights-bridge* to ſee Biſhop *Ward*, my predeceſſour, who had been his antient friend, and was then his patient: But the Queen's coach was ſent to call him in all haſte, ſince ſhe was near miſcarrying. Dr. *Windebank*, who knew nothing of this matter, ſtaid long that morning upon an appointment for Dr. *Wallgrave*, another of the Queen's phyſicians, who the next time he ſaw him excuſed himſelf, for the Queen, he ſaid, was then under the moſt apparent ſigns of miſcarrying. Of this the Doctor made oath: And it is yet extant.

On the ſame day the Counteſs of *Clarendon*, being to go out of town for a few days, came to ſee the Queen before ſhe went, knowing nothing of what had happen'd to her. And ſhe, being a Lady of the Bed-chamber to Queen *Dowager*, did, according to the rule of the Court, go into the Queen's Bed-chamber without asking admittance. She ſaw the Queen a-bed, bemoaning her ſelf in a moſt doleful manner, ſaying often, *Undone, Undone:* And one that belonged to her carried ſomewhat out of the bed, which ſhe believed was linen taken from the Queen. She was upon this in ſome confuſion: And the Counteſs of *Powis* coming in, went to her, and ſaid with ſome ſharpneſs, what do you here? And carried her to the door. Before ſhe had got out of the Court, one of the Bed-chamber women followed her, and charged

charged her not to ſpeak of any thing ſhe had ſeen that day. This matter whatever was in it, was huſhed up: And the Queen held on her courſe. 1688.

The Princeſs had miſcarried in the ſpring. So, as ſoon as ſhe had recovered her ſtrength, the King preſſed her to go to the *Bath*, ſince that had ſo good an effect on the Queen. Some of her phyſicians, and all her other friends, were againſt her going. *Lower*, one of her phyſicians, told me, he was againſt it: He thought, ſhe was not ſtrong enough for the *Bath*, tho' the King preſſed it with an unuſual vehemence. *Millington*, another phyſician, told the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, from whom I had it, that he was preſſed to go to the Princeſs, and adviſe her to go to the *Bath*. The perſon that ſpoke to him told him, the King was much ſet on it, and that he expected it of him, that he would perſuade her to it. *Millington* anſwered, he would not adviſe a patient according to direction, but according to his own reaſon: So he would not go. *Scarborough* and *Witherly* took it upon them to adviſe it: So ſhe went thither in the end of *May*.

The Queen's reckoning changed.

As ſoon as ſhe was gone, thoſe about the Queen did all of the ſudden change her reckoning, and began it from the King's being with her at *Bath*. This came on ſo quick, that, tho' the Queen had ſet the fourteenth of *June* for her going to *Windſor*, where ſhe intended to lie in, and all the preparations for the birth and for the child were ordered to be made ready by the end of *June*, yet now a reſolution was taken for the Queen's lying in at St. *James*'s; and directions were given to have all things quickly ready. The *Bath* water either did not agree with the Princeſs: Or the advices of her friends were ſo preſſing, who thought her abſence from the Court at that time of ſuch conſequence, that in compliance with them ſhe gave it out it did not, and that therefore ſhe would return in a few days.

The day after the Court had this notice, the Queen ſaid, ſhe would go to St. *James*'s, and look for the good hour. She was often told, that it was impoſſible upon ſo ſhort a warning to have things ready. But ſhe was ſo poſitive, that ſhe ſaid, ſhe would lie there that night, tho' ſhe ſhould lie upon the boards. And at night, tho' the ſhorter and quicker way was to go from *Whitehal* to St. *James*'s thro' the Park, and ſhe always went that way, yet now, by a ſort of affectation, ſhe would be carried thither by *Charing-Croſs* thro' the *Pall-Mall*. And it was given out by all her train, that ſhe was going to be delivered. Some ſaid, it would be next morning: And the Prieſts ſaid very confidently that it would be a boy.

The Queen ſaid to be in labour.

The next morning, about nine a clock, ſhe ſent word to the King, that ſhe was in labour. The Queen *Dowager* was next ſent to. But no Ladies were ſent for: So that no women were in the room, but two dreſſers and one under-dreſſer, and the mid-wife. The Earl of *Arran* ſent notice to the Counteſs of *Sunderland*: So ſhe came. The Lady *Bellaſis* came alſo in time. The Proteſtant Ladies that belonged to the Court were all gone to Church before the news was let go abroad: For it happen'd on *Trinity Sunday*, it being that year on the tenth of *June*. The King brought over with him from *Whitehal* a great many Peers and Privy Counſellours. And of theſe eighteen were let into the Bed-chamber: But they ſtood at the furtheſt end of the room. The Ladies ſtood within the alcove. The curtains of the bed were drawn cloſe, and none came within them, but the mid-wife and an under-dreſſer. The Queen lay all the while a-bed: And, in order to the warming one ſide of it, a warming pan was brought. But it was not opened, that it might be ſeen that there was fire and nothing elſe in it: So here was matter for ſuſpicion, with which all people were filled.

And delivered of a ſon.

A little before ten, the Queen cried out as in a ſtrong pain, and immediately after the midwife ſaid aloud, ſhe was happily brought to bed. When the Lords all cried out of what, the midwife anſwered, the Queen muſt not be ſurpriſed: Only ſhe gave a ſign to the Counteſs of *Sunderland*, who upon that touched her forehead, by which it being the ſign before agreed on, the King ſaid he knew it was a boy. No cries were heard from the child: Nor was it ſhewed to thoſe in the room. It was pretended, more air was neceſſary. The under-dreſſer went out with the child, or ſomewhat elſe, in her arms to a dreſſing room, to which there was a door near the Queen's bed: But there was another entry to it from other appartments.

Great grounds of jealouſy appeared.

The King continued with the Lords in the Bed-chamber for ſome minutes, which was either a ſign of much phlegm upon ſuch an occaſion; for it was not known whether the child was alive or dead: Or it looked like the giving time for ſome management. After a little while they went all into the dreſſing room: And then

1688. the news was publiſhed. In the mean while, no body was called to lay their hands on the Queen's belly, in order to a full ſatisfaction. When the Princeſs came to town three days after, ſhe had as little ſatisfaction given her. *Chamberlain*, the man-midwife, who was always ordered to attend her labour before, and who brought the plaiſters for putting back the milk, wondered that he had not been ſent to. He went according to cuſtom with the plaiſters: But he was told they had no occaſion for him. He fancied, that ſome other perſon was put in his place: But he could not find that any had it. All that concerned the milk, or the Queen's purgations was managed ſtill in the dark. This made all people inclined more and more to believe, there was a baſe impoſture now put on the Nation. That ſtill increaſed. That night one *Hemings*, a very worthy man, an Apothecary by his trade, who lived in St. *Martin's Lane*, the very next door to a family of an eminent Papiſt: (*Brown*, brother to the Viſcount *Montacute*, lived there:) The wall between his parlour and theirs being ſo thin, that he could eaſily hear any thing that was ſaid with a louder voice, he (*Hemings*) was reading in his parlour late at night, when he heard one coming into the neighbouring parlour, and ſay with a doleful voice, the Prince of *Wales* is dead: Upon which a great many that lived in the houſe came down ſtairs very quick: Upon this confuſion he could not hear any thing more; but it was plain they were in a great conſternation. He went with the news next morning to the Biſhops in the Tower. The Counteſs of *Clarendon* came thither ſoon after, and told them, ſhe had been at the young Prince's door, but was denied acceſs: She was amazed at it; and asked, if they knew her: They ſaid, they did; but that the Queen had ordered, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould be ſuffered to come in to him. This gave credit to *Hemings*'s ſtory, and looked as if all was ordered to be kept ſhut up cloſe, till another child was found. One that ſaw the child two days after, ſaid to me, that he looked ſtrong, and not like a child ſo newly born. *Windebank* met *Walgrave* the day after this birth, and remembred him of what he had told him eight weeks before. He acknowledged what he had ſaid, but added, that God wrought miracles: To which no reply could or durſt be made by the other: It needed none. So healthy a child being ſo little like any of thoſe the Queen had born; it was given out, that he had fits, and could not live. But thoſe who ſaw him every day obſerved no ſuch thing. On the contrary the child was in a very proſperous ſtate. None of thoſe fits ever happen'd, when the Princeſs was at Court; for ſhe could not be denied admittance, tho' all others were. So this was believed to be given out to make the matter more credible. It is true, ſome weeks after that, the Court being gone to *Windſor*, and the child ſent to *Richmond*, he fell into ſuch fits, that four phyſicians were ſent for. They all looked on him as a dying child. The King and Queen were ſent for. The phyſicians went to a dinner prepared for them; and were often wondring that they were not called for. They took it for granted, that the child was dead. But, when they went in after dinner to look on him, they ſaw a ſound healthy child, that ſeemed to have had no ſort of illneſs on him. It was ſaid, that the child was ſtrangely revived of a ſudden. Some of the phyſicians told *Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, that it was not poſſible for them to think it was the ſame child. They looked on one another, but durſt not ſpeak what they thought.

The child, as was believed, died, and another was put in his room.

Thus I have related ſuch particulars as I could gather of this birth: To which ſome more ſhall be added, when I give an account of the proof that the King brought afterwards to put this matter out of doubt; but by which it became indeed more doubtful than ever. I took moſt of theſe from the informations that were ſent over to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, as I had many from the vouchers themſelves. I do not mix with theſe the various reports that were both then and afterwards, ſpread of this matter, of which Biſhop *Lloyd* has a great collection, moſt of them well atteſted. What truth ſoever may be in theſe, this is certain, that the method in which this matter was conducted from firſt to laſt was very unaccountable. If an impoſture had been intended, it could not have been otherwiſe managed. The pretended excuſe that the Queen made, that ſhe owed no ſatisfaction to thoſe who could ſuſpect her capable of ſuch baſe forgery, was the only excuſe that ſhe could have made, if it had been really what it was commonly ſaid to be. She ſeemed to be ſoon recovered, and was ſo little altered by her labour, either in her looks or voice, that this helped not a little to encreaſe jealouſies. The rejoycings over *England* upon this birth were very cold and forced. Bonefires were made in ſome places, and a ſet of congratulatory addreſſes went round the Nation. None durſt oppoſe them. But all was formal, and only to make a ſhew.

The

1688.

The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* received the news of this birth very decently. The firſt letters gave not thoſe grounds of ſuſpicion that were ſent to them afterwards. So they ſent over *Zuyleſtein* to congratulate: And the Princeſs ordered the Prince of *Wales* to be prayed for in her Chapel. Upon this occaſion, it may not be improper to ſet down what the Princeſs ſaid to my ſelf on this ſubject two years before. I had asked her, in the freedom of much diſcourſe, if ſhe knew the temper of her own mind, and how ſhe could bear the Queen's having a ſon. She ſaid, ſhe was ſure it would give her no concern at all on her own account: God knew beſt what was fit for her: And, if it was not to ſerve the great ends of providence, ſhe was ſure that, as to her ſelf, ſhe would rather wiſh to live and die in the condition ſhe was then in. The advertiſements formerly mentioned came over from ſo many hands, that it was impoſſible not to be ſhaken by them. It was alſo taken ill in *England*, that the Princeſs ſhould have begun ſo early to pray for the pretended Prince: Upon which the naming him diſcontinued. But this was ſo highly reſented by the Court of *England*, that the Prince, fearing it might precipitate a rupture, ordered him to be again named in the prayers.

The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* ſent to congratulate.

The Prince ſet himſelf with great application to prepare for the intended expedition: For *Zuyleſtein* brought him ſuch poſitive advices, and ſuch an aſſurance of the invitation he had deſired, that he was fully fixed in his purpoſe. It was adviſed from *England*, that the Prince could never hope for a more favourable conjuncture, nor for better grounds to break on, than he had at that time. The whole Nation was in a high fermentation. The proceedings againſt the Biſhops, and thoſe that were ſtill kept on foot againſt the Clergy, made all people think the ruin of the Church was reſolved on, and that on the firſt occaſion it would be executed, and that the Religion would be altered. The pretended birth made them reckon that Popery and Slavery would be entailed on the Nation. And, if this heat went off, people would loſe heart. It was alſo viſible, that the army continued well affected. They ſpoke openly againſt Popery: They drank the moſt reproachful healths againſt them that could be invented, and treated the few Papiſts that were among them with ſcorn and averſion. The King ſaw this ſo viſibly, that he broke up the camp, and ſent them to their quarters: And it was believed, that he would bring them no more together, till they were modelled more to his mind. The ſeamen ſhewed the ſame inclinations. The *Dutch* had ſet out a fleet of twenty four men of war, on pretence to ſecure their trade: So the King reſolved to ſet out as ſtrong a fleet: *Strickland*, who was a Papiſt, had the command. He brought ſome Prieſts aboard with him, who ſaid Maſs, or at leaſt performed ſuch offices of their Religion as are allowed on ſhips of war: And the chaplain, that was to ſerve the Proteſtants, in *Strickland*'s ſhip, was ſent away upon a ſlight pretence. This put the whole Fleet into ſuch a diſorder, that it was like to end in a mutiny. *Strickland* puniſhed ſome for this: And the King came down to accommodate the matter. He ſpoke very ſoftly to the ſeamen: Yet this made no great impreſſion: For they hated Popery in general, and *Strickland* in particular. When ſome gained perſons among the ſeamen tried their affections to the *Dutch*, it appeared they had no inclinations to make war on them. They ſaid aloud, they were their friends and their brethren; but they would very willingly againſt the *French*. The King ſaw all this, and was reſolved to take other more moderate meaſures.

The Prince deſigns an expedition to *England*.

Theſe advices were ſuggeſted by the Earl of *Sunderland*, who ſaw the King was running violently to his own ruin. So, as ſoon as the Queen admitted men to audiences, he had ſome very long ones of her. He repreſented to her, that the ſtate of her affairs was quite changed by her having a ſon. There was no need of driving things faſt, now they had a ſucceſſion ſure: Time would bring all about, if matters were but ſoftly managed. He told her, it would become her to ſet up for the author of gentle counſels, that ſhe might by another adminiſtration lay the flame that was now kindled. By this ſhe would gain the hearts of the Nation, both to her ſelf and to her ſon: She might be declared Regent, in caſe the King ſhould die before her ſon came to be of age. He found theſe advices began to be hearkned to. But, that he might have the more credit in preſſing them, he, who had but too ſlight notions of religion, reſolved to declare himſelf a Papiſt. And then, he being in the ſame intereſt with her, and moſt violently hated for this ill ſtep he had made, he gained ſuch an aſcendant over her ſpirit, that things were like to be put in another management.

Sunderland adviſed more moderate proceedings.

He

1688. And he turned Papiſt.

He made the ſtep to Popery all of the ſudden, without any previous inſtruction or conference: So that the change he made looked too like a man, who, having no religion, took up one, rather for to ſerve a turn, than that he was truly changed from one religion to another. He has been ſince accuſed, as if he had done all this to gain the more credit, that ſo he might the more effectually ruin the King. There was a ſuſpicion of another nature, that ſtuck with ſome in *England*, who thought that Mr. *Sidney*, who had the ſecret of all the correſpondence that was between the Prince and his party in *England*, being in particular friendſhip with the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Earl had got into that ſecret: And they fancied he would get into the Prince's confidence by *Sidney*'s means. So I was writ to, and deſired to put it home to the Prince, whether he was in any confidence or correſpondence with the Earl of *Sunderland*, or not? For, till they were ſatisfied in that matter, they would not go on; ſince they believed he would betray all, when things were ripe for it; and that many were engaged in the deſign. The Prince upon that did ſay very poſitively, that he was in no ſort of correſpondence with him. His counſels lay then another way. And, if time had been given him to follow the ſcheme then laid down by him, things might have turned fatally: And the Nation might have been ſo laid aſleep with new promiſes, and a different conduct, that in a ſlow method they might have gained that, which they were ſo near loſing by the violent proceedings in which they had gone ſo far. The Judges had orders in their circuits to proceed very gently, and to give new promiſes in the King's name. But they were treated every where with ſuch contempt, that the common decencies were ſcarce paid them, when they were on the bench. And they now ſaw that the preſentments of Grand Juries, and the verdicts of other Juries, were no more under their direction. Things ſlept in *England*, as is uſual, during the long vacation. But the Court had little quiet, having every day freſh alarms from abroad, as well as great mortifications at home.

The Prince of *Orange* treats with ſome Princes of the Empire.

I muſt now change the ſcene, and give a large account of the affairs abroad, they having ſuch a connection with all that followed in *England*. Upon the Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s death, the Prince ſent Mr. *Bentink* with the compliment to the new Elector: And he was ordered to lay before him the ſtate of affairs, and to communicate the Prince's deſign to him, and to ask him, how much he might depend upon him for his aſſiſtance. The anſwer was full and frank. He offered all that was asked, and more. The Prince reſolved to carry over to *England* an Army of nine thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe and dragoons. He intended to chooſe theſe out of the whole *Dutch* Army. But for the ſecurity of the States, under ſuch a diminution of their force, it was neceſſary to have a ſtrength from ſome other Princes. This was ſoon concerted between the Prince and the new Elector, with the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Duke of *Lunenburg* and *Zell*, who had a particular affection to the Prince, and was a cordial friend to him on all occaſions.

His brother, the Duke of *Hanover*, was at that time in ſome engagements with the Court of *France*. But, ſince he had married the Princeſs *Sophia* of the *Palatine* Houſe, I ventured to ſend a meſſage to her by one of their Court, who was then at the *Hague*. He was a *French* Refugee, named Mr. *Boucour*. It was to acquaint her with our deſign with relation to *England*, and to let her know, that, if we ſucceeded, certainly a perpetual excluſion of all Papiſts from the ſucceſſion to the Crown would be enacted: And, ſince ſhe was the next Proteſtant heir after the two Princeſſes, and the Prince of *Orange*, of whom at that time there was no iſſue alive, I was very confident, that if the Duke of *Hanover* could be diſengaged from the intereſts of *France*, ſo that he came into our intereſts, the ſucceſſion to the Crown would be lodged in her perſon, and in her poſterity; tho' on the other hand, if he continued, as he ſtood then, engaged with *France*, I could not anſwer for this. The Gentleman carried the meſſage, and delivered it. The Ducheſs entertained it with much warmth: And brought him to the Duke to repeat it to him. But at that time this made no great impreſſion on him. He looked on it as a remote and a doubtful project. Yet when he ſaw our ſucceſs in *England*, he had other thoughts of it. Some days after this *Frenchman* was gone, I told the Prince what I had done. He approved of it heartily: But was particularly glad, that I had done it, as of my ſelf, without communicating it to him, or any way engaging him in it: For he ſaid, if it ſhould happen to be known that the propoſition was made by him, it might do us hurt in *England*, as if he had already reckoned himſelf ſo far maſter, as to be forming projects concerning the ſucceſſion to the Crown.

1688.

The affairs of *Colen*.

But while this was in a ſecret management, the Elector of *Colen*'s death came in very luckily to give a good colour to intrigues and preparations. The old Elector was brother to *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*. He had been long Biſhop, both of *Colen* and *Liege*: He was alſo elected Biſhop of *Munſter*: But the Pope would never grant his Bulls for that See: But he had the temporalties, and that was all he thought on. He had thus a revenue of near four millions of Guilders, and four great Biſhopricks; for he was likewiſe Biſhop of *Hildeſheim*. He could arm and pay twenty thouſand men, beſides that his dominions lay quite round the *Netherlands*. *Munſter* lay between them and the Northern parts of *Germany*; and from thence their beſt recruits came. *Colen* commanded twenty leagues of the *Rhine*; by which, as an entrance was opened into *Holland*, which they had felt ſeverely in the year 1672, ſo the *Spaniſh Netherlands* were entirely cut off from all aſſiſtance that might be ſent them out of *Germany*: And *Liege* was a country full both of people and wealth, by which an entrance is open into *Brabant*: And if *Maſtreicht* was taken, the *Maeſe* was open down to *Holland*. So it was of great importance to the States to take care who ſhould ſucceed him. The old man was a weak Prince, much ſet on chymical proceſſes, in hopes of the Philoſopher's ſtone. He had taken one of the Princes of *Furſtenberg* into his particular confidence, and was entirely governed by him. He made him one of the Canons of *Colen*: And he came to be Dean at laſt. He made him not only his chief Miniſter, but left the nomination of the Canons that were preferred by him wholly to his choice. The Biſhop, and the Dean and Chapter, name thoſe by turns. So, what by thoſe the Elector named on his motion, what by thoſe he got to be choſen, he reckoned he was ſure of ſucceeding the Elector: And nothing but ill management could have prevented it. He had no hopes of ſucceeding at *Munſter*. But he had taken much pains to ſecure *Liege*.

I need not enlarge further on this ſtory, than to remember that he got the Elector to deliver his Country up to the *French* in the year 1672, and that the treaty opened at *Colen* was broken up on his being ſeized by the Emperour's order. After he was ſet at liberty, he was, upon the recommendation of the Court of *France*, made a Cardinal, tho' with much difficulty. In the former winter, the Emperour had been prevailed on by the *Palatine* Family to conſent to the election of a Coadjutor in *Colen*. But this was an artifice of the Cardinal's, who deceived that family into the hopes of carrying the election for one of their branches. And they obtained the Emperour's conſent to it, without which it could not be done. But ſo ill grounded were the *Palatine*'s hopes, that of twenty five voices the Cardinal had nineteen, and they had only ſix voices.

The conteſt at *Rome* about the Franchiſes had now occaſioned ſuch a rupture there, that *France* and *Rome* ſeemed to be in a ſtate of war. The Count *Lavardin* was ſent Ambaſſadour to *Rome*. But the Pope refuſed to receive him, unleſs he would renounce the pretenſion to the Franchiſes. So he entred *Rome* in a hoſtile manner, with ſome troops of horſe, tho' not in form of troops: But the force was too great for the Pope. He kept guards about his houſe, and in the Franchiſes, and affronted the Pope's authority on all occaſions. The Pope bore all ſilently; but would never admit him to an audience, nor receive any meſſage nor interceſſion from the Court of *France*; and kept off every thing, in which they concerned themſelves: And therefore he would not confirm the election of a Coadjutor to *Colen*. So, that not being done when the Elector died, the Canons were to proceed to a new election, the former being void, becauſe not confirmed: For if it had been confirmed, there would have been no vacancy.

The cabal againſt the Cardinal grew ſo ſtrong, that he began to apprehend he might loſe it, if he had not leave from the Pope to reſign the Biſhoprick of *Strasburg*, which the *French* had forced him to accept, only to leſſen the penſion that they paid him by giving him that Biſhoprick. By the rules of the Empire, a man that is already a Biſhop, cannot be choſen to another See, but by a poſtulation: And to that it is neceſſary to have a concurrence of two thirds of the Chapter. But it was at the Pope's choice, whether he would accept of the reſignation of *Strasburg*, or not: And therefore he refuſed it. The King of *France* ſent a Gentleman to the Pope with a letter writ in his own hand, deſiring him to accept of that reſignation, and promiſing him upon it all reaſonable ſatisfaction: But the Pope would not admit the bearer, nor receive the letter. He ſaid, while the *French* Ambaſſadour

1688. lived at *Rome* like an enemy, that had invaded it, he would receive nothing from that Court.

In the Biſhopricks of *Munſter* and *Hildeſheim*, the Deans were promoted, of whom both the States and the Princes of the Empire were well aſſured. But a new management was ſet up at *Colen*. The Elector of *Bavaria* had been diſguſted at ſome things in the Emperour's Court. He complained, that the honour of the ſucceſs in *Hungary* was given ſo entirely to the Duke of *Lorrain*, that he had not the ſhare which belonged to him. The *French* inſtruments that were then about him took occaſion to alienate him more from the Emperour, by repreſenting to him, that, in the management now at *Colen*, the Emperour ſhewed more regard to the *Palatine* Family than to himſelf, after all the ſervice he had done him. The Emperour, apprehending the ill conſequences of a breach with him, ſent and offered him the ſupream command of his Armies in *Hungary* for that year, the Duke of *Lorrain* being taken ill of a fever, juſt as they were upon opening the Campaign. He likewiſe offered him all the voices that the *Palatine* had made at *Colen*, in favour of his brother Prince *Clement*. Upon this they were again reconciled: And the Elector of *Bavaria* commanded the Emperour's Army in *Hungary* ſo ſucceſsfully, that he took *Belgrade* by ſtorm after a ſhort ſiege. Prince *Clement* was then but ſeventeen, and was not of the Chapter of *Colen*. So he was not eligible according to their rules, till he obtained a Bull from the Pope diſpenſing with theſe things. That was eaſily got. With it the Emperour ſent one to manage the election in his name, with expreſs inſtructions to offer the Chapter the whole revenue and government of the temporalties for five years, in caſe they would chooſe Prince *Clement*, who wanted all that time to be of age. If he could make nine voices ſure for him, he was to ſtick firm to his intereſt. But, if he could not gain ſo many, he was to conſent to any perſon that ſhould be ſet up in oppoſition to the Cardinal. He was ordered to charge him ſeverely before the Chapter, as one that had been for many years an enemy and traitor to the Empire. This was done with all poſſible aggravations, and in very injurious words.

The Chapter ſaw, that this election was like to be attended with a war in their Country, and other diſmal conſequences: For the Cardinal was choſen by the Chapter Vicar, or Guardian of the temporalties: And he had put garriſons in all the fortified places, that were paid with *French* money: And they knew, he would put them all in the King of *France*'s hands, if he was not elected. They had promiſed not to vote in favour of the *Bavarian* Prince. So they offered to the Emperour's agent to conſent to any third perſon. But ten voices were made ſure to Prince *Clement*: So he was fixed to his intereſts. At the election, the Cardinal had fourteen voices, and Prince *Clement* had ten. By this means the Cardinal's poſtulation was defective, ſince he had not two thirds. And upon that Prince *Clement*'s election was firſt judged good by the Emperour as to the temporalties; but was tranſmitted by him to *Rome*, where a congregation of Cardinals examined it: And it was judged in favour of Prince *Clement*. The Cardinal ſucceeded worſe at *Liege*, where the Dean was without any difficulty choſen Biſhop: and nothing but the Cardinal's purple ſaved him from the violences of the people of *Liege*. He met with all ſorts of injurious uſage, being hated there, both on the account of his depending ſo much on the protection of *France*, and for the effects they had felt of his violent and cruel Miniſtry under the old Elector. I will add one circumſtance in honour of ſome of the Canons of *Liege*. They not only would accept of no preſents from thoſe whom the States appointed to aſſiſt in managing that election, before it was made; but they refuſed them after the election was over. This I ſaw in the letter that the States Deputy wrote to the *Hague*.

I have given a more particular account of this matter; becauſe I was acquainted with all the ſteps that were made in it. And it had ſuch an immediate relation to the peace and ſafety of *Holland*, that, if they had miſcarried in it, the expedition deſigned for *England* would not have been ſo ſafe, nor could it have been propoſed eaſily in the States. By this it appeared, what an influence the Papacy, low as it is, may ſtill have in the matters of the greateſt conſequence. The fooliſh pride of the *French* Court, which had affronted the Pope, in a point in which, ſince they allowed him to be the Prince of *Rome*, he certainly could lay down ſuch rules as he thought fit, did now defeat a deſign that they had been long driving at, and which could not have miſcarried by any other means, than thoſe that they had found out.

Such

1688.

Such great events may and do often riſe from inconſiderable beginnings. Theſe things furniſhed the Prince with a good blind for covering all his preparations; ſince here a war in their neighbourhood was unavoidable, and it was neceſſary to ſtrengthen both their alliances and their troops. For it was viſible to all the world, that, if the *French* could have fixed themſelves in the territory of *Colen*, the way was opened to enter *Holland*, or to ſeize on *Flanders*, when the King pleaſed; and he would have the four Electors on the *Rhine* at mercy. It was neceſſary to diſlodge them, and this could not be done without a war with *France*. The Prince got the States to ſettle a fund for nine thouſand ſeamen to be conſtantly in their ſervice. And orders were given to put naval preparations in ſuch a caſe, that they might be ready to put to ſea upon orders. Thus things went on in *July* and *Auguſt*, with ſo much ſecrecy and ſo little ſuſpicion, that neither the Court of *England* nor the Court of *France* ſeemed to be alarmed at them.

Herbert came over to *Holland*.

In *July*, Admiral *Herbert* came over to *Holland*, and was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill humour: For he was upon every occaſion ſo ſullen and peeviſh, that it was plain he ſet a high value on himſelf, and expected the ſame of all others. He had got his accounts paſt, in which he complained, that the King had uſed him not only hardly but unjuſtly. He was a man delivered up to pride and luxury. Yet he had a good underſtanding: And he had gained ſo great a reputation by his ſteady behaviour in *England*, that the Prince underſtood that it was expected he ſhould uſe him as he himſelf ſhould deſire; in which it was not very eaſy to him to conſtrain himſelf ſo far as that required. The managing him was in a great meaſure put on me: And it was no eaſy thing. It made me often reflect on the providence of God, that makes ſome men inſtruments in great things, to which they themſelves have no ſort of affection or diſpoſition: For his private quarrel with the Lord *Dartmouth*, who he thought had more of the King's confidence than he himſelf had, was believed the root of all the ſullenneſs he fell under towards the King, and of all the firmneſs that grew out of that.

The advices from *England*.

I now return to *England*, to give an account of a ſecret management there. The Lord *Mordaunt* was the firſt of all the *Engliſh* Nobility that came over openly to ſee the Prince of *Orange*. He asked the King's leave to do it. He was a man of much heat, many notions, and full of diſcourſe: He was brave and generous: But had not true judgment: His thoughts were crude and indigeſted: And his ſecrets were ſoon known. He was with the Prince in the year 1686: And then he preſſed him to undertake the buſineſs of *England*: And he repreſented the matter as ſo eaſy, that this appeared too romantical to the Prince to build upon it. He only promiſed in general, that he ſhould have an eye on the affairs of *England*; and ſhould endeavour to put the affairs of *Holland* in ſo good a poſture, as to be ready to act when it ſhould be neceſſary: And he aſſured him, that, if the King ſhould go about either to change the eſtabliſhed religion, or to wrong the Princeſs in her right, or to raiſe forged plots to deſtroy his friends, that he would try what he could poſſibly do. Next year a man of a far different temper came over to him:

The Lord *Mordaunt's* character.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury's* character.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury*. He had been bred a Papiſt, but had forſaken that religion upon a very critical and anxious enquiry into matters of controverſy. Some thought, that, tho' he had forſaken Popery, he was too ſceptical, and too little fixed in the points of religion. He ſeemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high ſenſe of honour. He had no ordinary meaſure of learning, a correct judgment, with a ſweetneſs of temper that charmed all who knew him. He had at that time juſt notions of government; and ſo great a command of himſelf, that, during all the time that he continued in the Miniſtry, I never heard any one complaint of him, but for his ſilent and reſerved anſwers, with which his friends were not always well pleaſed. His modeſt deportment gave him ſuch an intereſt in the Prince, that he never ſeemed ſo fond of any of his Miniſters, as he was of him. He had only in general laid the ſtate of affairs before the Prince, without preſſing him too much.

Ruſſel's character.

But *Ruſſel* coming over in *May* brought the matter nearer a point. He was a couſin german to the Lord *Ruſſel*. He had been bred at ſea, and was Bed-chamberman to the King, when he was Duke of *York*: But, upon the Lord *Ruſſel's* death, he retired from the Court. He was a man of much honour, and great courage. He had good principles, and was firm to them. The Prince ſpoke more poſitively to him, than he had ever done before. He ſaid, he muſt ſatisfy both his honour and conſcience, before he could enter upon ſo great a deſign, which, if it miſcarried, muſt

1688. must bring ruin both on *England* and *Holland*: He proteſted, that no private ambition nor reſentment of his own could ever prevail ſo far with him, as to make him break with ſo near a relation, or engage in a war, of which the conſequences muſt be of the laſt importance both to the intereſts of *Europe* and of the Proteſtant Religion: Therefore he expected formal and direct invitations. *Ruſſel* laid before him the danger of truſting ſuch a ſecret to great numbers. The Prince ſaid, if a conſiderable number of men, that might be ſuppoſed to underſtand to ſenſe of the Nation beſt, ſhould do it, he would acquieſce in it.

Ruſſel told me, that, upon his return to *England*, he communicated the matter, firſt to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and then to the Lord *Lumley*, who was a late convert from Popery, and had ſtood out very firmly all this reign. He was a man, who laid his intereſt much to heart: And he reſolved to embark deep in this deſign.

Sidney's character. But the man in whoſe hands the conduct of the whole deſign was chiefly depoſited, by the Prince's own order, was Mr. *Sidney*, brother to the Earl of *Leiceſter* and to *Algernoon Sidney*. He was a graceful man, and had lived long in the Court, where he had ſome adventures that became very publick. He was a man of a ſweet and careſſing temper, had no malice in his heart, but too great a love of pleaſure. He had been ſent Envoy to *Holland* in the year 1679, where he entred into ſuch particular confidences with the Prince, that he had the higheſt meaſure of his truſt and favour that any *Engliſhman* ever had. This was well known over *England*: So that all who deſired to recommend themſelves to the Prince did it thro' his hands. He was ſo apprehenſive of the dangers this might caſt him in, that he travelled almoſt a year round *Italy*. But now matters ripened faſter: So all centered in him. But, becauſe he was lazy, and the buſineſs required an active man, who could both run about, and write over long and full accounts of all matters, I recommended a kinſman of my own, *Johnſtoune*, whom I had formed, and knew to be both faithful and diligent, and very fit for the employment he was now truſted with.

Many engaged in the deſign. *Sidney* tried the Marquis of *Hallifax*, if he would adviſe the Prince's coming over. But, as this matter was opened to him at a great diſtance, he did not encourage a further freedom. He looked on the thing as impracticable: It depended on ſo many accidents, that he thought it was a raſh and deſperate project, that ventured all upon ſuch a dangerous iſſue, as might turn on ſeas and winds. It was next opened to the Earl of *Danby*: And he not only went in heartily to it himſelf, but drew in the Biſhop of *London* to join in it. By their advice it was propoſed to the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had great credit with the whole Church party: For he was a man poſſeſſed with their notions, and was grave and vertuous in the courſe of his life. He had ſome knowledge of the law, and of the records of Parliament, and was a copious Speaker, but too florid and tedious. He was much admired by many. He had ſtood at a great diſtance from the Court all this reign: For, tho' his name was ſtill among the Privy Counſellours, yet he never went to the board. He upon the firſt propoſition entertained it, and agreed to it. But at their next meeting he ſaid, he had conſidered better of that matter: His conſcience was ſo reſtrained in thoſe points, that he could not go further with them in it: He ſaid, he had talked with ſome Divines, and named *Tillotſon* and *Stillingfleet*, in general of the thing; and they were not ſatisfied with it: (Tho' they proteſted to me afterwards, that they remembred no ſuch thing:) He confeſſed, he ſhould not have ſuffered them to go ſo far with him in ſuch a ſecret, till he had examined it better: They had now, according to *Italian* notions, a right to murder him: But, tho' his principles reſtrained him, ſo that he could not go on with them, his affections would make him to wiſh well to them, and be ſo far a criminal as concealment could make him one. The Earl of *Devonſhire* was ſpoke to: And he went into it with great reſolution. It was next propoſed to three of the chief Officers of the Army, *Trelawny*, *Kirk*, and the Lord *Churchill*. Theſe went all into it. And *Trelawny* engaged his brother, the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, into it.

Lord Churchill's character. But, having now named the Lord *Churchill*, who is like to be mentioned oft by me in the ſequel of this work, I will ſay a little more of him. He was a man of a noble and graceful appearance, bred up in the Court with no literature: But he had a ſolid and clear underſtanding, with a conſtant preſence of mind. He knew the arts of living in a Court beyond any man in it. He careſſed all people with a ſoft and obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices. He had no fortune to ſet up on: This put him on all the methods of acquiring one. And that went ſo far into him,

him, that he did not ſhake it off, when he was in a much higher elevation: Nor was his expence ſuited enough to his poſts. But, when allowances are made for that, it muſt be acknowledged, that he is one of the greateſt men the age has produced. He was in high favour with the King. But his Lady was much more in Princeſs *Anne*'s favour. She had an aſcendant over her in every thing. She was a Woman of little knowledge, but of a clear apprehenſion, and a true judgment, a warm and hearty friend, violent and ſudden in her reſolutions, and impetuous in her way of ſpeaking. She was thought proud and inſolent on her favour, tho' ſhe uſed none of the common arts of a Court to maintain it: For ſhe did not beſet the Princeſs, nor flatter her. She ſtaid much at home, and looked very carefully after the education of her children. Having thus opened both their characters, I will now give an account of this Lord's engagements in this matter; for which he has been ſo ſeverely cenſured, as guilty both of ingratitude and treachery to a very kind and liberal maſter. He never diſcovered any of the King's ſecrets; nor did he ever puſh him on to any violent proceedings. So that he was in no contrivance to ruin or betray him. On the contrary, whenſoever he ſpoke to the King of his affairs, which he did but ſeldom, becauſe he could not fall in with the King's notions, he always ſuggeſted moderate counſels. The Earl of *Gallway* told me, that when he came over with the firſt compliment upon the King's coming to the Crown, he ſaid then to him, that, if the King was ever prevailed on to alter our religion, he would ſerve him no longer, but withdraw from him. So early was this reſolution fixed in him. When he ſaw how the King was ſet, he could not be contented to ſee all ruined by him. He was alſo very doubtful as to the pretended birth. So he reſolved, when the Prince ſhould come over, to go in to him; but to betray no poſt, nor do any thing more than the withdrawing himſelf, with ſuch officers as he could truſt with ſuch a ſecret. He alſo undertook, that Prince *George* and the Princeſs *Anne* would leave the Court, and come to the Prince, as ſoon as was poſſible. 1688.

With theſe invitations and letters the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and *Ruſſel* came over in *September:* And ſoon after them came *Sidney* with *Johnſtoune*. And they brought over a full ſcheme of advices, together with the heads of a declaration, all which were chiefly penned by Lord *Danby*. He and the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lord *Lumley* undertook for the North: And they all diſperſed themſelves into their ſeveral countries, and among their friends. The thing was in the hands of many thouſands, who yet were ſo true to one another, that none of them made any diſcovery, no not by their raſhneſs: Tho' they were ſo confident, that they did not uſe ſo diſcreet a conduct as was neceſſary. Matters went on in *Holland* with great ſecrecy till *September*. Then it was known, that many arms were beſpoke. And, tho' thoſe were bargained for in the name of the King of *Sweden*, and of ſome of the Princes of *Germany*, yet there was ground enough for ſuſpicion. All thoſe that were truſted proved both faithful and diſcreet. And here an eminent difference appeared between the hearty concurrence of thoſe who went into a deſign upon principles of religion and honour, and the forced compliance of mercenary Soldiers, or corrupt Miniſters, which is neither cordial nor ſecret. *France* took the alarm firſt, and gave it to the Court of *England*.

D'Avaux, the *French* Ambaſſadour, could no more give the Court of *France* thoſe advertiſements that he was wont to ſend of all that paſt in *Holland*. He had great allowances for entertaining agents and ſpies every where. But *Louvoy*, who hated him, ſuggeſted that there was no more need of theſe: So they were ſtopped: And the Ambaſſadour was not ſorry, that the Court felt their errour ſo ſenſibly. The King publiſhed the advertiſements he had from *France* a little too raſhly: For all people were much animated, when they heard it from ſuch a hand. The King ſoon ſaw his errour: And to correct it, he ſaid on many occaſions, that whatever the deſigns of the *Dutch* might be, he was ſure they were not againſt him. It was given out ſometimes, that they were againſt *France*, and then that they were againſt *Denmark*. Yet the King ſhewed he was not without his fears: For he ordered fourteen more ſhips to be put to ſea with many fireſhips. He recalled *Strickland*, and gave the command to the Lord *Dartmouth*; who was indeed one of the worthieſt men of his Court: He loved him, and had been long in his ſervice, and in his confidence: But he was much againſt all the conduct of his affairs: Yet he reſolved to ſtick to him at all hazards. The ſeamen came in ſlowly: And a heavy backwardneſs appeared in every thing.

The Court of *France* gave the alarm.

1688. A new and unlooked for accident gave the King a very ſenſible trouble. It was reſolved, as was told before, to model the Army, and to begin with recruits from *Ireland*. Upon which the *Engliſh* Army would have become inſenſibly an *Iriſh* one. The King made the firſt trial on the Duke of *Berwick*'s Regiment, which being already under an illegal Colonel, it might be ſuppoſed they were ready to ſubmit to every thing. Five *Iriſhmen* were ordered to be put into every company of that Regiment, which then lay at *Portſmouth*. But *Beaumont*, the Lieutenant Colonel, and five of the Captains refuſed to receive them. They ſaid, they had raiſed their men upon the Duke of *Monmouth*'s invaſion, by which their zeal for the King's ſervice did evidently appear. If the King would order any recruits, they doubted not, but that they ſhould be able to make them. But they found, it would give ſuch an univerſal diſcontent, if they ſhould receive the *Iriſh* among them, that it would put them out of a capacity of ſerving the King any more. But as the order was poſitive, ſo the Duke of *Berwick* was ſent down to ſee it obeyed. Upon which they deſired leave to lay down their commiſſions. The King was provoked by this to ſuch a degree that he could not govern his paſſion. The Officers were put in arreſt, and brought before a Council of War, where they were broken with reproach, and declared incapable to ſerve the King any more. But upon this occaſion the whole Officers of the Army declared ſo great an unwillingneſs to mix with thoſe of another Nation and Religion, that, as no more attempts were made of this kind, ſo it was believed that this fixed the King in a point that was then under debate.

Recruits from *Ireland* refuſed.

The King of *France*, when he gave the King the advertiſements of the preparations in *Holland*, offered him ſuch a force as he ſhould call for. Twelve or fifteen thouſand were named, or as many more as he ſhould deſire. It was propoſed, that they ſhould land at *Portſmouth*, and that they ſhould have that place to keep the communication with *France* open, and in their hands. All the Prieſts were for this: So were moſt of the Popiſh Lords. The Earl of *Sunderland* was the only man in credit that oppoſed it. He ſaid, the offer of an Army of forty thouſand men might be a real ſtrength: But then it would depend on the orders that came from *France*: They might perhaps maſter *England*: But they would become the King's maſters at the ſame time: So that he muſt govern under ſuch orders as they ſhould give: And thus he would quickly become only a Viceroy to the King of *France*: Any Army leſs than that would loſe the King the affections of his people, and drive his own Army to deſertion, if not to mutiny.

Offers made by the *French*.

The King did not think matters were yet ſo near a criſis: So he did neither entertain the propoſition, nor let it fall quite to the ground. There was a treaty ſet on foot, and the King was to have an hundred merchant ſhips ready for the tranſportation of ſuch forces as he ſhould deſire, which it was promiſed ſhould be ready when called for. It is certain, that the *French* Ambaſſadour then at *London*, who knew the Court better than he did the Nation, did believe, that the King would have been able to have made a greater diviſion of the Nation, than it proved afterwards he was able to do. He believed, it would have gone to a civil War; and that then the King would have been forced to have taken aſſiſtance from *France* on any terms: And ſo he encouraged the King of *France* to go on with his deſigns that Winter, and he believed he might come in good time next year to the King's aſſiſtance. Theſe advices proved fatal the King, and to *Barillon* himſelf: For, when he was ſent over to *France*, he was ſo ill looked on, that it was believed it had an ill effect on his health; for he died ſoon after.

Not entertained at that time.

D'Albeville came over fully perſuaded that the *Dutch* deſigned the expedition againſt *England*, but plaid the Miniſter ſo, that he took pains to infuſe into all people that they deſigned no ſuch thing; which made him to be generally laughed at. He was ſoon ſent back: And, in a memorial he gave into the States, he asked, what was the deſign of thoſe great and ſurprizing preparations at ſuch a ſeaſon. The States, according to their ſlow forms let this lie long before them, without giving it an anſwer.

But the Court of *France* made a greater ſtep. The *French* Ambaſſadour in a memorial told the States that his maſter underſtood their deſign was againſt *England*, and in that caſe he ſignified to them, that there was ſuch a ſtrait alliance between him and the King of *England*, that he would look on every thing done againſt *England*, as an invaſion of his own Crown. This put the King and his Miniſters much out of countenance: For, upon ſome ſurmiſes of an alliance with *France*, they had very poſitively

The *French* own an alliance with the King.

positively denied there was any such thing. *D'Albeville* did continue to deny it at the *Hague*, even after the memorial was put in. The King did likewise deny it to the *Dutch* Ambassadour at *London*. And the blame of the putting it into the memorial was cast on *Shelton* the King's Envoy at *Paris*, who was disowned in it, and upon his coming over was put in the Tower for it. This was a short disgrace; for he was soon after made Lieutenant of the Tower. His rash folly might have procured the order from the Court of *France*, to own this alliance: He thought it would terrify the States: And so he pressed this officiously, which they easily granted. That related only to the owning it in so publick a manner. But this did clearly prove, that such an alliance was made: Otherwise no instances, how pressing soever, would have prevailed with the Court of *France* to have owned it in so solemn a manner: For what Ambassadours say in their masters name, when they are not immediately disowned, passes for authentick. So that it was a vain cavil that some made afterwards, when they asked, how was this alliance proved? The memorial was a full proof of it: And the shew of a disgrace on *Shelton* did not at all weaken that proof. 1688.

But I was more confirmed of this matter by what Sir *William Trumball*, then the *English* Ambassadour at *Constantinople*, told me at his return to *England*. He was the eminentest of all our Civilians, and was by much the best pleader in those Courts, and was a learned, a diligent, and a vertuous man. He was sent Envoy to *Paris* upon the Lord *Preston*'s being recalled. He was there when the edict that repealed the edict of *Nantes* was past, and saw the violence of the persecution, and acted a great and worthy part in harbouring many, in covering their effects, and in conveying over their jewels and plate to *England*; which disgusted the Court of *France*, and was not very acceptable to the Court of *England*, tho' it was not then thought fit to disown or recal him for it. He had orders to put in memorials, complaining of the invasion of the Principality of *Orange*; which he did in so high a strain, that the last of them was like a denunciation of War. From thence he was sent to *Turkey*. And, about this time, he was surprized one morning by a visit that the *French* Ambassadour made him, without those ceremonies that pass between Ambassadours. He told him, there was no ceremony to be between them any more; for their masters were now one. And he shewed him Monsieur *de Croissy*'s letter, which was written in cypher. The decyphering he read to him, importing that now an alliance was concluded between the two Kings. So, this matter was as evidently proved, as a thing of such a nature could possibly be.

The conduct of *France* at that time with relation to the States was very unaccountable; and proved as favourable to the Prince of *Orange*'s designs, as if he had directed it. All the manufacture of *Holland* both linnen and woollen was prohibited in *France*. The importation of herrings was also prohibited, except they were cured with *French* salt. This was contrary to the treaty of commerce. The manufacture began to suffer much. And this was sensible to those who were concerned in the herring trade. So the States prohibited the importing of *French* wine or brandy, till the trade should be set free again of both sides. There was nothing that the Prince had more reason to apprehend, than that the *French* should have given the States some satisfaction in the point of trade, and offered some assurances with relation to the territory of *Colen*. Many of the Towns of *Holland* might have been wrought on by some temper in these things; great bodies being easily deceived, and not easily drawn into Wars, which interrupt that trade which they subsist by. But the height the Court of *France* was then in, made them despise all the World. They seemed rather to wish for a War, than to fear it. This disposed the States to an unanimous concurrence in the great resolutions that were now agreed on, of raising ten thousand men more, and of accepting thirteen thousand *Germans*, for whom the Prince had, as was formerly mentioned, agreed with some of the Princes of the Empire. *Amsterdam* was at first cold in the matter: But they consented with the rest. Reports were given out, that the *French* would settle a regulation of commerce, and that they would abandon the Cardinal, and leave the affairs of *Colen* to be settled by the laws of the Empire. Expedients were also spoke of for accommodating the matter, by Prince *Clement*'s being admitted Coadjutor, and by his having some of the strong places put in his hands. This was only given out to amuse.

The strange conduct of *France*.

But

1688.

A Manifesto of war against the Empire.

But while these things were discourſed of at the *Hague*, the World was ſurpriſed with a Manifeſto ſet out, in the King of *France*'s name, againſt the Emperour. In it, the Emperour's ill deſigns againſt *France* were ſet forth. It alſo complained of the Elector *Palatine*'s injuſtice to the Ducheſs of *Orleans*, in not giving her the ſucceſſion that fell to her by her brother's death, which conſiſted in ſome lands, cannon, furniture, and other moveable goods. It alſo charged him with the diſturbances in *Colen*, he having intended firſt to gain that to one of his own ſons, and then engaging the *Bavarian* Prince into it; whoſe elder brother having no children, he hoped, by bringing him into an Eccleſiaſtical State, to make the ſucceſſion of *Bavaria* fall into his own family. It charged the Emperour likewiſe with a deſign to force the Electors to chooſe his ſon King of the *Romans*; and that the Elector *Palatine* was preſſing him to make peace with the *Turks*, in order to the turning his arms againſt *France*. By their means a great alliance was projected among many Proteſtant Princes to diſturb Cardinal *Furſtenberg* in the poſſeſſion of *Colen*, to which he was poſtulated by the majority of the Chapter. And this might turn to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion in that territory. Upon all theſe conſiderations, the King of *France*, ſeeing that his enemies could not enter into *France*, by any other way but by that of *Philipsburgh*, reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of it, and then to demoliſh it. He reſolved alſo to take *Kaiſarſlauter* from the *Palatine*, and to keep it, till the Ducheſs of *Orleans* had juſtice done her in her pretenſions. And he alſo reſolved to ſupport the Cardinal in his poſſeſſion of *Colen*. But, to balance this, he offered to the Houſe of *Bavaria*, that Prince *Clement* ſhould be choſen Coadjutor. He offered alſo to raſe *Fribourg*, and to reſtore *Kaiſarſlauter*, as ſoon as the Elector *Palatine* ſhould pay the Ducheſs of *Orleans* the juſt value of her pretenſions. He demanded, that the truce between him and the Empire ſhould be turned into a peace. He propoſed, that the King of *England* and the Republick of *Venice* ſhould be the mediators of this peace. And he concluded all, declaring that he would not bind himſelf to ſtand to the conditions now offered by him, unleſs they were accepted of before *January*.

Reflexions made upon it.

I have given a full abſtract of this Manifeſto: For upon it did the great War begin, which laſted till the peace of *Ryſwick*. And, upon the grounds laid down in this Manifeſto, it will evidently appear, whether the war was a juſt one, or not. This declaration was much cenſured, both for the matter and for the ſtile. It had not the air of greatneſs, which became crowned heads. The Ducheſs of *Orleans*'s pretenſions to old furniture, was a ſtrange riſe to a war; eſpecially when it was not alledged, that theſe had been demanded in the forms of law, and that juſtice had been denied, which was a courſe neceſſarily to be obſerved in things of that nature. The judging of the ſecret intentions of the Elector *Palatine* with relation to the Houſe of *Bavaria* was abſurd. And the complaints of deſigns to bring the Emperour to a peace with the *Turks*, that ſo he might make war on *France*; and of the Emperour's deſign to force an election of a King of the *Romans*, was the entring into the ſecrets of thoſe thoughts, which were only known to God. Such conjectures, ſo remote and uncertain, and that could not be proved, were a ſtrange ground of war. If this was once admitted, all treaties of peace were vain things, and were no more to be reckoned or relied on. The reaſon given of the intention to take *Philipsburgh*, becauſe it was the propereſt place by which *France* could be invaded, was a throwing off all regards to the common decencies obſerved by Princes. All fortified places on frontiers are intended both for reſiſtance and for magazines; and are of both ſides conveniences for entring into the neighbouring territory, as there is occaſion for it. So here was a pretence ſet up, of beginning a war, that puts an end to all the ſecurities of peace.

The buſineſs of *Colen* was judged by the Pope, according to the laws of the Empire: And his ſentence was final: Nor could the poſtulation of the majority of the Chapter be valid, unleſs two thirds joined in it. The Cardinal was commended in the manifeſto, for his care in preſerving the peace of *Europe*. This was ridiculous to all, who knew that he had been for many years the great incendiary, who had betrayed the Empire, chiefly in the year 1672. The charge that the Emperour's agent had laid on him before the Chapter was alſo complained of, as an infraction of the Amneſty ſtipulated by the peace of *Nimeguen*. He was not indeed to be called to an account, in order to be puniſhed for any thing done before that peace. But that did not bind up the Emperour from endeavouring to exclude him from ſo great a dignity, which was like to prove fatal to the Empire. Theſe were ſome of the cenſures

that

that paſt on this Manifeſto; which was indeed looked on, by all who had conſidered the rights of peace and the laws of war, as one of the moſt avowed and ſolemn declarations, that ever was made, of the perfidiouſneſs of that Court. And it was thought to be ſome degrees beyond that in the year 1672, in which that King's glory was pretended as the chief motive of that war. For, in that, particulars were not reckoned up: So it might be ſuppoſed, he had met with affronts, which he did not think conſiſtent with his greatneſs to be mentioned. But here all that could be thought on, even the hangings of *Heidelberg*, were enumerated: And all together amounted to this, that the King of *France* thought himſelf tied by no peace; but that, when he ſuſpected his neighbours were intending to make war upon him, he might upon ſuch a ſuſpicion begin a war on his part. 1688.

This Manifeſto againſt the Emperour was followed by another againſt the Pope, writ in the form of a letter to Cardinal *D' Eſtrees*, to be given by him to the Pope. In it, he reckoned all the partiality that the Pope had ſhewed during his whole Pontificate, both againſt *France* and in favour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. He mentioned the buſineſs of the Regale; his refuſing the Bulls to the Biſhops nominated by him; the diſpute about the franchiſes, of which his Ambaſſadours had been long in poſſeſſion; the denying audience, not only to his Ambaſſadour, but to a Gentleman whom he had ſent to *Rome* without a character, and with a letter writ in his own hand: In concluſion, he complained of the Pope's breaking the Canons of the Church, in granting Bulls in favour of Prince *Clement*, and in denying juſtice to Cardinal *Furſtenberg*: For all theſe reaſons the King was reſolved to ſeparate the character of the Moſt Holy Father from that of a temporal Prince: And therefore he intended to ſeize on *Avignon*, as likewiſe on *Caſtro*, until the Pope ſhould ſatisfy the pretenſions of the Duke of *Parma*. He complained of the Pope's not concurring with him in the concerns of the Church, for the extirpation of hereſy: In which the Pope's behaviour gave great ſcandal both to the old Catholicks, and to the new converts. It alſo gave the Prince of *Orange* the boldneſs to go and invade the King of *England*, under the pretence of ſupporting the Proteſtant religion, but indeed to deſtroy the Catholick religion, and to overturn the Government: Upon which his emiſſaries and the writers in *Holland* gave out, that the birth of the Prince of *Wales* was an impoſture. Another againſt the Pope.

This was the firſt publick mention that was made of the impoſture of that birth: For the author of a book writ to that purpoſe was puniſhed for it in *Holland*. It was ſtrange to ſee the diſputes about the franchiſes made a pretence for a war: For certainly all ſovereign Princes can make ſuch regulations as they think fit in thoſe matters. If they cut Ambaſſadours ſhort in any privilege, their Ambaſſadours are to expect the ſame treatment from other Princes: And as long as the ſacredneſs of an Ambaſſadour's perſon, and of his family, was ſtill preſerved, which was all that was a part of the law of Nations, Princes may certainly limit the extent of their other privileges, and may refuſe any Ambaſſadours who will not ſubmit to their regulation. The number of an Ambaſſadour's retinue is not a thing that can be well defined: But if an Ambaſſadour comes with an army about him, inſtead of a retinue, he may be denied admittance. And if he forces it, as *Lavardin* had done, it was certainly an act of hoſtility: And, inſtead of having a right to the character of an Ambaſſadour, he might well be conſidered and treated as an enemy. Cenſures that paſt upon it.

The Pope had obſerved the Canons in rejecting Cardinal *Furſtenburgh*'s defective poſtulation. And, whatever might be brought from ancient Canons, the practice of that Church for many ages allowed of the diſpenſations that the Pope granted to Prince *Clement*. It was looked on by all people, as a ſtrange reverſe of things, to ſee the King of *France*, after all his cruelty to the Proteſtants, now go to make war on the Pope; and on the other hand to ſee the whole Proteſtant body concurring to ſupport the authority of the Pope's Bulls in the buſineſs of *Colen*; and to defend the two Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*, by whom they were laid ſo low but threeſcore years before this. The *French*, by the war that they had now begun, had ſent their troops towards *Germany* and the upper *Rhine*; and ſo had rendred their ſending an Army over to *England* impracticable: Nor could they ſend ſuch a force into the Biſhoprick of *Colen*, as could any ways alarm the States. So that the invaſion of *Germany* made the deſigns that the Prince of *Orange* was engaged in both practicable and ſafe.

1688.

Marſhal *Schomberg* ſent to *Cleve.*

Marſhal *Schomberg* came at this time into the country of *Cleve*. He was a *German* by birth: So when the perſecution was begun in *France*, he deſired leave to return into his own Country. That was denied him. All the favour he could obtain, was leave to go to *Portugal*. And ſo cruel is the ſpirit of Popery, that, though he had preſerved that Kingdom from falling under the yoke of *Caſtile*, yet now that he came thither for refuge, the Inquiſition repreſented that matter of giving harbour to a heretick ſo odiouſly to the King, that he was forced to ſend him away. He came from thence, firſt to *England*: And then he paſſed thro' *Holland*, where he entred into a Particular confidence with the Prince of *Orange*. And being invited by the old Elector of *Brandenburgh*, he went to *Berlin*: Where he was made Governour of *Pruſſia*, and ſet at the head of all the Elector's armies. The ſon treated him now with the ſame regard that the father had for him: And ſent him to *Cleve*, to command the troops that were ſent from the Empire to the defence of *Colen*. The Cardinal offered a neutrality to the Town of *Colen*. But they choſe rather to accept a garriſon that *Schomberg* ſent them: By which not only that town was ſecured, but a ſtop was put to any progreſs the *French* could make, till they could get that great Town into their hands. By theſe means the States were ſafe on all hands for this winter: And this gave the Prince of *Orange* great quiet in proſecuting his deſigns upon *England*. He had often ſaid, that he would never give occaſion to any of his enemies to ſay, that he had carried away the beſt force of the States, and had left them expoſed to any impreſſions that might be made on them in his abſence. He had now reaſon to conclude, that he had no other riſk to run in his intended expedition, but that of the ſeas and the weather. The ſeas were then very boiſterous: And the ſeaſon of the year was ſo far ſpent, that he ſaw he was to have a campaign in winter. But all other things were now well ſecured by this unexpected conduct of the *French*.

The *Dutch* fleet at ſea.

There was a fleet now ſet to ſea of about fifty ſail. Moſt of them were third or fourth rates, commanded by *Dutch* Officers. But *Herbert*, as repreſenting the Prince's perſon, was to command in chief, as Lieutenant General Admiral. This was not very eaſy to the States, nor indeed to the Prince himſelf; who thought it an abſurd thing to ſet a ſtranger at the head of their fleet. Nothing leſs would content *Herbert*. And it was ſaid, that nothing would probably make the *Engliſh* fleet come over, and join with the Prince, ſo much as the ſeeing one that had lately commanded them at the head of the *Dutch* fleet. There was a tranſport fleet hired for carrying over the Army. And this grew to be about five hundred veſſels: For, tho' the horſe and dragoons in pay were not four thouſand, yet the horſes for officers and volunteers, and for artillery and baggage, were above ſeven thouſand. There were arms provided for twenty thouſand more. And, as things were thus made ready,

The Prince of *Orange*'s declaration.

The declaration that the Prince was to publiſh came to be conſidered. A great many draughts were ſent from *England* by different hands. All theſe were put in the Penſioner *Fagel*'s hands, who upon that made a long and heavy draught, founded on the grounds of the civil law, and of the law of Nations. That was brought to me to be put in *Engliſh*. I ſaw he was fond of his own draught: And the Prince left that matter wholly to him: Yet I got it to be much ſhortned, tho' it was ſtill too long. It ſet forth at firſt a long recital of all the violations of the laws of *England*, both with relation to religion, to the civil government, and to the adminiſtration of juſtice, which have been all opened in the ſeries of the hiſtory. It ſet forth next all remedies that had been tried in a gentler way; all which had been ineffectual. Petitioning by the greateſt perſons, and in the privateſt manner, was made a crime. Endeavours were uſed to pack a Parliament, and to pre-ingage both the votes of the electors, and the votes of ſuch as upon the election ſhould be returned to ſit in Parliament. The writs were to be addreſſed to unlawful officers, who were diſabled by law to execute them: So that no legal Parliament could now be brought together. In concluſion, the reaſons of ſuſpecting the Queen's pretended delivery were ſet forth in general terms. Upon theſe grounds the Prince, ſeeing how little hope was left of ſucceeding in any other method, and being ſenſible of the ruin both of the Proteſtant religion, and of the conſtitution of *England* and *Ireland*, that was imminent, and being earneſtly invited by men of all ranks, and in particular by many of the Peers, both Spiritual and Temporal, he reſolved according to the obligation he lay under, both on the Princeſs's account, and on his own, to go over into *England*, and to ſee for proper and effectual remedies for redreſſing

sing such growing evils in a Parliament that should be lawfully chosen, and should sit in full freedom, according to the ancient custom and constitution of *England*, with which he would concur in all things that might tend to the peace and happiness of the Nation. And he promised in particular, that he would preserve the Church and the established religion, and that he would endeavour to unite all such as divided from the Church to it by the best means that could be thought on, and that he would suffer such as would live peaceably to enjoy all due freedom in their consciences, and that he would refer the enquiry into the Queen's delivery to a Parliament, and acquiesce in its decision. This the Prince signed and sealed on the tenth of *October*. With this the Prince ordered letters to be writ in his name, inviting both the soldiers, seamen, and others to come and join with him, in order to the securing their religion, laws, and liberties. Another short paper was drawn by me concerning the measures of obedience, justifying the design, and answering the objections that might be made to it. Of all these many thousand copies were printed, to be dispersed at our landing.

The Prince desired me to go along with him as his Chaplain, to which I very readily agreed: For, being fully satisfied in my conscience that the undertaking was lawful and just, and having had a considerable hand in advising the whole progress of it, I thought it would have been an unbecoming fear in me to have taken care of my own person, when the Prince was venturing his, and the whole was now to be put to hazard. It is true, I being a *Scottish* man by birth, had reason to expect, that, if I had fallen into the enemies hands, I should have been sent to *Scotland*, and put to the torture there. And having this in prospect, I took care to know no particulars of any one of those who corresponded with the Prince. So that knowing nothing against any, even torture it self could not have drawn from me that by which any person could be hurt. There was another declaration prepared for *Scotland*. But I had no other share in that, but that I corrected it in several places, chiefly in that which related to the Church: For the *Scots* at the *Hague*, who were all Presbyterians, had drawn it so, that, by many passages in it, the Prince by an implication declared in favour of Presbytery. He did not see what the consequences of those were, that till I explained them. So he ordered them to be altered. And by the declaration matter was still entire. I was desired to go with the Prince.

As *Sidney* brought over letters from the persons formerly mentioned, both inviting the Prince to come over to save and rescue the Nation from ruin, and assuring him that they wrote that which was the universal sense of all the wise and good men in the Nation: So they also sent over with him a scheme of advices. They advised his having a great Fleet, but a small Army: They thought, it should not exceed six or seven thousand men. They apprehended, that an ill use might be made of it, if he brought over too great an Army of foreigners, to infuse in people a jealousy that he designed a conquest: They advised his landing in the North, either in *Burlington* bay, or a little below *Hull*: *Yorkshire* abounded in horse: and the Gentry were generally well affected, even to zeal, for the design: The Country was plentiful, and the roads were good till within fifty miles of *London*. The Earl of *Danby* was earnest for this, hoping to have had a share in the whole management by the interest he believed he had in that country. It was confessed, that the western counties were well affected: But it was said, that the miscarriage of *Monmouth's* invasion, and the executions which followed it, had so dispirited them, that it could not be expected they would be forward to join the Prince: Above all things they pressed dispatch, and all possible haste: The King had then but eighteen ships riding in the *Downs*: But a much greater Fleet was almost ready to come out: They only wanted seamen, who came in very slowly. Advices from *England*.

When these things were laid before the Prince, he said, he could by no means resolve to come over with so small a force: He could not believe what they suggested, concerning the King's Army's being disposed to come over to him: Nor did he reckon, so much as they did, on the people of the country's coming in to him: He said, he could trust to neither of these: He could not undertake so great a design, the miscarriage of which would be the ruin both of *England* and *Holland*, without such a force, as he had reason to believe would be superiour to the King's own, tho' his whole Army should stick to him. Some proposed, that the Prince would divide his force, and land himself with the greatest part in the North, and send a detachment to the West under Marshal *Schomberg*. They pressed the Prince very earnestly to bring

1688. bring him over with him, both becauſe of the great reputation he was in, and becauſe they thought it was a ſecurity to the Prince's perſon, and to the whole deſign, to have another general with him, to whom all would ſubmit in caſe of any diſmal accident: For it ſeemed too much to have all depend on a ſingle life: And they thought that would be the ſafer, if their enemies ſaw another perſon, capable of the command, in caſe they ſhould have a deſign upon the Prince's perſon. With this the Prince complied eaſily, and obtained the Elector's conſent to carry him over with him. But he rejected the motion of dividing his Fleet and Army. He ſaid, ſuch a divided force might be fatal: For if the King ſhould ſend his chief ſtrength againſt the detachment, and have the advantage, it might loſe the whole buſineſs; ſince a misfortune in any one part might be the ruin of the whole.

When theſe advices were propoſed to *Herbert*, and the other ſeamen, they oppoſed the landing in the North vehemently. They ſaid, no ſeamen had been conſulted in that: The North coaſt was not fit for a Fleet to ride in in an Eaſt Wind, which it was to be expected in Winter might blow ſo freſh that it would not be poſſible to preſerve the Fleet: And if the Fleet was left there, the Channel was open for ſuch forces as might be ſent from *France*: The Channel was the ſafer ſea for the Fleet to ride in, as well as to cut off the aſſiſtance from *France*. Yet the advices for this were ſo poſitive, and ſo often repeated from *England*, that the Prince was reſolved to have ſplit the matter, and to have landed in the North, and then to have ſent the Fleet to lie in the Channel.

Artifices to cover the deſign.

The Prince continued ſtill to cover his deſign, and to look towards *Colen*. He ordered a review of his Army, and an encampment for two months at *Nimeguen*. A train of artillery was alſo ordered. By theſe orders the Officers ſaw a neceſſity of furniſhing themſelves for ſo long a time. The main point remained, how money ſhould be found for ſo chargeable an expedition. The *French* Ambaſſadour had his eye upon this; and reckoned that, whenſoever any thing relating to it ſhould be moved, it would be then eaſy to raiſe an oppoſition, or at leaſt to create a delay. But *Fagel*'s great foreſight did prevent this. In the *July* before, it was repreſented to the States, that now by reaſon of the neighbourhood of *Colen*, and the War that was like to riſe there, it was neceſſary to repair their places, both on the *Rhine* and the *Iſſel*, which were in a very bad condition. This was agreed to: And the charge was eſtimated at four millions of Guilders. So the States created a fund for the intereſt of that money, and ordered it to be taken up by a loan. It was all brought in in four days. About the end of *September* a meſſage was delivered to the States from the Elector of *Brandenburg*, by which he undertook to ſend an Army into his country of *Cleve*, and to ſecure the States from all danger on that ſide for this Winter.

Upon this, it was propoſed, to lend the Prince the four millions. And this paſſed eaſily in the States, without any oppoſition, to the amazement of all that ſaw it: For it had never been known, that ſo great and ſo dangerous an expedition in ſuch a ſeaſon had been ſo eaſily agreed to, without ſo much as one diſagreeing vote, either at the *Hague*, or in any of the Towns of *Holland*. All people went ſo cordially into it, that it was not neceſſary to employ much time in ſatisfying them, both of the lawfulneſs and of the neceſſity of the undertaking. *Fagel* had ſent for all the eminent Miniſters of the chief Towns of *Holland*. And, as he had a vehemence as well as a tenderneſs in ſpeaking, he convinced them evidently, that both their religion and their country were in ſuch imminent danger, that nothing but this expedition could ſave them: They ſaw the perſecution in *France*: And in that they might ſee what was to be expected from that religion: They ſaw the violence with which the King of *England* was driving matters in his country, which if not ſtopped would ſoon prevail. He ſent them thus full of zeal, to diſpoſe the people to a hearty approbation and concurrence in this deſign. The Miniſters in *Holland* are ſo watched over by the States, that they have no more authority when they meet in a body, in a Synod or in a Claſſis, than the States think fit to allow them. But I was never in any place, where I thought the Clergy had generally ſo much credit with the people as they have there: And they employed it all upon this occaſion very diligently, and to good purpoſe. Thoſe who had no regard to religion, yet ſaw a war began in the Empire by the *French*. And the publication of the alliance between *France* and *England* by the *French* Ambaſſadour, made them conclude that *England* would join with *France*. They reckoned, they couldnot ſtand before ſuch an united force, and that therefore it was neceſſary to take *England* out of the hands of a Prince, who was ſuch a firm ally to

to *France*. All the *Engliſh* that lived in *Holland*, eſpecially the merchants that were ſettled in *Amſterdam*, where the oppoſition was like to be ſtrongeſt, had ſuch poſitive advices of the diſpoſition that the Nation, and even the army were in; that, as this undertaking was conſidered as the only probable means of their preſervation, it ſeemed ſo well concerted, that little doubt was made of ſucceſs, except what aroſe from the ſeaſon; which was not only far ſpent, but the Winds were both ſo contrary and ſo ſtormy for many Weeks, that a forcible ſtop ſeemed put to it by the hand of heaven. 1688.

Herbert went to ſea with the *Dutch* Fleet; And was ordered to ſtand over to the *Downs*, and to look on the *Engliſh* Fleet, to try if any would come over, of which ſome hopes were given; or to engage them, while they were then not above eighteen or twenty ſhips ſtrong. But the contrary winds made this not only impracticable, but gave great reaſon to fear that a great part of the Fleet would be either loſt or diſabled. Theſe continued for above a fortnight, and gave us at the *Hague* a melancholy proſpect. *Herbert* alſo found, that the Fleet was neither ſo ſtrong, nor ſo well manned, as he had expected. The *Dutch* put to ſea.

All the *Engliſh* that were ſcattered about the Provinces, or in *Germany* came to the *Hague*. Among theſe there was one *Wildman*, who, from being an agitator in *Cromwell*'s Army, had been a conſtant meddler on all occaſions in every thing that looked like ſedition, and ſeemed inclined to oppoſe every thing that was uppermoſt. He brought his uſual ill humour along with him, having a peculiar talent in poſſeſſing others by a ſort of contagion with jealouſy and diſcontent. To theſe the Prince ordered his declaration to be ſhewed. *Wildman* took great exceptions to it, with which he poſſeſſed many to ſuch a degree, that they began to ſay, they would not engage upon thoſe grounds. *Wildman* had drawn one, in which he had laid down a ſcheme of the government of *England*, and then had ſet forth many particulars in which it had been violated, carrying theſe a great Way into King *Charles*'s reign; all which he ſupported by many authorities from law books. He objected to the Prince's inſiſting ſo much on the Diſpenſing Power, and on what had been done to the Biſhops. He ſaid, there was certainly a Diſpenſing Power in the Crown, practiſed for ſome ages: Very few Patents paſſed in which there was not a *non obſtante* to one or more acts of Parliament: This power had been too far ſtretched of late: But the ſtretching of a power that was in the Crown, could not be a juſt ground of War: The King had a right to bring any man to a trial: The Biſhops had a fair trial, and were acquitted, and diſcharged upon it: In all which there was nothing done contrary to law. All this ſeemed myſterious, when a known Republican was become an advocate for Prerogative. His deſign in this was deep and ſpiteful. He ſaw that, as the declaration was drawn, the Church party would come in, and be well received by the Prince: So he, who deſigned to ſeparate the Prince and them at the greateſt diſtance from one another, ſtudied to make the Prince declare againſt thoſe grievances, in which many of them were concerned, and which ſome among them had promoted. The Earl of *Macclesfield*, with the Lord *Mordaunt*, and many others, joined with him in this. But the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, together with *Sidney*, *Ruſſel*, and ſome others were as poſitive in their opinion, that the Prince ought not to look ſo far back as into King *Charles*'s reign: This would diſguſt many of the Nobility and Gentry, and almoſt all the Clergy: So they thought the declaration was to be ſo conceived, as to draw in the body of the whole Nation: They were all alarmed with the Diſpenſing Power: And it would ſeem very ſtrange to ſee an invaſion, in which this was not ſet out as the main ground of it: Every man could diſtinguiſh between the diſpenſing with a ſpecial act in a particular caſe, and a total diſpenſing with laws to ſecure the Nation and the Religion: The ill deſigns of the Court, as well as the affections of the Nation, had appeared ſo evidently in the Biſhops trial, that if no notice was taken of it, it would be made uſe of to poſſeſs all people with an opinion of the Prince's ill will to them. *Ruſſel* ſaid, that any reflexions made on King *Charles*'s reign would not only carry over all the high Church party, but all the army, entirely to the King. *Wildman*'s declaration was much objected to. The Prince could not enter into a diſcuſſion of the law and government of *England:* That was to be left to the Parliament: The Prince could only ſet forth the preſent and publick grievances, as they were tranſmitted to him by thoſe upon whoſe invitation he was going over. This was not without ſome difficulty overcome, by altering ſome few expreſſions in the firſt draught, and leaving out ſome circumſtances. So the declaration was printed over again, with ſome amendments. Some factious motions at the *Hague*.

1688.

The Army was ſhipped.

In the beginning of *October* the troops marched from *Nimeguen* were put on board in the *Zuyder ſea*, where they lay above ten days before they could get out of the *Texel*. Never was ſo great a deſign executed in ſo ſhort a time. A tranſport fleet of five hundred veſſels was hired in three days time. All things, as ſoon as they were ordered, were got to be ſo quickly ready, that we were amazed at the diſpatch. It is true, ſome things were wanting, and ſome things had been forgot. But when the greatneſs of the equipage was conſidered, together with the ſecrecy with which it was to be conducted till the whole deſign was to be avowed, it ſeemed much more ſtrange that ſo little was wanting, or that ſo few things had been forgot. *Bentbink*, *Dykvelt*, *Herbert*, and *Van Huiſt*, were for two months conſtantly at the *Hague*, giving all neceſſary orders, with ſo little noiſe that nothing broke out all the while. Even in leſſer matters favourable circumſtances concurred to cover the deſign. *Bentbink* uſed to be conſtantly with the Prince, being the perſon that was moſt entirely truſted and conſtantly employed by him: So that his abſence from him, being ſo extraordinary a thing, might have given ſome umbrage. But all the ſummer his Lady was ſo very ill, that ſhe was looked on every day as one that could not live three days to an end: So that this was a very juſt excuſe for his attendance at the *Hague*.

The Princeſs's ſenſe of things.

I waited on the Princeſs a few days before we left the *Hague*. She ſeemed to have a great load on her ſpirits, but to have no ſcruple as to the lawfulneſs of the deſign. After much other diſcourſe, I ſaid, that if we got ſafe to *England*, I made no great doubt of our ſucceſs in all other things. I only begged her pardon to tell her, that if there ſhould happen to be at any time any disjointing between the Prince and her, that would ruin all. She anſwered me, that I needed fear no ſuch thing: If any perſon ſhould attempt that, ſhe would treat them ſo, as to diſcourage all others from venturing on it for the future. She was very ſolemn and ſerious, and prayed God earneſtly to bleſs and direct us.

The Prince took leave of the States.

On the ſixteenth of *October O. S.* the wind that had ſtood ſo long in the Weſt, came into the Eaſt. So orders were ſent to all to haſte to *Helvoet-Sluys*. That morning the Prince went into the aſſembly of the States General, to take leave of them. He ſaid to them, he was extream ſenſible of the kindneſs they had all ſhewed him upon many occaſions: He took God to witneſs, he had ſerved them faithfully, ever ſince they had truſted him with the government, and that he had never any end before his eyes but the good of the country: He had purſued it always: And if at any time he erred in his judgment, yet his heart was ever ſet on procuring their ſafety and proſperity. He took God to witneſs, he went to *England* with no other intentions, but thoſe he had ſet out in his declaration: He did not know how God might diſpoſe of him: To his providence he committed himſelf: Whatſoever might become of him, he committed to them the care of their country, and recommended the Princeſs to them in a moſt particular manner: He aſſured them, ſhe loved their country perfectly, and equally with her own: He hoped, that whatever might happen to him, they would ſtill protect her, and uſe her as ſhe well deſerved: And ſo he took leave. It was a ſad, but a kind parting. Some of every Province offered at an anſwer to what the Prince had ſaid: But they all melted into tears and paſſion: So that their ſpeeches were much broken, very ſhort, and extream tender. Only the Prince himſelf continued firm in his uſual gravity and phlegm. When he came to *Helvoet-Sluys*, the tranſport fleet had conſumed ſo much of their proviſions, that three days of the good wind were loſt, before all were ſupplied anew.

We ſailed out of the *Maes*.

At laſt, on the nineteenth of *October*, the Prince went aboard, and the whole Fleet ſailed out that night. But the next day the wind turned into the North, and ſettled in the North-Weſt. At night a great ſtorm roſe. We wrought againſt it all that night, and the next day. But it was in vain to ſtruggle any longer. And ſo vaſt a Fleet run no ſmall hazard, being obliged to keep together, and yet not to come too near one another. On the twenty firſt in the afternoon the ſignal was given to go in again: And on the twenty ſecond the far greater part got ſafe into port. Many ſhips were at firſt wanting, and were believed to be loſt. But after a few days all came in. There was not one ſhip loſt; nor ſo much as any one man, except one that was blown from the ſhrouds into the ſea. Some ſhips were ſo ſhattered, that as ſoon as they came in, and all was taken out of them, they immediately ſunk down. Only five hundred horſes died for want of air. Men are upon ſuch occaſions apt to flatter themſelves upon the points of providence. In *France* and *England*, as it was believed that our loſs was much greater than it proved to be, ſo they

But were forced back.

triumphed

triumphed not a little, as if God had fought againſt us, and defeated the whole deſign. We on our part, who found our ſelves delivered out of ſo great a ſtorm and ſo vaſt a danger, looked on it as a mark of God's great care of us, who, tho' he had not changed the courſe of the winds and ſeas in our favour, yet had preſerved us while we were in ſuch apparent danger, beyond what could have been imagined. The States were not at all diſcouraged with this hard beginning, but gave the neceſſary orders for ſupplying us with every thing that we needed. The Princeſs behaved her ſelf at the *Hague* ſuitably to what was expected from her. She ordered prayers four times a day, and aſſiſted at them with great devotion. She ſpoke to no body of affairs, but was calm and ſilent. The States ordered ſome of their body to give her an account of all their proceedings. She indeed anſwered little: But in that little ſhe gave them cauſe often to admire her judgment. 1688.

In *England* the Court ſaw now, that it was in vain to diſſemble or diſguiſe their fears any more. Great conſultations were held there. The Earl of *Melfort*, and all the Papiſts, propoſed the ſeizing on all ſuſpected perſons, and the ſending them to *Portſmouth*. The Earl of *Sunderland* oppoſed this vehemently. He ſaid, it would not be poſſible to ſeize on many at the ſame time: And the ſeizing on a few would alarm all the reſt: It would drive them in to the Prince, and furniſh them with a pretence for it: He propoſed rather, that the King would do ſuch popular things, as might give ſome content, and lay that fermentation with which the Nation was then, as it were, diſtracted. This was at that time complied with: But all the Popiſh party continued upon this to charge Lord *Sunderland*, as one that was in the King's counſels only to betray them; that had before diverted the offer of aſſiſtance from *France*, and now the ſecuring thoſe who were the moſt likely to join and aſſiſt the Prince. By their importunities the King was at laſt ſo prevailed on, that he turned him out of all his places: And Lord *Preſton* was made Secretary of State. The Fleet was now put out, and was ſo ſtrong, that, if they had met the *Dutch* Fleet, probably they would have been too hard for them, eſpecially conſidering the great tranſport fleet that they were to cover. All the forces that were in *Scotland* were ordered into *England*: And that Kingdom was left in the hands of their Militia. Several Regiments came likewiſe from *Ireland*. So that the King's Army was then about thirty thouſand ſtrong. But, in order to lay the heat that was raiſed in the Nation, the King ſent for the Biſhops; and ſet out the injuſtice of this unnatural invaſion that Prince was deſigning: He aſſured them of his affections to the Church of *England*; and proteſted, he had never intended to carry things further than to an equal liberty of conſcience: He deſired, they would declare their abhorrence of this invaſion, and that they would offer him their advice, what was fit for him to do. They declined the point of abhorrence, and adviſed the preſent ſummoning a Parliament; and that in the mean while the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion might be broken, the proceedings againſt the Biſhop of *London* and *Magdalen* College might be reverſed, and that the law might be again put in its channel. This they delivered with great gravity, and with a courage that recommended them to the whole Nation. There was an order ſent them from the King afterwards, requiring them to compoſe an office for the preſent occaſion. The prayers were ſo well drawn, that even thoſe who wiſhed for the Prince might have joined in them. The Church party did now ſhew their approbation of the Prince's expedition in ſuch terms, that many were ſurprized at it, both then, and ſince that time. They ſpoke openly in favour of it. They expreſſed their grief to ſee the wind ſo croſs. They wiſhed for an Eaſt wind, which on that occaſion was called the Proteſtant wind. They ſpoke with great ſcorn of all that the Court was then doing to regain the hearts of the Nation. And indeed the proceedings of the Court that way were ſo cold, and ſo forced, that few were like to be deceived by them, but thoſe who had a mind to be deceived. The writs for a Parliament were often ordered to be made ready for the Seal, and were as often ſtopt. Some were ſealed, and given out: But they were quickly called in again. The old Charters were ordered to be reſtored again. *Jefferies* himſelf carried back the Charter of the City of *London*, and put on the appearances of joy and heartineſs when he gave it to them. All men ſaw thro' that affectation: For he had raiſed himſelf chiefly upon the adviſing, or promoting, that matter of the ſurrender, and the forfeiture of the Charters. An order was alſo ſent to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to put the Preſident of *Magdalen* College again in poſſeſſion. Yet, that order not being executed when the news was brought that the Prince and his Fleet were blown back,

Conſultations in *England*.

1688. back, it was countermanded; which plainly ſhewed what it was that drove the Court into ſo much compliance, and how long it was like to laſt.

Proofs brought for the birth of the Prince of *Wales.*

The matter of the greateſt concern, and that could not be dropt, but was to be ſupported, was the birth of the Prince of *Wales.* And therefore the Court thought it neceſſary, now in an after game, to offer ſome ſatisfaction in that point. So a great meeting was called, not only of all the Privy Counſellours and Judges, but of all the Nobility then in Town. To theſe the King complained of the great injury that was done both him and the Queen by the Prince of *Orange*, who accuſed them of ſo black an impoſture: He ſaid, he believed there were few Princes then alive, who had been born in the preſence of more witneſſes than were at his ſon's birth: He had therefore called them together, that they might hear the proof of that matter. It was firſt proved, that the Queen was delivered a-bed, while many were in the room; and that they ſaw the child ſoon after he was taken from the Queen by the midwife. But in this the midwife was the ſingle witneſs; for none of the Ladies had felt the child in the Queen's belly. The Counteſs of *Sunderland* did indeed depoſe, that the Queen called to her to give her her hand, that ſhe might feel how the child lay, to which ſhe added, *which I did*; but did not ſay, whether ſhe felt the child, or not: And ſhe told the Ducheſs of *Hamilton*, from whom I had it, that when ſhe put her hand into the bed, the Queen held it, and let it go no lower than her breaſts. So that really ſhe felt nothing. And this depoſition, brought to make a ſhew, was an evidence againſt the matter, rather than for it; and was a violent preſumption of an impoſture, and of an artifice to cover it. Many Ladies depoſed, that they had often ſeen the marks of milk on the Queen's linen, near her breaſts. Two or three depoſed, that they ſaw it running out at the nipple. All theſe depoſed, that they ſaw milk before the pretended delivery. But none of them depoſed concerning milk after the delivery, tho' nature ſends it then in greater abundance: And the Queen had it always in ſuch a plenty, that ſome weeks paſſed after her delivery, before ſhe was quite freed from it. The Ladies did not name the time in which they ſaw the milk, except one, who named the month of *May*. But, if the particulars mentioned before, that happen'd on *Eaſter Monday*, are reflected on, and if it appears probable by theſe that the Queen miſcarried at that time; then all that the Ladies mentioned of milk in her breaſts, particularly ſhe that fixed it to the month of *May*, might have followed upon that miſcarriage, and be no proof concerning the late birth. Mrs. *Pierce*, the landreſs, depoſed that ſhe took linen from the Queen's body once, which carried the marks of a delivery. But ſhe ſpoke only to one time. That was a main circumſtance. And, if it had been true, it muſt have been often done, and was capable of a more copious proof, ſince there is occaſion for ſuch things to be often looked on, and well conſidered. The Lady *Wentworth* was the ſingle witneſs that depoſed, that ſhe had felt the child move in the Queen's belly. She was a Bed-chamber woman, as well as a ſingle witneſs: And ſhe fixed it on no time. If it was very early, ſhe might have been miſtaken: Or if it was before *Eaſter Monday*, it might be true, and yet have no relation to this birth. This was the ſubſtance of this evidence, which was ordered to be enrolled and printed. But, when it was publiſhed, it had a quite contrary effect to what the Court expected from it. The preſumption of law before this was all in favour of the birth, ſince the parents owned the child: So that the proof lay on the other ſide, and ought to be offered by thoſe who called it in queſtion. But, now that this proof was brought, which was ſo apparently defective, it did not leſſen but encreaſe the jealouſy with which the Nation was poſſeſſed: For all people concluded, that, if the thing had been true, it muſt have been eaſy to have brought a much more copious proof than was now publiſhed to the world. It was much obſerved, that Princeſs *Anne* was not preſent. She indeed excuſed herſelf. She thought ſhe was breeding: And all motion was forbidden her. None believed that to be the true reaſon; for it was thought, that the going from one appartment of the Court to another could not hurt her. So it was looked on as a colour that ſhewed ſhe did not believe the thing, and that therefore ſhe would not by her being preſent ſeem to give any credit to it.

This was the ſtate of affairs in *England*, while we lay at *Helvoet-Sluys*, where we continued till the firſt of *November*. Here *Wildman* created a new diſturbance. He plainly had a ſhew of courage, but was, at leaſt then, a coward. He poſſeſſed ſome of the *Engliſh* with an opinion, that the deſign was now irrecoverably loſt.

This

1688.

This was entertained by many, who were willing to hearken to any propoſition that ſet danger at a diſtance from themſelves. They were ſtill magnifying the *Engliſh* Fleet, and undervaluing the *Dutch*. They went ſo far in this, that they propoſed to the Prince, that *Herbert* ſhould be ordered to go over to the coaſt of *England*, and either fight the *Engliſh* Fleet, or force them in: And in that caſe the Tranſport Fleet might venture over; which otherwiſe they thought could not be ſafely done. This ſome urged with ſuch earneſtneſs, that nothing but the Prince's authority, and *Schomberg*'s credit, could have withſtood it. The Prince told them, the ſeaſon was now ſo far ſpent, that the loſing of more time was the loſing the whole deſign: Fleets might lie long in view of one another, before it could be poſſible for them to come to an engagement, tho' both ſides equally deſired it; but much longer, if any one of them avoided it: It was not poſſible to keep the Army, eſpecially the horſe, long at ſea: And it was no eaſy matter to take them all out, and to ſhip them again: After the wind had ſtood ſo long in the Weſt, there was reaſon to hope it would turn to the Eaſt: And when that ſhould come, no time was to be loſt: For it would ſometimes blow ſo freſh in a few days as to freeze up the river; ſo that it would not be poſſible to get out all the winter long. With theſe things he rather ſilenced than quieted them. All this while the men of war were ſtill riding at ſea, it being a continued ſtorm for ſome weeks. The Prince ſent out ſeveral advice boats with orders to them to come in. But they could not come up to them. On the twenty ſeventh of *October* there was for ſix hours together a moſt dreadful ſtorm: So that there were few among us, that did not conclude, that the beſt part of the Fleet, and by conſequence that the whole deſign was loſt. Many, that have paſt for Heroes, yet ſhewed then the agonies of fear in their looks, and whole deportment. The Prince ſtill retained his uſual calmneſs, and the ſame tranquility of ſpirit, that I had obſerved in him in his happieſt days. On the twenty eighth it calmed a little, and our Fleet came all in, to our great joy. The rudder of one third rate was broken: And that was all the hurt that the ſtorm had done. At laſt the much longed for Eaſt wind came. And ſo hard a thing it was to ſet ſo vaſt a body in motion, that two days of this wind were loſt before all could be quite ready.

On the firſt of *November O. S.* we ſailed out with the evening tide; but made little way that night, that ſo our Fleet might come out, and move in order. We tried next day till noon, if it was poſſible to ſail Northward: But the wind was ſo ſtrong, and full in the Eaſt, that we could not move that way. About noon the ſignal was given to ſteer Weſtward. This wind not only diverted us from that unhappy courſe, but it kept the *Engliſh* Fleet in the river: So that it was not poſſible for them to come out, tho' they were come down as far as to the Gunfleet. By this means we had the ſea open to us, with a fair wind, and a ſafe navigation. On the third we paſt between *Dover* and *Calais*, and before night came in ſight of the iſle of *Wight*. The next day being the day in which the Prince was both born and married, he fancied, if he could land that day, it would look auſpicious to the Army, and animate the ſoldiers. But we all, who conſidered, that the day following, being Gunpowder Treaſon day, our landing that day might have a good effect on the minds of the *Engliſh* Nation, were better pleaſed to ſee that we could land no ſooner. *Torbay* was thought the beſt place for our great Fleet to lie in: And it was reſolved to land the Army, where it could be beſt done near it; reckoning, that being at ſuch a diſtance from *London*, we could provide our ſelves with horſes, and put every thing in order before the King could march his Army towards us, and that we ſhould lie ſome time at *Exeter* for the refreſhing our men. I was in the ſhip, with the Prince's other domeſticks, that went in the van of the whole Fleet. At noon on the fourth *Ruſſel* came on board us with the beſt of all the *Engliſh* pilots that they had brought over. He gave him the ſteering of the ſhip; and ordered him to be ſure to ſail ſo, that next morning we ſhould be ſhort of *Dartmouth*: For it was intended that ſome of the ſhips ſhould land there, and that the reſt ſhould ſail into *Torbay*. The pilot thought, he could not be miſtaken in meaſuring our courſe; and believed that he certainly kept within orders, till the morning ſhewed us we were paſt *Torbay* and *Dartmouth*. The wind, tho' it had abated much of its firſt violence, yet was ſtill full in the Eaſt: So now it ſeemed neceſſary for us to ſail on to *Plymouth*, which muſt have engaged us in a long and tedious campaign in winter, thro' a very ill Country. Nor were we ſure to be received at *Plymouth*. The Earl of *Bath*, who was Governour, had ſent by *Ruſſel* a promiſe to the Prince to come and join him: Yet

We ſailed out more happily a ſecond time.

1688. it was not likely, that he would be ſo forward as to receive us at our firſt coming. The delays he made afterwards, pretending that he was managing the garriſon, whereas he was indeed ſtaying till he ſaw how the matter was like to be decided, ſhewed us how fatal it had proved, if we had been forced to ſail on to *Plymouth*. But while *Ruſſel* was in no ſmall diſorder, after he ſaw the pilot's errour, (upon which he bid me go to my prayers, for all was loſt,) and as he was ordering the boat to be cleared to go aboard the Prince, on a ſudden to all our wonder it calmed a little. And then the wind turned into the South: And a ſoft and happy gale of wind carried in the whole Fleet in four hours time into *Torbay*. Immediately as many landed as conveniently could. As ſoon as the Prince and Marſhal *Schomberg* got to ſhore, they were furniſhed with ſuch horſes as the village of *Broxholme* could afford; and rode up to view the grounds which they found as convenient as could be imagined for the foot in that ſeaſon. It was not a cold night: Otherwiſe the ſoldiers, who had been kept warm aboard, might have ſuffered much by it. As ſoon as I landed, I made what haſte I could to the place where the Prince was; who took me heartily by the hand, and asked me, if I would not now believe predeſtination. I told him, I would never forget that providence of God, which had appeared ſo ſignally on this occaſion. He was cheerfuller than ordinary. Yet he returned ſoon to his uſual gravity. The Prince ſent for all the fiſhermen of the place; and asked them, which was the propereſt place for landing his horſe, which all apprehended would be a tedious buſineſs, and might hold ſome days. But next morning he was ſhewed a place, a quarter of a mile below the village, where the ſhips could be brought very near the land, againſt a good ſhore, and the horſes would not be put to ſwim above twenty yards. This proved to be ſo happy for our landing, tho' we came to it by meer accident, that, if we had ordered the whole Iſland round to be ſounded, we could not have found a properer place for it. There was a dead calm all that morning: And in three hours time all our horſe were landed, with as much baggage as was neceſſary till we got to *Exeter*. The artillery and heavy baggage were left aboard, and ordered to *Topſham* the ſea-port to *Exeter*. All that belonged to us was ſo ſoon and ſo happily landed, that by the next day at noon we were in full march, and marched four miles that night. We had from thence twenty miles to *Exeter*: And we reſolved to make haſte thither. But, as we were now happily landed, and marching, we ſaw new and unthought of characters of a favourable providence of God watching over us. We had no ſooner got thus diſengaged from our Fleet, than a new and great ſtorm blew from the Weſt; from which our Fleet, being covered by the land, could receive no prejudice: But the King's Fleet had got out as the wind calmed, and in purſuit of us was come as far as the iſle of *Wight*, when this contrary wind turned upon them. They tried what they could to purſue us: But they were ſo ſhattered by ſome days of this ſtorm, that they were forced to go into *Portſmouth*, and were no more fit for ſervice that year. This was a greater happineſs than we were then aware of: For the Lord *Dartmouth* aſſured me ſome time after, that, whatever ſtories we had heard and believed, either of Officers or ſeamen, he was confident they would all have fought very heartily. But now, by the immediate hand of heaven, we were maſters of the ſea without a blow. I never found a diſpoſition to ſuperſtition in my temper: I was rather inclined to be philoſophical upon all occaſions. Yet I muſt confeſs, that this ſtrange ordering of the winds and ſeaſons, juſt to change as our affairs required it, could not but make deep impreſſions on me, as well as on all that obſerved it. Thoſe famous verſes of *Claudian* ſeemed to be more applicable to the Prince, than to him they were made on:

We landed at *Torbay*.

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti!

Heav'n's favourite, for whom the ſkies do fight,
And all the winds conſpire to guide thee right!

The Prince made haſte to *Exeter*, where he ſtaid ten days, both for refreſhing his troops, and for giving the Country time to ſhew their affections. Both the Clergy and Magiſtrates of *Exeter* were very fearful, and very backward. The Biſhop and the Dean ran away. And the Clergy ſtood off, tho' they were ſent for, and very gently ſpoke to by the Prince. The truth was, the doctrines of Paſſive Obedience and

and Non-reſiſtance had been carried ſo far, and preached ſo much, that Clergymen either could not all on the ſudden get out of that entanglement, into which they had by long thinking and ſpeaking all one way involved themſelves, or they were aſhamed to make ſo quick a turn. Yet care was taken to protect them and their houſes every where: So that no ſort of violence nor rudeneſs was offered to any of them. The Prince gave me full authority to do this: And I took ſo particular a care of it, that we heard of no complaints. The Army was kept under ſuch an exact diſcipline, that every thing was paid for where it was demanded; tho' the ſoldiers were contented with ſuch moderate entertainment, that the people generally asked but little for what they did eat. We ſtaid a week at *Exeter*, before any of the Gentlemen of the country about came in to the Prince. Every day ſome perſons of condition came from other parts. The firſt were the Lord *Colcheſter* the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of *Rivers*, and the Lord *Wharton*, Mr. *Ruſſel* the Lord *Ruſſel*'s brother, and the Earl of *Abington*. 1688.

The King's Army began to come over to the Prince.

The King came down to *Salisbury*, and ſent his troops twenty miles further. Of theſe, three Regiments of horſe and dragoons were drawn on by their Officers, the Lord *Cornbury* and Col. *Langſton*, on deſign to come over to the Prince. Advice was ſent to the Prince of this. But becauſe theſe Officers were not ſure of their ſubalterns, the Prince ordered a body of his men to advance, and aſſiſt them in caſe any reſiſtance was made. They were within twenty miles of *Exeter*, and within two miles of the body that the Prince had ſent to join them, when a whiſper ran about among them that they were betrayed. Lord *Cornbury* had not the preſence of mind that ſo critical a thing required. So they fell in confuſion, and many rode back. Yet one Regiment came over in a body, and with them about a hundred of the other two. This gave us great courage; and ſhewed us, that we had not been deceived in what was told us of the inclinations of the King's Army. Yet, on the other hand, thoſe who ſtudied to ſupport the King's ſpirit by flatteries told him, that in this he ſaw that he might truſt his Army, ſince theſe who intended to carry over thoſe Regiments, were forced to manage it with ſo much artifice, and durſt not diſcover their deſign either to Officers or ſoldiers; and that, as ſoon as they perceived it, the greater part of them had turned back. The King wanted ſupport: For his ſpirits ſunk extreamly. His blood was in ſuch fermentation, that he was bleeding much at the noſe, which returned oft upon him every day. He ſent many ſpies over to us. They all took his money, and came and joined themſelves to the Prince, none of them returning to him. So that he had no intelligence brought him of what the Prince was doing, but what common reports brought him, which magnified our numbers, and made him think we were coming near him, while we were ſtill at *Exeter*. He heard that the City of *London* was very unquiet. News were brought him, that the Earls of *Devonſhire* and *Danby*, and the Lord *Lumley*, were drawing great bodies together, and that both *York* and *Newcaſtle* had declared for the Prince. The Lord *Delamere* had raiſed a Regiment in *Cheſhire*. And the body of the Nation did every where diſcover their inclinations for the Prince ſo evidently, that the King ſaw he had nothing to truſt to, but his Army. And the ill diſpoſition among them was ſo apparent, that he reckoned he could not depend on them. So that he loſt both heart and head at once. But that which gave him the laſt and moſt confounding ſtroke was, that the Lord *Churchill* and the Duke of *Grafton* left him, and came and joined the Prince at *Axminſter*, twenty miles on that ſide of *Exeter*. After this he could not know on whom he could depend. The Duke of *Grafton* was one of King *Charles*'s ſons by the Ducheſs of *Cleveland*. He had been ſome time at ſea, and was a gallant but rough man. He had more ſpirit than any one of the King's ſons. He made an anſwer to the King about this time, that was much talked of. The King took notice of ſomewhat in his behaviour that looked factious: And he ſaid, he was ſure he could not pretend to act upon principles of conſcience; for he had been ſo ill bred, that as he knew little of religion ſo he regarded it leſs. But he anſwered the King, that, tho' he had little conſcience, yet he was of a party that had conſcience. Soon after that, Prince *George*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Drumlanerick* the Duke of *Queensbury*'s eldeſt ſon, left him, and came over to the Prince, and joined him, when he was come as far as the Earl of *Briſtol*'s houſe at *Sherburn*. When the news came to *London*, the Princeſs was ſo ſtruck with the apprehenſions of the King's diſpleaſure, and of the ill effects that it might have, that ſhe ſaid to the Lady *Churchill*, that ſhe could not bear the thoughts of it, and would leap

1688. leap out at window rather than venture on it. The Biſhop of *London* was then lodged very ſecretly in *Suffolk* ſtreet. So the Lady *Churchill*, who knew where he was, went to him, and concerted with him the method of the Princeſs's withdrawing from the Court. The Princeſs went ſooner to bed than ordinary. And about midnight ſhe went down a backſtairs from her cloſet, attended only by the Lady *Churchill*, in ſuch haſte that they carried nothing with them. They were waited for by the Biſhop of *London*, who carried them to the Earl of *Dorſet's*, whoſe Lady furniſhed them with every thing. And ſo they went Northward, as far as *Northampton*; where that Earl attended on them with all reſpect, and quickly brought a body of horſe to ſerve for a guard to the Princeſs. And in a little while a ſmall Army was formed about her, who choſe to be commanded by the Biſhop of *London*; of which he too eaſily accepted.

Theſe things put the King in an unexpreſſible confuſion. He ſaw himſelf now forſaken, not only by thoſe whom he had truſted and favoured moſt, but even by his own children. And the Army was in ſuch diſtraction, that there was not any one body that ſeemed entirely united and firm to him. A fooliſh ballad was made at that time, treating the Papiſts, and chiefly the *Iriſh*, in a very ridiculous manner, which had a burden, ſaid to be *Iriſh* words, *lero lero lilibulero*, that made an impreſſion on the Army, that cannot be well imagined by thoſe who ſaw it not. The whole Army, and at laſt all people both in city and country, were ſinging it perpetually. And perhaps never had ſo ſlight a thing ſo great an effect.

An Aſſociation among thoſe who came to the Prince.

While the Prince ſtaid at *Exeter*, the rabble of the people came in to him in great numbers. So that he could have raiſed many Regiments of foot, if there had been any occaſion for them. But what he underſtood of the temper the King's Army was in, made him judge it was not neceſſary to arm greater numbers. After he had ſtaid eight days at *Exeter*, *Seimour* came in with ſeveral other Gentlemen of quality and eſtate. As ſoon as he had been with the Prince, he ſent to ſeek for me. When I came to him, he asked me, why we had not an Aſſociation ſigned by all that came to us, ſince, till we had that done, we were as a rope of ſand: Men might leave us when they pleaſed, and we had them under no tie: Whereas, if they ſigned an Aſſociation, they would reckon themſelves bound to ſtick to us. I anſwered, it was becauſe we had not a man of his authority and credit to offer and ſupport ſuch an advice. I went from him to the Prince, who approved of the motion; as did alſo the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and all that were with us. So I was ordered to draw it. It was, in few words, an engagement to ſtick together in purſuing the ends of the Prince's declaration; and that, if any attempt ſhould be made on his perſon, it ſhould be revenged on all by whom or from whom any ſuch attempt ſhould be made. This was agreed to by all about the Prince. So it was engroſſed in parchment, and ſigned by all thoſe that came in to him. The Prince put *Devonſhire* and *Exeter* under *Seimour's* government, who was Recorder of *Exeter*. And he advanced with his Army, leaving a ſmall garriſon there with his heavy artillery under Col. *Gibſon*, whom he made Deputy Governour as to the military part.

The Heads in *Oxford* ſent to him.

At *Crookborn*, Dr. *Finch*, ſon to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, then made Warden of All-Souls College in *Oxford*, was ſent to the Prince from ſome of the Heads of Colleges; aſſuring him, that they would declare for him, and inviting him to come thither, telling him, that their plate ſhould be at his ſervice, if he needed it. This was a ſudden turn from thoſe principles that they had carried ſo high a few years before. The Prince had deſigned to have ſecured *Briſtol* and *Gloceſter*, and ſo to have gone to *Oxford*, the whole Weſt being then in his hands, if there had been any appearance of a ſtand to be made againſt him by the King and his army; for, the King being ſo much ſuperiour to him in horſe, it was not adviſable to march thro' the great plains of *Dorſetſhire* and *Wiltſhire*. But the King's precipitated return to *London* put an end to this precaution. The Earl of *Bath* had prevailed with the garriſon of *Plymouth:* And they declared for the Prince. So now all behind him was ſafe. When he came to *Sherburn*, all *Dorſetſhire* came in a body, and joined him. He reſolved to make all the haſte he could to *London*, where things were in a high fermentation.

Great diſorders in *London*.

A bold man ventured to draw and publiſh another declaration in the Prince's name. It was penned with great ſpirit: And it had as great an effect. It ſet forth the deſperate deſigns of the Papiſts, and the extream danger the Nation was in by their means, and required all perſons immediately to fall on ſuch Papiſts as were in any employments,

ployments, and to turn them out, and to ſecure all ſtrong places, and to do every thing elſe that was in their power to execute the laws, and to bring all things again into their proper channels. This ſet all men at work: For no doubt was made, that it was truly the Prince's declaration. But he knew nothing of it. And it was never known, who was the author of ſo bold a thing. No perſon ever claimed the merit of it: For, tho' it had an amazing effect, yet, it ſeems, he that contrived it apprehended, that the Prince would not be well pleaſed with the author of ſuch an impoſture in his Name. The King was under ſuch a conſternation, that he neither knew what to reſolve on, nor whom to truſt. This pretended declaration put the City in ſuch a flame, that it was carried to the Lord Mayor, and he was required to execute it. The apprentices got together, and were falling upon all Maſs houſes, and committing many irregular things. Yet their fury was ſo well governed, and ſo little reſiſted that no other miſchief was done: No blood was ſhed. 1688.

A treaty begun with the Prince.

The King now ſent for all the Lords in town, that were known to be firm Proteſtants. And, upon ſpeaking to ſome of them in private, they adviſed him to call a general meeting of all the privy Counſellours, and Peers, to ask their advice, what was fit to be done. All agreed in one opinion, that it was fit to ſend Commiſſioners to the Prince to treat with him. This went much againſt the King's own inclinations: Yet the dejection he was in, and the deſperate ſtate of his affairs, forced him to conſent to it. So the Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, were ordered to go to the Prince, and to ask him, what it was that he demanded. The Earl of *Clarendon* reflected the moſt on the King's former conduct of any in that aſſembly, not without ſome indecent and inſolent words, which were generally condemned. He expected, as was ſaid, to be one of the Commiſſioners: And, upon his not being named, he came and met the Prince near *Salisbury*. Yet he ſuggeſted ſo many peeviſh and peculiar things, when he came, that ſome ſuſpected, all this was but colluſion, and that he was ſent to raiſe a faction among thoſe that were about the Prince. The Lords ſent to the Prince to know where they ſhould wait on him: And he named *Hungerford*. When they came thither, and had delivered their meſſage, the Prince called all the Peers and others of chief note about him, and adviſed with them what anſwer ſhould be made. A day was taken to conſider of an anſwer. The Marquis of *Halifax* ſent for me. But the Prince ſaid, tho' he would ſuſpect nothing from our meeting, others might. So I did not ſpeak with him in private, but in the hearing of others. Yet he took occaſion to ask me, ſo as no body obſerved it, if we had a mind to have the King in our hands. I ſaid, by no means; for we would not hurt his perſon. He asked next, what if he had a mind to go away. I ſaid, nothing was ſo much to be wiſhed for. This I told the Prince. And he approved of both my anſwers. The Prince ordered the Earls of *Oxford*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Clarendon* to treat with the Lords the King had ſent. And they delivered the Prince's anſwer to them on *Sunday* the eighth of *December*.

He deſired a Parliament might be preſently called; that no men ſhould continue in any employment, who were not qualified by law, and had not taken the teſts; that the Tower of *London* might be put in the keeping of the City; that the Fleet, and all the ſtrong places of the Kingdom, might be put in the hands of Proteſtants; that a proportion of the revenue might be ſet off for the pay of the Prince's Army; and that during the ſitting of the Parliament, the Armies of both ſides might not come within twenty miles of *London*; but, that the Prince might come on to *London*, and have the ſame number of his guards about him, that the King kept about his perſon. The Lords ſeemed to be very well ſatisfied with this anſwer. They ſent it up by an expreſs, and went back next day to *London*.

The King left the Kingdom.

But now ſtrange counſels were ſuggeſted to the King and Queen. The Prieſts, and all the violent Papiſts, ſaw a treaty was now opened. They knew, that they muſt be the ſacrifice. The whole deſign of Popery muſt be given up, without any hope of being able in an age to think of bringing it on again. Severe laws would be made againſt them. And all thoſe who intended to ſtick to the King, and to preſerve him, would go into thoſe laws with a particular zeal: So that they, and their hopes, muſt be now given up, and ſacrificed for ever. They infuſed all this into the Queen. They ſaid, ſhe would certainly be impeached: And Witneſſes would be ſet up againſt her, and her ſon: The King's Mother had been impeached in the long Parliament: And ſhe was to look for nothing but violence. So the Queen took up a ſudden reſolution of going to *France* with the child. The midwife, together with

1688. all who were aſſiſting at the birth, were alſo carried over, or ſo diſpoſed of, that it could never be learned what became of them afterwards. The Queen prevailed with the King, not only to conſent to this, but to promiſe to go quickly after her. He was only to ſtay a day or two after her, in hope that the ſhadow of authority that was ſtill left in him might keep things ſo quiet, that ſhe might have an undiſturbed paſſage. So ſhe went to *Portſmouth*. And from thence, in a man of War, ſhe went over to *France*, the King reſolving to follow her in diſguiſe. Care was alſo taken to ſend all the Prieſts away. The King ſtaid long enough to get the Prince's anſwer. And when he had read it, he ſaid, he did not expect ſo good terms. He ordered the Lord Chancellour to come to him next morning. But he had called ſecretly for the Great Seal. And the next morning, being the tenth of *December*, about three in the morning he went away in diſguiſe with Sir *Edward Hales*, whoſe ſervant he ſeemed to be. They paſt the River, and flung the Great Seal into it; which was ſome months after found by a fiſherman near *Fox-Hall*. The King went down to a miſerable fiſher boat, that *Hales* had provided for carrying them over to *France*.

He is much cenſured.

Thus a great King, who had a good Army and a ſtrong Fleet, did chooſe rather to abandon all, than either to expoſe himſelf to any danger with that part of the Army that was ſtill firm to him, or to ſtay and ſee the iſſue of a Parliament. Some put this mean and unaccountable reſolution on a want of courage. Others thought it was the effect of an ill conſcience, and of ſome black thing under which he could not now ſupport himſelf. And they who cenſured it the moſt moderately, ſaid, that it ſhewed, that his Prieſts had more regard to themſelves than to him; and that he conſidered their intereſt more than his own; and that he choſe rather to wander abroad with them, and to try what he could do by a *French* force to ſubdue his people, than to ſtay at home, and be ſhut up within the bounds of law, and be brought under an incapacity of doing more miſchief, which they ſaw was neceſſary to quiet thoſe fears and jealouſies, for which his bad government had given ſo much occaſion. It ſeemed very unaccountable, ſince he was reſolved to go, that he did not chooſe rather to go in one of his Yatchs or Fregats, than to expoſe himſelf in ſo dangerous and ignominious a manner. It was not poſſible to put a good conſtruction on any part of the diſhonourable ſcene which he then acted.

With this his reign ended: For this was a plain deſerting his people, and the expoſing the Nation to the pillage of an Army, which he had ordered the Earl of *Feverſham* to disband. And the doing this without paying them, was the letting ſo many armed men looſe upon the Nation; who might have done much miſchief, if the execution of thoſe orders that he left behind him had not been ſtopped. I ſhall continue the recital of all that paſt in this *Interregnum*, till the Throne, which he now left empty, was filled.

But is brought back.

He was not got far, when ſome fiſhermen of *Feverſham*, who were watching for ſuch Prieſts, and other delinquents, as they fancied were making their eſcape, came up to him. And they, knowing Sir *Edward Hales*, took both the King and him, and brought them to *Feverſham*. The King told them who he was. And that flying about brought a vaſt croud together, to look on that aſtoniſhing inſtance of the uncertainty of all worldly greatneſs; when he who had ruled three Kingdoms, and might have been the arbiter of all *Europe*, was now in ſuch mean hands, and ſo low an equipage. The people of the town were extremely diſordered with this unlooked for accident: And, tho' for a while they kept him as a priſoner, yet they quickly changed that into as much reſpect as they could poſſibly pay him. Here was an accident that ſeemed of no great conſequence. Yet all the ſtrugglings which that party have made ever ſince that time to this day, which from him were called afterwards the Jacobites, did riſe out of this: For, if he had got clear away, by all that could be judged, he would not have had a party left: All would have agreed, that here was a deſertion, and that therefore the Nation was free, and at liberty to ſecure it ſelf. But what followed upon this gave them a colour to ſay, that he was forced away, and driven out. Till now he ſcarce had a party, but among the Papiſts. But from this incident a party grew up, that has been long very active for his intereſts. As ſoon as it was known at *London* that the King was gone, the apprentices and the rabble, who had been a little quieted when they ſaw a treaty on foot between the King and the Prince, now broke out again upon all ſuſpected houſes, where they believed there was either Prieſts or Papiſts. They made great havock of many places, not ſparing the houſes of Ambaſſadours. But none were killed, no houſes burnt, nor were any robberies committed.

mitted. Never was ſo much fury ſeen under ſo much management. *Jefferies*, finding the King was gone, ſaw what reaſon he had to look to himſelf: And, apprehending that he was now expoſed to the rage of the people, whom he had provoked with ſo particular a brutality, he had diſguiſed himſelf to make his eſcape. But he fell into the hands of ſome who knew him. He was inſulted by them with as much ſcorn and rudeneſs as they could invent. And, after many hours toſſing him about, he was carried to the Lord Mayor; whom they charged to commit him to the Tower, which the Lord *Lucas* had then ſeized, and in it had declared for the Prince. The Lord Mayor was ſo ſtruck with the terrour of this rude populace, and with the diſgrace of a man who had made all people tremble before him, that he fell into fits upon it, of which he died ſoon after. 1688.

The Prince is deſired to come and take the government into his hands.

To prevent the further growth of ſuch diſorders, he called a meeting of the Privy Counſellours and Peers, who met at *Guild-Hall*. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was there. They gave a ſtrict charge for keeping the peace; and agreed to ſend an invitation to the Prince, deſiring him to come and take the government of the Nation into his hands, till a Parliament ſhould meet to bring all matters to a juſt and full ſettlement. This they all ſigned; and ſent it to the Prince by the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Viſcount of *Weymouth*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Culpepper*. The Prince went on from *Hungerford* to *Newbury*, and from thence to *Abington*, reſolving to have gone to *Oxford*, and to receive the compliments of the Univerſity, and to meet the Princeſs *Anne* who was coming thither. At *Abington* he was ſurprized with the news of the ſtrange cataſtrophe of affairs now at *London*, the King's deſertion, and the diſorders which the City and neighbourhood of *London* were falling into. One came from *London*, and brought him the news, which he knew not well how to believe, till he had an expreſs ſent him from the Lords, who had been with him from the King. Upon this the Prince ſaw, how neceſſary it was to make all poſſible haſte to *London*. So he ſent to *Oxford*, to excuſe his not coming thither, and to offer the Aſſociation to them, which was ſigned by almoſt all the Heads, and the chief men of the Univerſity; even by thoſe, who, being diſappointed in the preferments they aſpired to, became afterwards his moſt implacable enemies.

Hitherto the expedition had been proſperous, beyond all that could have been expected. There had been but two ſmall engagements, during this unſeaſonable campaign. One was at *Winkington* in *Dorſetſhire*, where an advanced party of the Prince's met one of the King's that was thrice their number: Yet they drove them before them into a much greater body, where they were overpowered with numbers. Some were killed of both ſides. But there were more priſoners taken of the Prince's men. Yet, tho' the loſs was of his ſide, the courage that his men ſhewed in ſo great an inequality as to number, made us reckon that we gained more than we loſt on that occaſion. Another action happened at *Reading*, where the King had a conſiderable body, who, as ſome of the Prince's men advanced, fell into a great diſorder, and ran away. One of the Prince's Officers was ſhot. He was a Papiſt: And the Prince in conſideration of his religion was willing to leave him behind him in *Holland*: But he very earneſtly begged he might come over with his company: And he was the only Officer that was killed in the whole expedition.

Different advice given to the Prince concerning the King's perſon.

Upon the news of the King's deſertion, it was propoſed that the Prince ſhould go on with all poſſible haſte to *London*. But that was not adviſable. For the King's army lay ſo ſcattered thro' the road all the Way to *London*, that it was not fit for him to advance faſter than as his troops marched before him: Otherwiſe, any reſolute Officer might have ſeized or killed him. Tho', if it had not been for that danger, a great deal of miſchief, that followed, would have been prevented by his ſpeedy advance: For now began that turn, to which all the difficulties, that did afterwards diſorder our affairs, may be juſtly imputed. Two Gentlemen of *Kent* came to *Windſor* the morning after the Prince came thither. They were addreſſed to me. And they told me, of the accident at *Feverſham*, and deſired to know the Prince's pleaſure upon it. I was affected with this diſmal reverſe of the fortune of a great Prince, more than I think fit to expreſs. I went immediately to *Benthink*, and wakned him, and got him to go into the Prince, and let him know what had happened, that ſome order might be preſently given for the ſecurity of the King's perſon, and for taking him out of the hands of a rude multitude, who ſaid, they would obey no orders but ſuch as came from the Prince. The Prince ordered *Zuyleſtein* to go immediately to *Feverſham*, and to ſee the King ſafe, and at full liberty to go whitherſoever

1688. ſoever he pleaſed. But, as ſoon as the news of the King's being at *Feverſham* came to *London*, all the indignation that people had formerly conceived againſt him was turned to pity and compaſſion. The Privy Council met upon it. Some moved, that he ſhould be ſent for. Others ſaid, he was King, and might ſend for his guards and coaches, as he pleaſed: But it became not them to ſend for him. It was left to his General, the Earl of *Feverſham*, to do what he thought beſt. So he went for him with his coaches and guards. And, as he came back thro' the City, he was welcomed with expreſſions of joy by great numbers: So ſlight and unſtable a thing is a multitude, and ſo ſoon altered. At his coming to *Whitehal*, he had a great Court about him. Even the Papiſts crept out of their lurking holes, and appeared at Court with much aſſurance. The King himſelf began to take heart. And both at *Feverſham*, and now at *Whitehal*, he talked in his ordinary high ſtrain, juſtifying all he had done: Only he ſpoke a little doubtfully of the buſineſs of *Magdalen* College. But when he came to reflect on the ſtate of his affairs, he ſaw it was ſo broken, that nothing was now left to deliberate upon. So he ſent the Earl of *Feverſham* to *Windſor*, without demanding any paſſport: And ordered him to deſire the Prince to come to St. *James*'s, to conſult with him of the beſt way for ſettling the Nation.

When the news of what had paſt at *London* came to *Windſor*, the Prince thought the Privy Council had not uſed him well, who, after they had ſent to him to take the government upon him, had made this ſtep without conſulting him. Now the ſcene was altered, and new counſels were to be taken. The Prince heard the opinions, not only of thoſe who had come along with him, but of ſuch of the Nobility as were now come to him, among whom the Marquis of *Hallifax* was one. All agreed, that it was not convenient that the King ſhould ſtay at *Whitehal*. Neither the King, nor the Prince, nor the City, could have been ſafe, if they had been both near one another. Tumults would probably have ariſen out of it. The guards, and the officious flatterers, of the two Courts, would have been unquiet neighbours. It was thought neceſſary to ſtick to the point of the King's deſerting his people, and not to give up that, by entring upon any treaty with him. And ſince the Earl of *Feverſham*, who had commanded the Army againſt the Prince, was come without a paſſport, he was for ſome days put in arreſt.

It was a tender point, how to diſpoſe of the King's perſon. Some propoſed rougher methods: The keeping him a priſoner, at leaſt till the Nation was ſettled, and till *Ireland* was ſecured. It was thought, his being kept in cuſtody, would be ſuch a tie on all his party, as would oblige them to ſubmit, and be quiet. *Ireland* was in great danger. And his reſtraint might oblige the Earl of *Tyrconnell* to deliver up the government, and to diſarm the Papiſts, which would preſerve that Kingdom, and the Proteſtants in it. But, becauſe it might raiſe too much compaſſion, and perhaps ſome diſorder, if the King ſhould be kept in reſtraint within the Kingdom, therefore the ſending him to *Breda* was propoſed. The Earl of *Clarendon* preſſed this vehemently, on the account of the *Iriſh* Proteſtants, as the King himſelf told me: For thoſe that gave their opinions in this matter did it ſecretly, and in confidence to the Prince. The Prince ſaid, he could not deny, but that this might be good and wiſe advice: But it was that to which he could not hearken: He was ſo far ſatisfied with the grounds of this expedition, that he could act againſt the King in a fair and open War: But for his perſon, now that he had him in his power, he could not put ſuch a hardſhip on him, as to make him a priſoner: And he knew the Princeſs's temper ſo well, that he was ſure ſhe would never bear it: Nor did he know what diſputes it might raiſe, or what effect it might have upon the Parliament that was to be called: He was firmly reſolved never to ſuffer any thing to be done againſt his perſon: He ſaw it was neceſſary to ſend him out of *London*: And he would order a guard to attend upon him, who ſhould only defend and protect his perſon, but not reſtrain him in any ſort.

A reſolution was taken of ſending the Lords *Hallifax*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Delamere*, to *London*, who were firſt to order the *Engliſh* guards that were about the Court to be drawn off, and ſent to quarters out of town: And, when that was done, the Count of *Solms* with the *Dutch* guards was to come and take all the poſts about the Court. This was obeyed without any reſiſtance or diſorder, but not without much murmuring. It was midnight before all was ſettled. And then theſe Lords ſent to the Earl of *Midletoun*, to deſire him to let the King know, that they had a meſſage

to

to deliver to him from the Prince. He went in to the King; and ſent them word from him, that they might come with it immediately. They came, and found him a-bed. They told him, the neceſſity of affairs required, that the Prince ſhould come preſently to *London*: And he thought, it would conduce to the ſafety of the King's perſon, and the quiet of the town, that he ſhould retire to ſome houſe out of town: And they propoſed *Ham*. The King ſeemed much dejected; and asked, if it muſt be done immediately. They told him, he might take his reſt firſt: And they added, that he ſhould be attended by a guard, who ſhould only guard his perſon, but ſhould give him no ſort of diſturbance. Having ſaid this they withdrew. The Earl of *Middletown* came quickly after them, and asked them, if it would not do as well, if the King ſhould go to *Rocheſter*; for ſince the Prince was not pleaſed with his coming up from *Kent*, it might be perhaps acceptable to him, if he ſhould go thither again. It was very viſible, that this was propoſed in order to a ſecond eſcape. 1688.

They promiſed to ſend word immediately to the Prince of *Orange*, who lay that night at *Sion*, within eight miles of *London*. He very readily conſented to it. And the King went next day to *Rocheſter*, having ordered all that which is called the moving Wardrobe to be ſent before him. The Count of *Solms* ordering every thing to be done, as the King deſired. A guard went with him that left him at full liberty, and paid him rather more reſpect than his own guards had done of late. Moſt of that body, as it happen'd, were Papiſts. So when he went to Maſs, they went in, and aſſiſted very reverently. And, when they were asked, how they could ſerve in an expedition that was intended to deſtroy their own religion, one of them anſwered his ſoul was God's, but his ſword was the Prince of *Orange*'s. The King was ſo much delighted with this anſwer, that he repeated it to all that came about him. On the ſame day the Prince came to St. *James*'s. It happen'd to be a very rainy day. And yet great numbers came to ſee him. But, after they had ſtood long in the wet, he diſappointed them: For he, who neither loved ſhews nor ſhoutings, went thro' the park. And even this trifle helped to ſet peoples ſpirits on edge. The Prince came to *London*, and the King went to *Rocheſter*.

The Revolution was thus brought about, with the univerſal applauſe of the whole Nation: Only theſe laſt ſteps began to raiſe a fermentation. It was ſaid, here was an unnatural thing, to waken the King out of his ſleep, in his own Palace, and to order him to go out of it, when he was ready to ſubmit to every thing. Some ſaid, he was now a priſoner, and remembred the ſaying of King *Charles* the firſt, that the priſons and the graves of Princes lay not far diſtant from one another: The perſon of the King was now ſtruck at, as well as his government: And this ſpecious undertaking would now appear to be only a diſguiſed and deſigned uſurpation. Theſe things began to work on great numbers. And the poſting the *Dutch* guards, where the *Engliſh* guards had been, gave a general diſguſt to the whole *Engliſh* Army. They indeed hated the *Dutch* beſides, on the account of the good order and ſtrict diſcipline they were kept under; which made them to be as much beloved by the Nation, as they were hated by the ſoldiery. The Nation had never known ſuch an inoffenſive march of an Army. And the peace and order of the ſuburbs, and the freedom of markets in and about *London*, was ſo carefully maintained, that in no time fewer diſorders had been committed, than were heard of this Winter.

None of the Papiſts or Jacobites were inſulted in any ſort. The Prince had ordered me, as we came along, to take care of the Papiſts, and to ſecure them from all violence. When he came to *London*, he renewed theſe orders, which I executed with ſo much zeal and care, that I ſaw all the complaints that were brought me fully redreſſed. When we came to *London* I procured paſſports for all that deſired to go beyond ſea. Two of the Popiſh Biſhops were put in *Newgate*. I went thither in the Prince's name. I told them, the Prince would not take upon him yet to give orders about priſoners: As ſoon as he did that, they ſhould feel the effects of it. But in the mean while, I ordered them to be well uſed, and to be taken care of, and that their friends might be admitted to come to them. So truly did I purſue the principle of moderation, even towards thoſe from whom nothing of that ſort was to be expected.

Now that the Prince was come, all the bodies about the town came to welcome him. The Biſhops came the next day. Only the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, tho' he had once agreed to it, yet would not come. The Clergy of *London* came next. The City, and a great many other bodies, came likewiſe, and expreſſed a great deal of joy for the deliverance wrought for them by the Prince's means. Old Serjeant *Maynard* came with the men of the law. He was then near ninety, and yet he ſaid the The Prince was welcomed by all ſorts of people.

1688. liveliest thing that was heard of on that occasion. The Prince took notice of his great age, and said, that he had outlived all the men of the law of his time: He answered, he had like to have outlived the law it self, if his Highness had not come over.

Consultations about the settlement of the Nation.

The first thing to be done after the compliments were over, was to consider how the Nation was to be settled. The lawyers were generally of opinion, that the Prince ought to declare himself King, as *Henry* the seventh had done. This, they said, would put an end to all disputes, which might otherwise grow very perplexing and tedious: And, they said, he might call a Parliament which would be a legal assembly, if summoned by the King in fact, tho' his title was not yet recognized. This was plainly contrary to his declaration, by which the settlement of the Nation was referred to a Parliament. Such a step would make all that the Prince had hitherto done pass for an aspiring ambition, only to raise himself: And it would disgust those who had been hitherto the best affected to his designs, and make them less concerned in the quarrel, if, instead of staying till the Nation should offer him the Crown, he would assume it as a conquest. These reasons determined the Prince against that proposition. He called all the Peers, and the members of the three last Parliaments, that were in town, together with some of the Citizens of *London*. When these met, it was told them, that, in the present distraction, the Prince desired their advice about the best methods of settling the Nation. It was agreed in both these Houses, such as they were, to make an address to the Prince, desiring him to take the administration of the government into his hands in the interim. The next proposition past not so unanimously: For, it being moved that the Prince should be likewise desired to write missive letters to the same effect, and for the same persons to whom writs were issued out for calling a Parliament, that so there might be an assembly of men in the form of a Parliament, tho' without writs under the Great Seal, such as that was that had called home King *Charles* the second. To this the Earl of *Nottingham* objected, that such a Convention of the States could be no legal assembly unless summoned by the King's writ. Therefore he moved, that an address might be made to the King, to order the writs to be issued out. Few were of his mind. The matter was carried the other way: And orders were given for those letters to be sent round the Nation.

The King went over into *France*.

The King continued a week at *Rochester*. And both he himself, and every body else, saw that he was at full liberty, and that the guard about him put him under no sort of restraint. Many that were zealous for his interests went to him, and pressed him to stay, and to see the issue of things: A party would appear for him: Good terms would be got for him: And things would be brought to a reasonable agreement. He was much distracted between his own inclinations, and the importunities of his Friends. The Queen, hearing what had happen'd, writ a most vehement letter to him, pressing his coming over, remembring him of his promise, which she charged on him in a very earnest, if not in an imperious strain. This letter was intercepted. I had an account of it from one that read it. The Prince ordered it to be conveyed to the King: And that determined him. So he gave secret orders to prepare a vessel for him; and drew a paper which he left on his table, reproaching the Nation for their forsaking him. He declared, that tho' he was going to seek for foreign aid to restore him to his Throne, yet he would not make use of it to overthrow either the religion established, or the laws of the land. And so he left *Rochester* very secretly, on the last day of this memorable year, and got safe over to *France*.

The affairs of *Scotland*.

But, before I enter into the next year, I will give some account of the affairs of *Scotland*. There was no force left there, but a very small one, scarce able to defend the Castle of *Edenburgh*, of which the Duke of *Gordon* was Governour. He was a Papist; but had neither the spirit, nor the courage, which such a post required at that time. As soon as the news came to *Scotland* of the King's desertion, the rabble got together there, as they had done in *London*. They broke into all Popish Chapels, and into the Church of Holy Rood House, which had been adorned at a great charge to be a Royal Chapel, particularly for the order of St. *Andrew* and the *Thistle*, which the King had resolved to set up in *Scotland* in imitation of the order of the Garter in *England*. They defaced it quite, and seized on some that were thought great delinquents, in particular on the Earl of *Perth*, who had disguised himself, and had got aboard a small vessel: But he was seized on, and put in prison. The whole Kingdom, except only the Castle of *Edenburgh*, declared for the Prince, and received his declaration for that Kingdom with great joy. This was done in the North

North very unanimously, by the Episcopal, as well as by the Presbyterian party. But in the Western Counties, the Presbyterians, who had suffered much in a course of many years, thought that the time was now come, not only to procure themselves ease and liberty, but to revenge themselves upon others. They generally broke in upon the Episcopal Clergy, with great insolence and much cruelty. They carried them about the parishes in a mock procession: They tore their gowns, and drove them from their Churches and houses. Nor did they treat those of them, who had appeared very zealously against Popery, with any distinction. The Bishops of that Kingdom had writ a very indecent letter to the King, upon the news of the Prince's being blown back by the storm, full of injurious expressions towards the Prince, expressing their abhorrence of his design: And, in conclusion, they wished that the King might have the necks of his enemies. This was sent up as a pattern to the *English* Bishops, and was printed in the *Gazette*. But they did not think fit to copy after it in *England*. The Episcopal party in *Scotland* saw themselves under a great cloud: So they resolved all to adhere to the Earl of *Dundee*, who had served some years in *Holland*, and was both an able Officer, and a man of good parts, and of some very valuable vertues: But, as he was proud and ambitious, so he had taken up a most violent hatred of the whole presbyterian party, and had executed all the severest orders against them with great rigour; even to the shooting many on the highway, that refused the oath required of them. The Presbyterians looked on him, as their most implacable enemy: And the Episcopal party trusted most entirely to him. Upon the Prince's coming to *London*, the Duke of *Hamilton* called a meeting of all the men of Quality of the *Scottish* Nation then in town: And these made an address to the Prince with relation to *Scotland*, almost in the same terms in which the *English* address was conceived. And now the administration of the government of the whole isle of *Britain* was put in the Prince's hands.

1688.

The prospect from *Ireland* was more dreadful. *Tyrconnell* gave out new commissions for levying thirty thousand men. And reports were spread about that Island, that a general massacre of the Protestants was fixed to be in *November*. Upon which the Protestants began to run together for their common defence, both in *Munster* and in *Ulster*. They had no great strength in *Munster*. They had been disarmed, and had no store of ammunition for the few arms that were left them. So they despaired of being able to defend themselves, and came over to *England* in great numbers, and full of dismal apprehensions for those they had left behind them. They moved earnestly, that a speedy assistance might be sent to them. In *Ulster* the Protestants had more strength: But they wanted a head. The Lords of *Grenard* and *Mountjoy*, who were the chief military men among them, in whom they confided most, kept still such measures with *Tyrconnell*, that they would not take the conduct of them. Two towns, that had both very little defence about them, and a very small store of provisions within them, were by the rashness or boldness of some brave young men secured: So that they refused to receive a Popish garrison, or to submit to *Tyrconnell*'s orders. These were *London-Derry* and *Iniskilling*. Both of them were advantageously situated. *Tyrconnell* sent troops into the North to reduce the country. Upon which great numbers fled into those places, and brought in provisions to them. And so they resolved to defend themselves, with a firmness of courage that cannot be enough admired: For when they were abandoned, both by the Gentry and the military men, those two small unfurnished and unfortified places, resolved to stand to their own defence, and at all perils to stay till supplies should come to them from *England*. I will not enlarge more upon the affairs of that Kingdom; both because I had no occasion to be well informed about them, and because Dr. *King*, now Archbishop of *Dublin*, wrote a copious history of the government of *Ireland* during this reign, which is so well received, and so universally acknowledged to be as truly as it is finely written, that I refer my reader to the account of those matters, which is fully and faithfully given by that learned and zealous Prelate.

The affairs of *Ireland*.

And now I enter upon the year 1689. In which the two first things to be considered, before the Convention could be brought together, were, the settling the *English* Army, and the affairs of *Ireland*. As for the Army, some of the bodies, those chiefly that were full of Papists, and of men ill affected, were to be broken. And, in order to that, a loan was set on foot in the City, for raising the money that was to pay their arrears at their disbanding, and for carrying on the pay of the *English* and

1689.

1689. and *Dutch* Armies till the Convention ſhould meet, and ſettle the Nation. This was the great diſtinction of thoſe who were well affected to the Prince: For, whereas thoſe who were ill affected to him refuſed to join in the loan, pretending there was no certainty of their being repayed; the others did not doubt but the Convention would pay all that was advanced in ſo great an exigence, and ſo they ſubſcribed liberally, as the occaſion required.

As for the affairs of *Ireland*, there was a great variety of opinions among them. Some thought, that *Ireland* would certainly follow the fate of *England*. This was managed by an artifice of *Tyrconnell*'s, who, what by deceiving, what by threatning the eminenteſt Proteſtants in *Dublin*, got them to write over to *London*, and give aſſurances that he would deliver up *Ireland*, if he might have good terms for himſelf, and for the *Iriſh*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was much depended on by the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, who made all their applications to the Prince by him. Thoſe, who were employed by *Tyrconnell* to deceive the Prince, made their applications by Sir *William Temple*, who had a long and well eſtabliſhed credit with him. They ſaid, *Tyrconnell* would never lay down the government of *Ireland*, unleſs he was ſure that the Earl of *Clarendon* was not to ſucceed: He knew his peeviſhneſs and ſpite, and that he would take ſevere revenges for what he thought had been done to himſelf, if he had them in his power: And therefore he would not treat, till he was aſſured of that. Upon this the Prince did avoid the ſpeaking to the Earl of *Clarendon* of thoſe matters. And then he, who had poſſeſſed himſelf in his expectation of that poſt, ſeeing the Prince thus ſhut him out of the hopes of it, became a moſt violent oppoſer of the new ſettlement. He reconciled himſelf to King *James*: And has been ever ſince one of the hotteſt promoters of his intereſt of any in the Nation. *Temple* entred into a management with *Tyrconnell*'s agents, who, it is very probable, if things had not taken a great turn in *England*, would have come to a compoſition. Others thought, that the leaving *Ireland* in that dangerous ſtate, might be a mean to bring the Convention to a more ſpeedy ſettlement of *England*; and that therefore the Prince ought not to make too much haſte to relieve *Ireland*. This advice was generally believed to be given by the Marquis of *Hallifax*: And it was like him. The Prince did not ſeem to apprehend enough the conſequences of the revolt of *Ireland*; and was much blamed for his ſlowneſs in not preventing it in time.

The Prince in treaty with the Earl of *Tyrconnell*.

The truth was, he did not know whom to truſt. A general diſcontent, next to mutiny, began to ſpread it ſelf thro' the whole *Engliſh* Army. The turn, that they were now making from him, was almoſt as quick as that which they had made to him. He could not truſt them. Probably, if he had ſent any of them over, they would have joined with *Tyrconnell*. Nor could he well ſend over any of his *Dutch* troops. It was to them that he chiefly truſted, for maintaining the quiet of *England*. Probably the *Engliſh* Army would have become more inſolent, if the *Dutch* force had been conſiderably diminiſhed. And the King's magazins were ſo exhauſted, that till new ſtores were provided, there was very little ammunition to ſpare. The raiſing new troops was a work of time. There was no ſhip of war in thoſe ſeas, to ſecure the tranſport. And to ſend a ſmall company of Officers with ſome ammunition, which was all that could be done on the ſudden, ſeemed to be an expoſing them to the enemy. Theſe conſiderations made him more eaſy to entertain a propoſition that was made to him, as was believed, by the *Temples*; (for Sir *William* had both a brother and a ſon that made then a conſiderable figure;) which was, to ſend over Lieutenant General *Hamilton*, one of the Officers that belonged to *Ireland*. He was a Papiſt, but was believed to be a man of honour: And he had certainly great credit with the Earl of *Tyrconnell*. He had ſerved in *France* with great reputation, and had a great intereſt in all the *Iriſh*, and was now in the Prince's hands; and had been together with a body of *Iriſh* ſoldiers, whom the Prince kept for ſome time as priſoners in the iſle of *Wight*; whom he gave afterwards to the Emperour, tho', as they paſſed thro' *Germany*, they deſerted in great numbers, and got into *France*. *Hamilton* was a ſort of priſoner of War. So he undertook to go over to *Ireland*, and to prevail with the Earl of *Tyrconnell* to deliver up the government; and promiſed, that he would either bring him to it, or that he would come back, and give an account of his negotiation. This ſtep had a very ill effect: For before *Hamilton* came to *Dublin*, the Earl of *Tyrconnell* was in ſuch deſpair, looking on all as loſt, that he ſeemed to be very near a full reſolution of entring on a treaty, to get the beſt terms that he could. But *Hamilton*'s coming changed him quite. He repreſented to him,

that

1689.

that things were turning faſt in *England* in favour of the King: So that, if he ſtood firm, all would come round again. He ſaw, that he muſt ſtudy to manage this ſo dextrouſly, as to gain as much time as he could, that ſo the Prince might not make too much haſte, before a Fleet and ſupplies might come from *France*. So ſeveral letters were writ over by the ſame management, giving aſſurances that the Earl of *Tyrconnell* was fully reſolved to treat and ſubmit. And, to carry this further, two Commiſſioners were ſent from the Council-board to *France*. The one was a zealous Proteſtant, the other was a Papiſt. Their inſtructions were, to repreſent to the King the neceſſity of *Ireland*'s ſubmitting to *England*. The Earl of *Tyrconnell* pretended, that in honour he could do no leſs than diſengage himſelf to his maſter, before he laid down the government. Yet he ſeemed reſolved not to ſtay for an anſwer, or a conſent; but, that, as ſoon as this meſſage was delivered, he would ſubmit upon good conditions: And for theſe, he knew, he would have all that he asked. With this management he gained his point, which was much time. And he now fancied, that the honour of reſtoring the King would belong chiefly to himſelf. Thus *Hamilton*, by breaking his own faith, ſecured the Earl of *Tyrconnell* to the King: And this gave the beginning to the War of *Ireland*. *Mountjoy*, the Proteſtant Lord that was ſent to *France*, inſtead of being heard to deliver his meſſage, was clapt up in the *Baſtille*; which, ſince he was ſent in the name of a Kingdom, was thought a very diſhonourable thing, and contrary to the law of Nations. Thoſe who had adviſed the ſending over *Hamilton* were now much out of countenance: And the Earl of *Clarendon* was a loud declaimer againſt it. It was believed, that it had a terrible effect on Sir *William Temple*'s ſon, who had raiſed in the Prince a high opinion of *Hamilton*'s honour. Soon after that, he, who had no other viſible cauſe of melancholy, beſides this, went in a boat on the *Thames*, near the Bridge, where the river runs moſt impetuouſly, and leaped into the river, and was drowned.

The ſitting of the Convention was now very near. And all men were forming their ſchemes, and fortifying their party all they could. The elections were managed fairly all *England* over. The Prince did in no ſort interpoſe in any recommendation, directly or indirectly. Three parties were formed about the Town. The one was for calling back the King, and treating with him for ſuch ſecurities to religion and the laws, as might put them out of the danger for the future of a Diſpenſing or Arbitrary Power. Theſe were all of the high Church party, who had carried the point of Submiſſion and Non-reſiſtance ſo far, that they thought nothing leſs than this could conſiſt with their duty and their oaths. When it was objected to them, that, according to thoſe notions that they had been poſſeſſed with, they ought to be for calling the King back without conditions: When he came, they might indeed offer him their petitions, which he might grant or reject as he pleaſed: But that the offering him conditions, before he was recalled, was contrary to their former doctrine of unconditioned allegiance. They were at ſuch a ſtand upon this objection, that it was plain, they ſpoke of conditions, either in compliance with the humour of the Nation; or that, with relation to their particular intereſt, nature was ſo ſtrong in them, that it was too hard for their doctrine.

The Convention met.

When this notion was toſſed and talked of about the town, ſo few went into it, that the party which ſupported it went over to the ſcheme of a ſecond party; which was, that King *James* had by his ill adminiſtration of the government brought himſelf into an incapacity of holding the exerciſe of the ſovereign authority any more in his own hand: But, as in the caſe of lunaticks, the right ſtill remained in him: Only the guardianſhip, or the exerciſe, of it was to be lodged with a Prince Regent: So that the right of ſovereignty ſhould be owned to remain ſtill in the King, and that the exerciſe of it ſhould be veſted in the Prince of *Orange* as Prince Regent. A third party was for ſetting King *James* quite aſide, and for ſetting the Prince on the Throne.

Some are for a Prince Regent.

When the Convention was opened on the twenty fourth of *January*, the Archbiſhop came not to take his place among them. He reſolved neither to act for nor againſt the King's intereſt; which, conſidering his high poſt, was thought very unbecoming. For if he thought, as by his behaviour afterwards it ſeems he did, that the Nation was running into treaſon, rebellion, and perjury, it was a ſtrange thing to ſee one, who was at the head of the Church, ſit ſilent all the while that this was in debate; and not once ſo much as declare his opinion by ſpeaking, voting, or proteſting, not to mention the other Eccleſiaſtical methods that certainly became his

1689. character. But he was a poor ſpirited, and fearful man; and acted a very mean part in all this great tranſaction. The Biſhops Bench was very full, as were alſo the Benches of the Temporal Lords. The Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, and *Rocheſter*, were the men that managed the debates in favour of a Regent, in oppoſition to thoſe who were for ſetting up another King.

They thought, this would ſave the Nation, and yet ſecure the honour of the Church of *England*, and the ſacredneſs of the Crown. It was urged, that if, upon any pretence whatſoever, the Nation might throw off their King, then the Crown muſt become precarious, and the power of judging the King muſt be in the people. This muſt end in a Commonwealth. A great deal was brought from both the laws and hiſtory of *England*, to prove, that not only the perſon, but the authority of the King was ſacred. The law had indeed provided a remedy of a Regency for the infancy of our Kings. So, if a King ſhould fall into ſuch errours in his conduct, as ſhewed that he was as little capable of holding the government as an infant was, then the Eſtates of the Kingdom might, upon this parity of the caſe, ſeek to the remedy provided for an infant, and lodge the power with a Regent. But the right was to remain, and to go on in a lineal ſucceſſion: For, if that was once put ever ſo little out of its order, the Crown would in a little time become elective; which might rend the Nation in pieces by a diverſity of elections, and by the different factions that would adhere to the perſon whom they had elected. They did not deny, but that great objections lay againſt the methods that they propoſed. But affairs were brought into ſo deſperate a ſtate by King *James*'s conduct, that it was not poſſible to propoſe a remedy, that might not be juſtly excepted to. But they thought, their expedient would take in the greateſt, as well as the beſt, part of the Nation: Whereas all other expedients gratified a Republican party, compoſed of the Diſſenters, and of men of no religion, who hoped now to ſee the Church ruined, and the government ſet upon ſuch a bottom, as that we ſhould have only a titular King; who, as he had his power from the people, ſo ſhould be accountable to them for the exerciſe of it, and ſhould forfeit it at their pleaſure. The much greater part of the Houſe of Lords was for this, and ſtuck long to it: And ſo was about a third part of the Houſe of Commons. The greateſt part of the Clergy declared themſelves for it.

But of thoſe who agreed in this expedient, it was viſible there were two different parties. Some intended to bring King *James* back; and went into this, as the moſt probable way for laying the Nation aſleep, and for overcoming the preſent averſion that all people had to him. That being once done, they reckoned it would be no hard thing, with the help of ſome time, to compaſs the other. Others ſeemed to mean more ſincerely. They ſaid, they could not vote or argue but according to their own principles, as long as the matter was yet entire: But they owned that they had taken up another principle, both from the law and from the hiſtory of *England*; which was, that they would obey and pay allegiance to the King for the time being: They thought a King thus *de facto* had a right to their obedience, and that they were bound to adhere to him, and to defend him, even in oppoſition to him with whom they thought the right did ſtill remain. The Earl of *Nottingham* was the Perſon that owned this doctrine the moſt during theſe debates. He ſaid to my ſelf, that tho' he could not argue nor vote, but according to the ſcheme and principles he had, concerning our laws and conſtitution, yet he ſhould not be ſorry to ſee his ſide out voted; and that, tho' he could not agree to the making a King as things ſtood, yet if he found one made, he would be more faithful to him, than thoſe that made him could be according to their own principles.

Others are for another King.

The third party was made up of thoſe, who thought that there was an original contract between the Kings and the people of *England*; by which the Kings were bound to defend their people, and to govern them according to law, in lieu of which the people were bound to obey and ſerve the King. The proof of this appeared in the ancient forms of Coronations ſtill obſerved: By which the people were asked, if they would have that perſon before them to be their King: And, upon their ſhouts of conſent, the Coronation was gone about. But, before the King was crowned, he was asked, if he would not defend and protect his people, and govern them according to law: And, upon his promiſing and ſwearing this, he was crowned: And then homage was done him. And, tho' of late the Coronation has been conſidered rather as a ſolemn inſtalment, than that which gave the King his authority,

1689.

rity, ſo that it was become a maxim in law that the King never died, and that the new King was crowned in the right of his ſucceſſion, yet theſe forms, that were ſtill continued, ſhewed what the government was originally. Many things were brought to ſupport this from the *Britiſh* and *Saxon* times. It was urged, that *William* the Conqueror was received upon his promiſing to keep the laws of *Edward* the Confeſſor, which was plainly the original contract between him and the Nation. This was often renewed by his ſucceſſors. *Edward* the ſecond, and *Richard* the ſecond, were depoſed for breaking theſe laws: And theſe depoſitions were ſtill good in law, ſince they were not reverſed, nor was the right of depoſing them ever renounced or diſowned. Many things were alledged, from what had paſt during the Barons wars, for confirming all this. Upon which I will add one particular circumſtance, that the original of King *John*'s *Magna Charta*, with his Great Seal to it, was then given to me by a Gentleman that found it among his Father's papers, but did not know how he came by it: And it is ſtill in my hands. It was ſaid in this argument, what did all the limitations of the Regal Power ſignify, if upon a King's breaking thro' them all, the people had not a right to maintain their laws, and to preſerve their conſtitution? It was indeed confeſſed, that this might have ill conſequences, and might be carried too far. But the denying this right in any caſe whatſoever, did plainly deſtroy all liberty, and eſtabliſh tyranny. The preſent alteration propoſed would be no precedent, but to the like caſe. And it was fit that a precedent ſhould be made for ſuch occaſions; if thoſe of *Edward* the ſecond, and *Richard* the ſecond, were not acknowledged to be good ones. It was ſaid, that, if King *James* had only broken ſome laws, and done ſome illegal acts, it might be juſtly urged, that it was not reaſonable on account of theſe to carry ſeverities too far. But he had broken thro' the laws in many publick and avowed inſtances: He had ſet up an open treaty with *Rome*: He had ſhaken the whole ſettlement of *Ireland*; and had put that Iſland, and the *Engliſh* and Proteſtants that were there, in the power of the *Iriſh*: The Diſpenſing Power took away not only thoſe laws to which it was applied, but all other laws whatſoever by the precedent it had ſet, and by the conſequences that followed upon it: By the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion he had invaded the liberty of the Church, and ſubjected the Clergy to meer will and pleaſure: And all was concluded by his deſerting his people, and flying to a foreign power, rather than ſtay and ſubmit to the determinations of a free Parliament. Upon all which it was inferred, that he had abdicated the government, and had left the Throne vacant: Which therefore ought now to be filled, that ſo the Nation might be preſerved, and the Regal government continued in it.

And againſt a Regency.

As to the propoſition for a Prince Regent, it was argued, that this was as much againſt Monarchy, or rather more, than what they moved for. If a King's ill government did give the people a right in any caſe to take his power from him, and to lodge it with another, owning that the right to it remained ſtill with him, this might have every whit as bad conſequences, as the other ſeemed to have: For recourſe might be had to this violent remedy too often, and too raſhly. By this propoſition of a Regent, here were to be upon the matter two Kings at the ſame time: One with the title, and another with the power of a King. This was both more illegal, and more unſafe, than the method they propoſed. The law of *England* had ſettled the point of the ſubjects ſecurity in obeying the King in poſſeſſion, in the ſtatute made by *Henry* the ſeventh. So every man knew he was ſafe under a King, and ſo would act with zeal and courage. But all ſuch as ſhould act under a Prince Regent, created by this Convention, were upon a bottom that had not the neceſſary forms of law for it. All that was done by them would be thought null and void in law: So that no man could be ſafe that acted under it. If the oaths to King *James* were thought to be ſtill binding, the ſubjects were by theſe not only bound to maintain his title to the Crown, but all his prerogatives and powers. And therefore it ſeemed abſurd to continue a government in his name, and to take oaths ſtill to him, when yet all the power was taken out of his hands. This would be an odious thing, both before God and the whole World, and would caſt a reproach on us at preſent, and bring certain ruin for the future on any ſuch mixed and unnatural ſort of government. Therefore, if the oaths were ſtill binding, the Nation was ſtill bound by them, not by halves, but in their whole extent. It was ſaid, that, if the government ſhould be carried on in King *James*'s name, but in other hands, the body of the Nation would conſider him as the perſon that was truly their

1689. their King. And if any ſhould plot or act for him, they could not be proceeded againſt for high treaſon, as conſpiring againſt the King's perſon or government; when it would be viſible, that they were only deſigning to preſerve his perſon, and to reſtore him to his government. To proceed againſt any, or to take their lives for ſuch practices, would be to add murder to perjury. And it was not to be ſuppoſed, that Juries would find ſuch men guilty of treaſon. In the weakneſs of infancy, a Prince Regent was in law the ſame perſon with the King, who had not yet a Will: And it was to be preſumed, the Prince Regent's Will was the King's Will. But that could not be applied to the preſent caſe; where the King and the Regent muſt be preſumed to be in a perpetual ſtruggle, the one to recover his power, the other to preſerve his authority. Theſe things ſeemed to be ſo plainly made out in the debate, that it was generally thought that no man could reſiſt ſuch force of argument, but thoſe who intended to bring back King *James*. And it was believed, that thoſe of his party, who were looked on as men of conſcience, had ſecret orders from him to act upon this pretence; ſince otherwiſe they offered to act clearly in contradiction to their own oaths and principles.

But thoſe who were for continuing the government, and only for changing the perſons, were not at all of a mind. Some among them had very different views and ends from the reſt. Theſe intended to take advantage from the preſent conjuncture, to depreſs the Crown, to render it as much precarious and elective as they could, and to raiſe the power of the people upon the ruin of Monarchy. Among thoſe ſome went ſo far as to ſay, that the whole government was diſſolved. But this appeared a bold and dangerous aſſertion: For that might have been carried ſo far, as to infer from it, that all mens properties, honours, rights, and franchiſes, were diſſolved. Therefore it was thought ſafer to ſay, that King *James* had diſſolved the tie that was between him and the Nation. Others avoided going into new ſpeculations, or ſchemes of government. They thought it was enough to ſay, that in extream caſes all obligations did ceaſe; and that in our preſent circumſtances the extremity of affairs, by reaſon of the late ill government, and by King *James*'s flying over to the enemy of the Nation, rather than ſubmit to reaſonable terms, had put the people of *England* on the neceſſity of ſecuring themſelves upon a legal bottom. It was ſaid, that tho' the vow of marriage was made for term of life, and without conditions expreſſed, yet a breach in the tie it ſelf ſets the innocent party at liberty. So a King, who had his power both given him and defined by the law, and was bound to govern by law, when he ſet himſelf to break all laws, and in concluſion deſerted his people, did, by ſo doing, ſet them at liberty to put themſelves in a legal and ſafe ſtate. There was no need of fearing ill conſequences from this. Houſes were pulled down or blown up in a fire: And yet men found themſelves ſafe in their Houſes. In extream dangers the common ſenſe of mankind would juſtify extream remedies; tho' there was no ſpecial proviſion that directed to them, or allowed of them. Therefore, they ſaid, a Nation's ſecuring it ſelf againſt a King, who was ſubverting the government, did not expoſe Monarchy, nor raiſe a popular authority, as ſome did tragically repreſent the matter.

There were alſo great diſputes about the original contract: Some denying there was any ſuch thing, and asking where it was kept, and how it could be come at. To this others anſwered, that it was implied in a legal government: Tho' in a long tract of time, and in dark ages, there was not ſuch an explicit proof of it to be found. Yet many hints from law-books and hiſtories were brought to ſhew, that the Nation had always ſubmitted, and obeyed in conſideration of their laws, which were ſtill ſtipulated to them.

There were alſo many debates on the word *abdicate*: For the Commons came ſoon to a reſolution, that King *James*, by breaking the original contract, and by withdrawing himſelf, had abdicated the government; and that the Throne was thereby become vacant. They ſent this vote to the Lords, and prayed their concurrence. Upon which many debates and conferences aroſe. At laſt it came to a free conference, in which, according to the ſenſe of the whole Nation, the Commons had clearly the advantage on their ſide. The Lords had ſome more colour for oppoſing the word *abdicate*, ſince that was often taken in a ſenſe that imported the full purpoſe and conſent of him that abdicated; which could not be pretended in this caſe. But there were good authorities brought, by which it appeared, that when a perſon did a thing upon which his leaving any office ought to follow, he was ſaid to abdicate. But this was a critical diſpute: And it ſcarce became the greatneſs of that aſſembly, or the importance of the matter.

1689.

It was a more important debate, whether, ſuppoſing King *James* had abdicated, the Throne could be declared vacant. It was urged, that, by the law, the King did never die; but that with the laſt breath of the dying King the Regal authority went to the next heir. So it was ſaid, that, ſuppoſing King *James* had abdicated, the Throne was (*ipſo facto*) filled in that inſtant by the next heir. This ſeemed to be proved by the heirs of the King being ſworn to in the oath of allegiance; which oath was not only made perſonally to the King, but likewiſe to his heirs and ſucceſſors. Thoſe who inſiſted on the Abdication ſaid, that if the King diſſolved the tie between him and his ſubjects to himſelf, he diſſolved their tie likewiſe to his poſterity. An heir was one that came in the room of a perſon that was dead; it being a maxim that no man can be the heir of a living man. If therefore the King had fallen from his own right, as no heir of his could pretend to any inheritance from him, as long as he was alive, ſo they could ſucceed to nothing, but to that which was veſted in him at the time of his death. And, as in the caſe of attainder, every right that a man was diveſted of before his death was, as it were, annihilated in him; and by conſequence could not paſs to his heirs by his death, not being then in himſelf: So, if a King did ſet his people free from any tie to himſelf, they muſt be ſuppoſed to be put in a ſtate, in which they might ſecure themſelves; and therefore could not be bound to receive one, who they had reaſon to believe would ſtudy to diſſolve and revenge all they had done. If the principle of ſelf preſervation did juſtify a Nation in ſecuring it ſelf from a violent invaſion, and a total ſubverſion, then it muſt have its full ſcope, to give a real, and not a ſeeming and fraudulent, ſecurity. They did acknowledge, that upon the grounds of natural equity, and for ſecuring the Nation in after times, it was fit to go as near the lineal ſucceſſion as might be: Yet they could not yield that point, that they were ſtrictly bound to it.

Some mov'd to examine the birth of the Prince of *Wales*.

It was propoſed, that the birth of the pretended Prince might be examined into. Some preſſed this, not ſo much from an opinion that they were bound to aſſert his right, if it ſhould appear that he was born of the Queen, as becauſe they thought it would juſtify the Nation, and more particularly the Prince and the two Princeſſes, if an impoſture in that matter could have been proved. And it would have gone far to ſatisfy many of the weaker ſort, as to all the proceeding againſt King *James*. Upon which I was ordered to gather together all the preſumptive proofs that were formerly mentioned, which were all ready to have been made out. It is true, theſe did not amount to a full and legal proof: Yet they ſeemed to be ſuch violent preſumptions, that, when they were all laid together, they were more convincing than plain and downright evidence: For that was liable to the ſuſpicion of ſubornation: Whereas the other ſeemed to carry on them very convincing characters of truth and certainty. But, when this matter was in private debated, ſome obſerved, that, as King *James* by going about to prove the truth of the birth, and yet doing it ſo defectively, had really made it more ſuſpicious than it was before; ſo, if there was no clear and poſitive proof made of an impoſture, the pretending to examine into it, and then the not being able to make it out beyond the poſſibility of contradiction, would really give more credit to the thing, than it then had, and inſtead of weakning it, would ſtrengthen the pretenſion of his birth.

But it was rejected.

When this debate was propoſed in the Houſe of Lords, it was rejected with indignation. He was now ſent out of *England* to be bred up in *France*, an enemy both to the Nation, and to the eſtabliſhed religion: It was impoſſible for the people of *England* to know, whether he was the ſame perſon that had been carried over, or not: If he ſhould die, another might be put in his room, in ſuch a manner that the Nation could not be aſſured concerning him: The *Engliſh* Nation ought not to ſend into another country for Witneſſes to prove that he was their Prince; much leſs receive one upon the teſtimony of ſuch, as were not only aliens, but ought to be preſumed enemies: It was alſo known, that all the perſons, who had been the confidents in that matter, were conveyed away: So it was impoſſible to come at them, by whoſe means only the truth of that birth could be found out. But while theſe things were fairly debated by ſome, there were others who had deeper and darker deſigns in this matter.

They thought, it would be a good ſecurity for the Nation, to have a dormant title to the Crown lie as it were neglected, to oblige our Princes to govern well, while they would apprehend the danger of a revolt to a pretender ſtill in their eye. *Wildman* thought, it was a deep piece of policy to let this lie in the dark, and undecided. Nor did they think it an ill precedent, that they ſhould ſo neglect the right of ſucceſ-

1689. ſion, as not ſo much as to enquire into this matter. Upon all theſe conſiderations no further enquiry was made into it. It is true, this put a plauſible objection in the mouth of all King *James*'s party: Here, they ſaid, an infant was condemned, and denied his right, without either proof or enquiry. This ſtill takes with many in the preſent age. And, that it may not take more in the next, I have uſed more than ordinary care to gather together all the particulars that were then laid before me as to that matter.

Some were for making the Prince King.

The next thing in debate was, who ſhould fill the Throne. The Marquis of *Halifax* intended, by his zeal for the Prince's intereſt, to atone for his backwardneſs in not coming early into it: And, that he might get before Lord *Danby*, who was in great credit with the Prince, he moved, that the Crown ſhould be given to the Prince, and to the two Princeſſes after him. Many of the Republican party approved of this: For by it they gained another point: The people in this caſe would plainly elect a King, without any critical regard to the order of ſucceſſion. How far the Prince himſelf entertained this, I cannot tell. But I ſaw it made a great impreſſion on *Bentbink*. He ſpoke of it to me, as asking my opinion about it, but ſo, that I plainly ſaw what was his own: For he gave me all the arguments that were offered for it; as that it was moſt natural that the ſovereign power ſhould be only in one perſon; that a mans Wife ought only to be his Wife; that it was a ſuitable return to the Prince for what he had done for the Nation; that a divided ſovereignty was liable to great inconveniences; and, tho' there was leſs to be apprehended from the Princeſs of any thing of that kind than from any Woman alive, yet all mortals were frail, and might at ſome time or other of their lives be wrought on.

To all this I anſwered, with ſome vehemence, that this was a very ill return for the ſteps the Princeſs had made to the Prince three years ago: It would be thought both unjuſt and ungrateful: It would meet with great oppoſition, and give a general ill impreſſion of the Prince, as inſatiable and jealous in his ambition: There was an ill humour already ſpreading it ſelf thro' the Nation, and thro' the Clergy; It was not neceſſary to encreaſe this; which ſuch a ſtep, as was now propoſed, would do out of meaſure: It would engage the one ſex generally againſt the Prince: And in time they might feel the effects of that very ſenſibly: And, for my own part, I ſhould think my ſelf bound to oppoſe it all I could, conſidering what had paſſed in *Holland* on that head. We talked over the whole thing for many hours, till it was pretty far in the morning. I ſaw he was well inſtructed in the argument: And he himſelf was poſſeſſed with it. So next morning I came to him, and deſired my *Congè*. I would oppoſe nothing in which the Prince ſeemed to be concerned, as long as I was his ſervant. And therefore I deſired to be diſengaged, that I might be free to oppoſe this propoſition with all the ſtrength and credit I had. He anſwered me, that I might deſire that when I ſaw a ſtep made: But till then he wiſhed me to ſtay where I was. I heard no more of this; in which the Marquis of *Hallifax* was ſingle among the Peers: For I did not find there was any one of them of his mind; unleſs it was the Lord *Culpepper*, who was a vicious and corrupt man, but made a figure in the debates that were now in the Houſe of Lords, and died about the end of them. Some moved, that the Princeſs of *Orange* might be put in the Throne; and that it might be left to her, to give the Prince ſuch a ſhare either of dignity or power as ſhe ſhould propoſe, when ſhe was declared Queen. The agents of Princeſs *Anne* began to go about, and to oppoſe any propoſition for the Prince to her prejudice. But ſhe thought fit to diſown them. Dr. *Doughty*, one of her Chaplains, ſpoke to me in her room on the ſubject. But ſhe ſaid to my ſelf, that ſhe knew nothing of it.

The propoſition, in which all that were for the filling the Throne agreed at laſt, was, that both the Prince and Princeſs ſhould be made conjunct Sovereigns. But, for the preventing of any diſtractions, that the adminiſtration ſhould be ſingly in the Prince. The Princeſs continued all the while in *Holland*, being ſhut in there, during the Eaſt Winds, by the freezing of the rivers, and by contrary Winds after the thaw came. So that ſhe came not to *England* till all the debates were over. The Prince's enemies gave it out, that ſhe was kept there by order, on deſign that ſhe might not come over to *England* to claim her right. So parties began to be formed, ſome for the Prince, and others for the Princeſs. Upon this the Earl of *Danby* ſent one over to the Princeſs, and gave her an account of the preſent ſtate of that debate: And deſired to know her own ſenſe of the matter; for, if ſhe deſired it, he did not doubt but he ſhould be able to carry it for ſetting her alone on

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the Throne. She made him a very ſharp anſwer: She ſaid, ſhe was the Prince's Wife, and would never be other, than what ſhe ſhould be in conjunction with him, and under him; and that ſhe would take it extream unkindly, if any, under a pretence of their care of her, would ſet up a divided intereſt between her and the Prince. And, not content with this, ſhe ſent both Lord *Danby*'s letter, and her anſwer, to the Prince. Her ſending it thus to him was the moſt effectual diſcouragement poſſible to any attempt for the future to create a miſunderſtanding or jealouſy between them. The Prince bore this with his uſual phlegm: For he did not expoſtulate with the Earl of *Danby* upon it, but continued ſtill to employ and to truſt him. And afterwards he advanced him, firſt to be a Marquis, and then to be a Duke. 1689.

The Prince declared his mind after long ſilence.

During all theſe debates, and the great heat with which they were managed, the Prince's own behaviour was very myſterious. He ſtaid at St. *James*'s. He went little abroad: Acceſs to him was not very eaſy. He heard all that was ſaid to him: But ſeldom made any anſwers. He did not affect to be affable, or popular: Nor would he take any pains to gain any one perſon over to his party. He ſaid he came over, being invited, to ſave the Nation: He had now brought together a free and true repreſentative of the Kingdom: He left it therefore to them to do what they thought beſt for the good of the Kingdom: And, when things were once ſettled, he ſhould be well ſatisfied to go back to *Holland* again. Thoſe who did not know him well, and who imagined that a Crown had charms which human nature was not ſtrong enough to reſiſt, looked on all this as an affectation, and as a diſguiſed threatning, which imported, that he would leave the Nation to periſh, unleſs his method of ſettling it was followed. After a reſervedneſs, that had continued ſo cloſe for ſeveral Weeks, that no body could certainly tell what he deſired, he called for the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Danby*, and ſome others, to explain himſelf more diſtinctly to them.

He told them, he had been till then ſilent, becauſe he would not ſay or do any thing that might ſeem in any ſort to take from any perſon the full freedom of deliberating and voting in matters of ſuch importance: He was reſolved neither to court nor threaten any one: And therefore he had declined to give out his own thoughts: Some were for putting the government in the hands of a Regent: He would ſay nothing againſt it, if it was thought the beſt mean for ſettling their affairs: Only he thought it neceſſary to tell them, that he would not be their Regent: So, if they continued in that deſign, they muſt look out for ſome other perſon to be put in that poſt: He himſelf ſaw what the conſequences of it were like to prove: So he would not accept of it: Others were for putting the Princeſs ſingly on the Throne, and that he ſhould reign by her courteſy: He ſaid, no man could eſteem a Woman more than he did the Princeſs: But he was ſo made, that he could not think of holding any thing by apron-ſtrings: Nor could he think it reaſonable to have any ſhare in the government, unleſs it was put in his perſon, and that for term of life: If they did think it fit to ſettle it otherwiſe, he would not oppoſe them in it: But he would go back to *Holland*, and meddle no more in their affairs: He aſſured them, that whatſoever others might think of a Crown, it was no ſuch thing in his eyes, but that he could live very well, and be well pleaſed without it. In the end he ſaid, that he could not reſolve to accept of a dignity, ſo as to hold it only the life of another: Yet he thought, that the iſſue of Princeſs *Anne* ſhould be preferred, in the ſucceſſion, to any iſſue that he might have by any other wife than the Princeſs. All this he delivered to them in ſo cold and unconcerned a manner, that thoſe, who judged of others by the diſpoſitions that they felt in themſelves, looked on it all as artifice and contrivance.

It was reſolved to put the Prince and Princeſs both in the Throne.

This was preſently told about, as it was not intended to be kept ſecret. And it helped not a little to bring the debates at *Weſtminſter* to a ſpeedy determination. Some were ſtill in doubt with relation to the Princeſs. In ſome it was conſcience: For they thought the equitable right was in her. Others might be moved by intereſt, ſince, if ſhe ſhould think herſelf wronged, and ill uſed in this matter, ſhe, who was like to outlive the Prince, being ſo much younger and healthier than he was, might have it in her power to take her revenges on all that ſhould concur in ſuch a deſign. Upon this, I, who knew her ſenſe of the matter very perfectly by what had paſſed in *Holland*, as was formerly told, was in a great difficulty. I had promiſed her never to ſpeak of that matter, but by her order. But I preſumed, in ſuch a caſe I was to take orders from the Prince. So I asked him what he would order

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1689. me to do. He ſaid, he would give me no orders in that matter, but left me to do as I pleaſed. I looked on this, as the allowing me to let the Princeſs's reſolution in that be known; by which many, who ſtood formerly in ſuſpence, were fully ſatisfied. Thoſe to whom I gave the account of that matter were indeed amazed at it; and concluded, that the Princeſs was either a very good, or a very weak Woman. And an indifferency for power and rule ſeemed ſo extraordinary a thing, that it was thought a certain character of an exceſs of goodneſs or ſimplicity. At her coming to *England*, ſhe not only juſtified me, but approved of my publiſhing that matter; and ſpoke particularly of it to her ſiſter Princeſs *Anne*. There were other differences in the form of the ſettlement. The Republican party were at firſt for depoſing King *James* by a formal ſentence, and for giving the Crown to the Prince and Princeſs by as formal an election. But that was over-ruled in the beginning. I have not purſued the relation of the debates according to the order in which they paſſed, which will be found in the journal of both Houſes during the Convention. But, having had a great ſhare my ſelf in the private managing of thoſe debates, particularly with many of the Clergy, and with the men of the moſt ſcrupulous and tender conſciences, I have given a very full account of all the reaſonings on both ſides, as that by which the reader may form and guide his own judgment of the whole affair. Many proteſtations paſt in the Houſe of Lords, in the progreſs of the debate. The party for a Regency was for ſome time moſt prevailing: And then the proteſtations were made by the Lords that were for the new ſettlement. The Houſe was very full: About a hundred and twenty were preſent. And things were ſo near an equality, that it was at laſt carried by a very ſmall majority, of two or three, to agree with the Commons in voting the Abdication, and the Vacancy of the Throne: Againſt which a great proteſtation was made; as alſo againſt the final vote, by which the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* were deſired to accept of the Crown, and declared to be King and Queen; which went very hardly. The poor Biſhop of *Durham*, who had abſconded for ſome time, and was waiting for a ſhip to get beyond ſea, fearing publick affronts, and had offered to compound by reſigning his Biſhoprick, was now prevailed on to come, and by voting the new ſettlement to merit at leaſt a pardon for all that he had done: Which, all things conſidered, was thought very indecent in him, yet not unbecoming the reſt of his life and character.

They drew an Inſtrument about it.

But, before matters were brought to a full concluſion, an enumeration was made of the chief heads of King *James*'s ill government. And in oppoſition to theſe, the rights and liberties of the people of *England* were ſtated. Some officious people ſtudied to hinder this at that time. They thought they had already loſt three weeks in their debates: And the doing this, with the exactneſs that was neceſſary, would take up more time: Or it would be done too much in a hurry, for matters of ſo nice a nature. And therefore it was moved, that this ſhould be done more at leiſure after the ſettlement. But that was not hearkned to. It was therefore thought neceſſary to frame this Inſtrument ſo, that it ſhould be like a new *Magna Charta*. In the ſtating theſe grievances and rights, the Diſpenſing Power came to be diſcuſſed. And then the power of the Crown to grant a *Non-obſtante* to ſome ſtatutes was objected. Upon opening this, the debate was found to be ſo intricate, that it was let fall at that time only for diſpatch. But afterwards an act paſt condemning it ſingly. And the power of granting a *Non-obſtante* was for the future taken away. Yet King *James*'s party took great advantage from this; and ſaid, that, tho' the main clamour of the Nation was againſt the Diſpenſing Power, yet when the Convention brought things to a ſettlement, that did not appear to be ſo clear a point as had been pretended: And it was not ſo much as mentioned in this Inſtrument of government: So that, by the confeſſion of his enemies, it appeared to be no unlawful power: Nor was it declared contrary to the liberties of the people of *England*. Whereas, its not being mentioned then was only upon the oppoſition that was made, that ſo more time might not be loſt, nor this Inſtrument be clogged with diſputable points.

The Oaths were altered.

The laſt debate was, concerning the oaths that ſhould be taken to the King and Queen. Many arguments were taken during the debate from the oaths in the form in which the allegiance was ſworn to the Crown, to ſhew that in a new ſettlement theſe could not be taken. And to this it was always anſwered, that care ſhould be taken, when other things were ſettled, to adjuſt theſe oaths, ſo that they ſhould agree to the new ſettlement. In the oaths, as they were formerly conceived, a previous title ſeemed to be aſſerted, when the King was ſworn to, *as rightful and lawful*

King.

King. It was therefore ſaid, that theſe words could not be ſaid of a King who had not a precedent right, but was ſet up by the Nation. So it was moved, that the oaths ſhould be reduced to the ancient ſimplicity, of ſwearing to bear faith and true allegiance to the King and Queen. This was agreed to. And upon this began the notion of a King *de facto*, but not *de jure*. It was ſaid, that according to the common law, as well as the ſtatute in King *Henry* the ſeventh's reign, the ſubjects might ſecurely obey any King that was in poſſeſſion, whether his title was good, or not. This ſeemed to be a doctrine neceſſary for the peace and quiet of mankind, that ſo the ſubjects may be ſafe in every Government, that bringeth them under a ſuperior force, and that will cruſh them, if they do not give a ſecurity for the protection that they enjoy under it. The Lawyers had been always of that opinion, that the people were not bound to examine the titles of their Princes, but were to ſubmit to him that was in poſſeſſion. It was therefore judged juſt and reaſonable, in the beginning of a new government, to make the oaths as general and comprehenſive as might be: For it was thought, that thoſe who once took the oaths to the government, would be after that faithful and true to it. This tenderneſs, which was ſhewed at this time to a ſort of people that had ſhewed very little tenderneſs to men of weak or ill informed conſciences, was afterwards much abuſed by a new explanation, or rather a groſs equivocation, as to the ſignification of the words in which the oath was conceived. The true meaning of the words, and the expreſs ſenſe of the impoſers was, that, whether men were ſatisfied or not with the putting the King and Queen on the Throne, yet, now they were on it, they would be true to them, and defend them. But the ſenſe that many put on them was, that they were only to obey them as uſurpers, during their uſurpation, and that therefore, as long as they continued in quiet poſſeſſion, they were bound to bear them, and ſubmit to them: But that it was ſtill lawful for them to aſſiſt King *James*, if he ſhould come to recover his Crown, and that they might act and talk as they could, or durſt, in his favour, as being ſtill their King *de jure*. This was contrary to the plain meaning of the words; *faith, and true allegiance*; and was contrary to the expreſs declaration in the act that enjoined them. Yet it became too viſible, that many in the Nation, and particularly among the Clergy, took the oath in this ſenſe, to the great reproach of their profeſſion. The prevarication of too many in ſo ſacred a matter contributed not a little to fortify the growing Atheiſm of the preſent age. The truth was, the greateſt part of the Clergy had entangled themſelves ſo far with thoſe ſtrange conceits of the divine right of Monarchy, and the unlawfulneſs of reſiſtance in any caſe: And they had ſo engaged themſelves, by aſſerting theſe things ſo often and ſo publickly, that they did not know how to diſengage themſelves in honour or conſcience.

1689.

The ill ſenſe that was put on the new Oath.

A notion was ſtarted, which by its agreement with their other principles had a great effect among them, and brought off the greateſt number of thoſe who came in honeſtly to the new government. This was chiefly managed by Dr. *Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, now tranſlated to *Worceſter*. It was laid thus: The Prince had a juſt cauſe of making War on the King. In that moſt of them agreed. In a juſt War, in which an appeal is made to God, ſucceſs is conſidered as the deciſion of heaven. So the Prince's ſucceſs againſt King *James* gave him the right of conqueſt over him. And by it all his rights were transferred to the Prince. His ſucceſs was indeed no conqueſt of the Nation; which had neither wronged him, nor reſiſted him. So that, with relation to the people of *England*, the Prince was no conquerour, but a preſerver, and a deliverer, well received, and gratefully acknowledged. Yet with relation to King *James*, and all the right that was before veſted in him, he was, as they thought, a conqueror. By this notion they explained thoſe paſſages of Scripture that ſpeak of God's diſpoſing of Kingdoms, and of pulling down one and ſetting up another; and alſo our Saviour's arguing from the inſcription on the coin, that they ought to render to *Cæſar* the things that were *Cæſar*'s; and St. *Paul*'s charging the *Romans* to obey the powers that then were, who were the Emperours that were originally the invaders of publick liberty which they had ſubdued, and had forced the people and Senate of *Rome* by ſubſequent acts to confirm an authority that was ſo ill begun. This might have been made uſe of more juſtly, if the Prince had aſſumed the Kingſhip to himſelf, upon King *James*'s withdrawing; but did not ſeem to belong to the preſent caſe. Yet this had the moſt univerſal effect on the far greater part of the Clergy.

1689. And now I have ſtated all the moſt material parts of theſe debates, with the fulneſs that I thought became one of the moſt important tranſactions that is in our whole Hiſtory, and by much the moſt important of our time.

The Princeſs came to *England.* All things were now made ready for filling the Throne. And the very night before it was to be done the Princeſs arriv'd ſafely. It had been given out, that ſhe was not well pleaſed with the late tranſaction, both with relation to her father and to the preſent ſettlement. Upon which the Prince wrote to her, that it was neceſſary ſhe ſhould appear at firſt ſo chearful, that no body might be diſcouraged by her looks, or be led to apprehend that ſhe was uneaſy by reaſon of what had been done. This made her put on a great air of gaiety when ſhe came to *Whitehal*, and, as may be imagined, had great crouds of all ſorts coming to wait on her. I confeſs, I was one of thoſe that cenſured this in my thoughts. I thought a little more ſerioufneſs had done as well, when ſhe came into her father's Palace, and was to be ſet on his Throne next day. I had never ſeen the leaſt indecency in any part of her deportment before: Which made this appear to me ſo extraordinary, that ſome days after I took the liberty to ask her how it came that what ſhe ſaw in ſo ſad a revolution, as to her father's perſon, made not a greater impreſſion on her. She took this freedom with her uſual goodneſs. And ſhe aſſured me, ſhe felt the ſenſe of it very lively upon her thoughts. But ſhe told me, that the letters which had been writ to her had obliged her to put on a chearfulneſs, in which ſhe might perhaps go too far, becauſe ſhe was obeying directions, and acting a part which was not very natural to her. This was on the twelfth of *February*, being *Shrove-Tueſday*. The thirteenth was the day ſet for the two Houſes to come with the offer of the Crown. So here ends the *Interregnum*.

And thus I have given the fulleſt and moſt particular account that I could gather of all that paſs'd during this weak, unactive, violent, and ſuperſtitious reign; in which all regard to the affairs of *Europe* ſeem'd to be laid aſide, and nothing was thought on but the ſpiteful humours of a revengeful *Italian* Lady, and the ill laid, and worſe managed, projects of ſome hot meddling Prieſts, whoſe learning and politicks were of a piece, the one expoſing them to contempt, and the other to ruin; involving in it a Prince, who, if it had not been for his being delivered up to ſuch counſels, might have made a better figure in hiſtory. But they managed both themſelves and him ſo ill, that a reign, whoſe riſe was bright and proſperous, was ſoon ſet in darkneſs and diſgrace. But I break off here, leſt I ſhould ſeem to aggravate misfortunes, and load the unfortunate too much.

FINIS.

A

TABLE of the *CONTENTS*

Of the foregoing

HISTORY.

BOOK I.

A ſummary Recapitulation of the ſtate of affairs in *Scotland*, both in Church and State, from the beginning of the Troubles to the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. 1660.

THE *diſtractions during King* James's *minority* Page 6
The practices of the Houſe of Guiſe ibid.
King James *in the intereſt of* England ibid.
A cenſure of Spotſwood's *hiſtory* ibid.
King James *ſtudies to gain the Papiſts* 7
And to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the Crown of England ibid.
That King's errours in Government ibid.
He ſet up Epiſcopacy in Scotland ibid.
With a deſign to carry matters further 8
Errours of the Biſhops ibid.
Prince Henry *was believed to be poyſoned* Page 8
The Gunpowder plot ibid.
King James *was afraid of the Jeſuits* 9
The Elector Palatine's *marriage* ibid.
The affairs of Bohemia ibid.
The diſorders in Holland 10
Some paſſages of the religion of ſome Princes ibid.
King James *parted with the cautionary towns* ibid.
King James *broke the greatneſs of the Crown* 11

Other

Other errours in his Reign Page 11
His death ibid.
The Puritans gained ground ibid.
Gowry's *conspiracy* ibid.
King Charles *at first a friend to the Puritans* 13
He designed to recover the Tythes and Church lands in Scotland *to the Crown* ibid.
He was crowned in Scotland 14
Balmerinoch's *trial* ibid.
He was condemned 16
But pardoned ibid.
A Liturgy prepared ibid.
The feebleness of the Government 17
Saville's *forgery prevailed on the* Scots ibid.
The characters of the chief of the Covenanters ibid.
The Scots *came into* England 18
Great discontents in England ibid.
The ill state of the King's affairs 19
An account of the Earl of Strafford's *being given up by the King* 20
The new model of the Presbytery in Scotland ibid.
The chief Ministers of the Party 21
Their studies and other methods ibid.
Their great severity 22
Conditions offered to the Scots ibid.
Montrose's *undertakings* ibid.
Good advices given to the King 23
But not followed 24
Antrim's *correspondence with the King and Queen* ibid.
The original of the Irish *massacre* 25
Cromwell *argues with the* Scots *concerning the King's death* ibid.
The opposition of the general Assembly to the Parliament 26
The Ministers made an insurrection ibid.
The treaty in the Isle of Wight ibid.
Cromwell's *dissimulation* 27
The men chiefly engaged in the taking the King's life 28
The King's behaviour ibid.
The affair of Rochelle ibid.
A design of making the Spanish Netherlands *a Commonwealth* 29
The ill effects of violent Counsels ibid.
The account of Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ 30
The Scots *treat with King* Charles II. ibid.
Montrose's *offers* 31
And death ibid.
The defeat at Dunbar 32
Disputes about the admitting all persons to serve their country ibid.
Great hardships put on the King 33
Scotland *was subdued by* Monk 34
A body stood out in the Highlands ibid.
Sir Robert Murray's *character* ibid.
Messages sent to the King 35
The state of Scotland *during the Usurpation* ibid.
Disputes among the Covenanters Page 36
Methods taken on both sides 37
Some of Cromwell's *maxims* 38
His design for the Kingship 39
Cromwell's *engagement with* France 41
The King turn'd Papist 43
Cromwell's *design on the* West Indies ibid.
His zeal for the Protestant religion 44
A great design for the interest of the Protestant religion ibid.
Some passages in Cromwell's *life* 45
His moderation in Government 46
His publick spirit ibid.
All the world was afraid of him 47
The ruin of his family ibid.
Great disorders followed 48
All turn to the King's side 49
Care taken to manage the army 50
A new Parliament ibid.
They call home the King without a treaty 51

BOOK II.

Of the first twelve years of the Reign of King *Charles* II. from the year 1660. to the year 1673. 53

1660.

MANY *went over to the* Hague 54
The Nation was over-run with vice and drunkenness ibid.
The King's character ibid.
Clarendon's *character* 55
Ormond's *character* ibid.
Southampton's *character* ibid.
Shaftsbury's *character* 56
Anglesey's *character* ibid.
Hollis's *character* 57
Manchester's *character* ibid.
Roberts's *character* ibid.
Clarges's *character* ibid.
Morrice's *character* ibid.
Nicholas's *character* ibid.
Arlington's *character* 58
Buckingham's *character* ibid.
Bristol's *character* ibid.
Lauderdale's *character* ibid.
Crawford's *character* 59
Rothes's *character* ibid.
Tweedale's *character* ibid.
Duke Hamilton's *character* ibid.
Kincardin's *character* 60
The general character of the old Cavaliers ibid.
Primerose's *character* ibid.

Fletcher's

Fletcher's *character* Page 60
Advices offer'd in Scottish *affairs* 61
For a general indemnity ibid.
Argile *sent to the Tower* ibid.
The Citadels of Scotland *demolished* 62
Disputes concerning Episcopacy ibid.
A Ministry settled in Scotland 63
A Council proposed to sit at Court for Scottish *affairs* 64
The Committee of Estates meet in Scotland 65
A Parliament in Scotland ibid.

1661.

The Lords of the Articles 66
The Acts past in this Session 67
An Act rescinding all Parliaments held since the year 1633 ibid.
It was not liked by the King 68
The Presbyterians in great disorder 69
Argile's *attainder* 70
And execution 72
The execution of Guthry *a Minister* ibid.
Some others were proceeded against 73
Midletoun *gave an account of all that had pass'd in Parliament to the King* ibid.
It was resolved to set up Episcopacy in Scotland 75
Men sought to be Bishops 76
Bishop Leightoun's *character* 77
The Scottish *Bishops consecrated* 79

1662.

The meetings of the Presbyteries forbidden 80
The new Bishops came down to Scotland 81
They were brought into Parliament ibid.
Scruples about the oath of Supremacy 82
Debates about an act of indemnity 83
It was desired that some might be incapacitated 84
Lorn *condemned* 85
Some incapacitated by ballot ibid.
The King was displeased with this 86
Great Pains taken to excuse Midletoun 87
The Presbyterian Ministers silenced ibid.
A general character of them 88
Prejudices infus'd against Episcopacy 90

1660.

The affairs of England ibid.
Clarendon's *just and moderate notions* 91
Venner's *fury* ibid.
The trial and execution of the Regicides 92

1661.

Vane's *character* 93
And execution ibid.
The King gave himself up to his pleasures ibid.
The act of indemnity maintained 94

1662.

The King's marriage ibid.
An alliance proposed from France 95
The Duke of York's *marriage* ibid.
The Duke's character 96
The Duchess's character Page 96
The Duke of Gloucester's *character* 97
The prospect of the Royal Family much changed ibid.
Schomberg *went through* England *to* Portugal ibid.
Dunkirk *sold to the* French ibid.
Tangier *a part of the Queen's portion* 98
The manner of the King's marriage ibid.
The King lived in an avowed course of lewdness 99

1660.

The Settlement of Ireland ibid.
The Bishops who had then the greatest credit 100
Debates concerning the uniting with the Presbyterians ibid.
A treaty in the Savoy 101

1661.

The terms of conformity made harder 102
The Act of Uniformity ibid.
The great fines then raised on the Church estates ill applied 105
Divines call'd Latitudinarians ibid.
Hobbs's Leviathan 106
A character of some Divines ibid.
The way of preaching which then prevailed 108

1662.

The Act of Uniformity executed with rigour ibid.
The Royal Society ibid.
Consultations among the Papists 109
A Declaration for toleration ibid.
Designed for the Papists ibid.

1663.

Bristol's *designs* 110
He accused Clarendon *in the House of Lords* 111
A plot discovered ibid.
The design of a war with the States 112
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
Midletoun *was accused by* Lauderdale ibid.
And turned out of all 114
Warristoun's *execution* ibid.
An act against Conventicles ibid.
The constitution of a national Synod 115
An act offering an army to the King ibid.

1664.

Sharp *drove very violently* 116
Lauderdale *gave way to it* ibid.
Burnet *Archbishop of* Glascow ibid.
A view of the state of affairs in Holland *and* France ibid.
Sharp *aspired to be Chancellour of* Scotland 117
Rothes *had the whole power of* Scotland *put in his hands* ibid.

1665.

Illegal and severe proceedings in Scotland 118

Turner *executed the Laws in a military way* Page 118
Sharp *ſtudies to bring* Midletoun *into buſineſs again* 119
More forces raiſed in Scotland 120

1666.

Some eminent Clergymen offended at theſe proceedings ibid.
Some of the grievances of the Clergy laid before the Biſhops 122

1664.

Affairs in England ibid.
The Dutch *war* ibid.

1665.

The Plague broke out at the ſame time ibid.
The victory at ſea not followed 123
An account of the affairs in Holland ibid.
An account of the affairs of Berghen 124
The Parliament at Oxford 125
The deſigns of the Commonwealth party 127
The Duke of York's *jealouſy* ibid.
His amours ibid.

1666.

The Fleet almoſt quite loſt, and happily ſaved by Prince Rupert 128
The fire of London ibid.
It was charged on the Papiſts 129
A ſtrong preſumption of it ibid.
Diſorders in Scotland 130
A rebellion in the Weſt 131
The defeat given the rebels at Pentland-*hill* 132
Severe proceeding againſt the priſoners ibid.

1667.

The King is more gentle than the Biſhops 133
A change of counſel, and more moderation in the Government 134
The Dutch *Fleet came into the* Frith 135
And went to Chatham, *and burnt our fleet* 136
A great change in Lauderdale's *temper* 137
Scotland *was very well governed* 138
Great complaints made of the Clergy 139
Affairs in England ibid.
Clarendon's *diſgrace* ibid.
Southampton's *death* 140
The Iriſh *ſought the protection of* France 141
The Duke of Richmond's *marriage* ibid.
Bridgman *made Lord Keeper* 142
The French *King's pretenſions to* Flanders ibid.
Clarendon's *integrity* ibid.
He was impeached in the Houſe of Commons 143
The King deſired he would go beyond ſea ibid.
He was baniſhed by act of Parliament 144
The character of his two ſons ibid.
The King was much offended with the Biſhops 145

1668.

A treaty for a comprehenſion of the Presbyterians Page 145
The City of London *rebuilt* 146
Deſigns for putting away the Queen ibid.
A divorce enacted for adultery 147
A great diſſolution of morals in Court ibid.
Many libels writ by the beſt wits of that time 148
Sir William Coventry's *character* 149
The Government of Ireland *changed* ibid.
The Committee of Brook-houſe ibid.
Hallifax's *character* 150

1669.

Many Parliament men gained by the Court ibid.
Coventry's *noſe was cut* 151
A new proſecution of Conventicles ibid.
The King went commonly to the Houſe of Lords 152
The Prince of Orange *came to the King* 153
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
A treaty for an accommodation with the Presbyterians in Scotland ibid.
An indulgence propoſed 155
An attempt to murder Sharp ibid.
Sharp *propoſed the indulging ſome miniſters that did not conform* ibid.
Propoſitions for the Union of the two Kingdoms 156
The King gave orders for the indulgence 157
This complained of as againſt law 158
A Parliament in Scotland 159
The Supremacy carried very high ibid.
An act for the County-militia ibid.
Burnet *turned out, and* Leightoun *made Archbiſhop of* Glaſcow 160
The State I found things in at Glaſcow ibid.
A Committee of Council ſent round the Weſt 161

1670.

Inſtructions for an accommodation ibid.
Leightoun's *advice to his Clergy* 162
A conference between Leightoun *and ſome Presbyterians* ibid.
New ſeverities againſt Conventicles 163
The reformed Religion ibid.
The Presbyterians reſolved to reject the offers made them 164
Some conferences upon that Subject 165
At laſt they refuſed to accept of the conceſſions ibid.
Cenſures paſt upon this whole matter 166

1671.

The memoris of the Dukes of Hamilton *was writ by me at that time* ibid.
A further indulgence propoſed 167
Foreign affairs 168
An alliance with France *ſet on foot* ibid.
The Ducheſs of Orleans *came to* Dover ibid.

Soon after was poysoned Page 168
Some of her intrigues ibid.
The treaty with France *negotiated* 169
Lockhart *sent to* France 170
Pretended reasons for the Dutch *war* ibid.
1672.
The shutting up of the Exchequer 171
The attempt on the Dutch Smyrna *fleet* ibid.
A Declaration for toleration ibid.
The Presbyterians gave the King thanks for the toleration 172
The Duchess of York *died* ibid.
The first Crisis of the Protestant Religion 173
The second Crisis ibid.
The third Crisis ibid.
The Spanish *fleet came not, as at first intended* 174
The fourth Crisis 175
Differences between Maurice, *Prince of* Orange, *and* Barnevelt 176
Prince Henry Frederick's *wise government* 177
His son's heat ibid.
The errours of De Wit's *government* 178
The Prince of Orange *made General* ibid.
The fifth Crisis 179
The French *success* ibid.
But followed by an ill management 180
The Dutch *in great extremities* ibid.
Ambassadours sent to England 181
The tragical end of De Wit ibid.
The Prince of Orange *made* Stadtholder 182
The English *Ambassadours were wholly in the interest of* France ibid.
The character of Fagel ibid.
Prince Waldeck 183
Dyckvelt ibid.
And Halewyn ibid.
The Prince studied to correct the errours he fell into at first ibid.
Van Beuning's *character* 184
Errours committed by the town of Amsterdam ibid.
The Prince animates the States to continue the war ibid.
The French *King goes back to* Paris 185
The Dutch *saved by some extraordinary providence* 186
Ossory *intended to surprise* Helvoetsluys ibid.
An army from Utrecht *came on the ice to* Holland 187
Painevine's *sentence* ibid
A French *mistress made Duchess of* Portsmouth 188
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
Lauderdale's *great insolence* ibid.
He expected addresses for a toleration 189
Designs from Holland *to raise a rebellion in* Scotland ibid.
Leightoun *resolved to retire, and to leave his See* 190

BOOK III.

Of the rest of King *Charles* II.'s Reign, from the year 1673 to the year 1685, in which he died.

1673.
Great jealousies of the King 193
The Court was much divided 194
A session of Parliament ibid.
The Declaration was voted illegal ibid.
A bill for a new test 195
The prudence of the Dissenters ibid.
Debates in the House of Lords ibid.
The variety of opinions in the King's Council 196
The French *advise the King to yield to the Parliament* ibid.
The King went into that suddenly ibid.
Clifford *disgraced* ibid.
Osburn *made Lord Treasurer* 197
A great supply was given ibid.
The Duke laid down all his commissions ibid.
The Duke treats for a second marriage 198
A treaty opened at Cologn 199
Lord Sunderland's *character* ibid.
The treaty broke off ibid.
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
Lauderdale's *design* ibid.
The King liked my memoirs 200
And shewed me great favour ibid.
My conversation with the Duke ibid.
I carried Dr. Stillingfleet *to him* 201
The Duke's marriage opposed by the Commons 203
A Parliament in Scotland ibid.
A party formed against Lauderdale 204
He offers to redress grievances in Council ibid.
1674.
A dispute raised about the Lords of the Articles 205
The proceedings in the Parliament of England ibid.
Finch's *character* ibid.
A peace concluded with the States 206
The King became the mediatour of the peace ibid.
The Duchess's character 207
Coleman's *character* ibid.
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
The Parliament was prorogued ibid.
Dalrimple's *character* 208
The Clergy was much provoked ibid.
A great distraction in Scotland ibid.
Lauderdale's *proceedings there* ibid.

I was

I was disgraced 209
The Ministers turn to the Church party 210
Correspondence with Holland *discovered* ibid.
Jealousies of the Prince of Orange 211
Drummond *was ordered to prison* ibid.
The battle of Seneff 212
Arlington *went to* Holland ibid.
Temple *sent Ambassadour to* Holland ibid.

1675.

Affairs in England 213
I was examined by the House of Commons ibid.
Sir Harbottle Grimstone's *character* 214
Danby *attacked, but in vain* 215
Seimour's *character* ibid.
Debates concerning a test 216
A dispute about appeals and privileges 217
The Session broke upon it ibid.
A Session of Parliament ibid.
The characters of some Parliament men 218

1676.

A long interval between the Sessions of Parliament 219
An account of some passages of Lockhart's *courage in* France 220
Management in France ibid.
The character of some Bishops 221
The projects of the Papists 222
Coleman's *intrigues* ibid.
A conference between Coleman *and some Divines* 223
I undertook to write the history of our Reformation ibid.
The Earl of Essex's *character* 224
His employment in Denmark ibid.
And his government of Ireland ibid.
The affairs of Scotland 225

1677.

A question raised in England *about the legality of a Prorogation* 226
The Lords that moved it sent to the Tower 227
Proceedings in Parliament ibid.
Affairs in Flanders 228
The French *King declined a battle when offered by the Prince of* Orange ibid.
Cambray *and* St. Omer *taken* 229
The House of Commons pressed the King to engage in the war ibid.
Danby *declared against* France 230
The Prince of Orange *came into* England ibid.
He married the Duke's daughter 231

1678.

Supplies given towards the war 232
The French *take* Ghent ibid.
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
Mitchell's *trial* 233
And condemnation 234
The Administration there grew very violent and illegal 235
An army of Highlanders sent to the West upon free quarter ibid.
Many of the Nobility came up to complain to the King 236
But the King would not see them ibid.
A Convention of Estates gives money and justifies the administration 237
Affairs in England ibid.
The House of Commons grew jealous of the Court ibid.
Affairs abroad 238
The Popish plot 239
Oates's *character* ibid.
His discovery 240
Coleman *and his papers seized* ibid.
Coleman's *letters confirm it* 241
Godfrey *is murdered* ibid.
His body was found 242
Oates *made a new discovery* ibid.
Bedlow's *evidence* 243
Other proofs that seemed to support the discovery 244
Carstairs's *practices* ibid.
Staley's *trial* ibid.
The Queen was charged as in the plot 245
A law pass'd for the test to be taken by both Houses ibid.
With a proviso for the Duke 246
Coleman's *trial* ibid.
And execution ibid.
The King's thoughts of this whole matter 247
Danby's *letters to* Montague *are brought out* 248
And he was impeached of high treason 249
The Parliament was prorogued ibid.
The trial of F. Ireland *and some others* 250
Dugdale's *evidence* ibid.
Prance *discovers* Godfrey's *murder* 251
Some condemned for it, who died denying it 252
Scroggs *was then Lord Chief Justice* 253
Jennison's *evidence* ibid.
Practices with the witnesses discovered ibid.
Reflexions upon the whole evidence 254

1679.

A new Parliament 255
The Duke sent beyond sea ibid.
Danby *pardoned by the King, but prosecuted by the House of Commons* 256
A new Council 257
Debates concerning the Exclusion ibid.
Arguments used for and against the Exclusion 258
Danby's *prosecution* 260
A great heat raised against the Clergy ibid.
The occasions that fomented that heat 261
Arguments for and against the Bishops voting in the preliminaries, in trials of treason ibid.
Stillingfleet *wrote on this point* 262
The trial of five Jesuits ibid.
Langhorn's *trial* 263
And death ibid.

Wake-

Wakeman's *trial* Page 264
He was acquitted ibid.
Debates about diſſolving the Parliament 265
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
The Archbiſhop of St. Andrews *is murder'd* 266
A rebellion in Scotland ibid.
Monmouth *ſent down to ſuppreſs it* ibid.
They were ſoon broken 267
The King taken ill, and the Duke comes to Court ibid.
The many falſe ſtories ſpread to raiſe jealouſy ibid.
A pretended plot diſcovered, call'd the Meal-tub *plot* 268
Great jealouſies of the King ibid.
Monmouth's *diſgrace* 269
Petitions for a Parliament ibid.
Great diſcontents on all ſides 270
Godolphin's *character* ibid.

1680.

An alliance projected againſt France ibid.
The election of the Sheriffs of London ibid.
The bill of Excluſion taken up again 271
Paſs'd by the Commons ibid.
But rejected by the Lords 272
The Houſe of Commons proceeded againſt ſome with ſeverity ibid.
An aſſociation propoſed 273
Expedients offered in the Houſe of Lords ibid.
Ducheſs of Portſmouth's *conduct in this matter little underſtood* 274
Stafford's *trial* 275
He was condemned 277
He ſent for me, and employed me to do him ſervice ibid.
His execution 278

1681.

Motions in favour of the Nonconformiſts ibid.
The Parliament was diſſolved ibid.
A new expedient of a Prince Regent 279
Fitzharris *was taken* ibid.
The Parliament of Oxford *was ſoon diſſolved* 280
A great change in affairs ibid.
The King's declaration 281
Addreſſes to the King from all parts of England ibid.
Fitzharris's *trial* ibid.
Plunket *an* Iriſh *Biſhop condemned and executed* 282
Practices on Fitzharris *at his death* 283
A Proteſtant plot ibid.
Colledge *condemned and died upon it* ibid.
Shaftsbury *ſent to the Tower* 284
Practices upon witneſſes ibid.
I was then offered preferment ibid.
Hallifax *carried me to the King* 285
Shaftsbury *was acquitted by the Grand Jury* ibid.

1682.

Turbervill's *death* 286
The affairs of Scotland Page 286
A Parliament in Scotland 287
Several accuſations of perjury ſtifled by the Duke 288
A teſt enacted in Parliament 289
Objections made to the teſt 290
Many turn'd out for not taking it ibid.
Argile's *explanation* 291
He was committed upon it ibid.
Argile *is tried and condemned* 292
He made his eſcape ibid.
The Duke comes to Court 293
A new Miniſtry in Scotland ibid.
They proceeded with great ſeverity ibid.
Affairs in England 295
All Charters of Towns were ſurrendred to the King
The diſpute concerning the Sheriffs of London ibid.
Carried by the Court 296
Changes in the Miniſtry, and quarrels among them 297
The arguments for and againſt the Charter of London ibid.
Judgment given in the matter 299
Some other ſevere Judgments ibid.

1683.

All people poſſeſs'd with great fears ibid.
Monmouth *and* Ruſſel *at* Shepherd's 300
Monmouth *and ſome others meet often together* ibid.
They treat with ſome of the Scottiſh *Nation* 301
Other conſpirators meet at the ſame time on deſigns of aſſaſſinating the King 302
A plot is diſcovered 303
A forged ſtory laid by Rumſey *and* Weſt ib.
Ruſſel *and ſome others were put in priſon upon it* 305
Monmouth *and others eſcaped* 306
Howard's *confeſſion* 307
The Earl of Eſſex *ſent to the Tower* ibid.
The Lord Ruſſel's *trial* 308
He was condemned 309
His preparation for death 310
The trial and execution of Walcot *and others* 311
Ruſſel's *execution* ibid.
Ruſſel's *laſt ſpeech* 312
Prince George *of* Denmark *married the Princeſs* Anne 313
The ſiege of Vienna ibid.
The Author went to the Court of France 314
Characters of ſome he knew there ibid.
Affairs in England 315
Jefferies *and other Judges preferred* ibid.

1684.

The calling a Parliament propoſed, but rejected 316
Suſpicions of Eſſex's *being murdered* ibid.
Sidney's *trial* 317

His execution and last paper Page 318
Monmouth *came in and was pardoned* ibid.
But soon after disgraced 319
Hambden's *trial* 320
Halloway's *execution* ibid.
Armstrong's *death* ibid.
Great severity in Scotland 322
A breach in the Ministry there ibid.
The Duke governed all affairs 323
The cruelty of the Duke, and of his Ministers, in torturing ibid.
Proceedings against Baillie 324
And his execution 325
Leightoun's *death* 326
The promotion of some Bishops 327
Danby *and the Popish Lords bail'd* ibid.
Some removes made at Court 328
The bombarding of Genoa ibid.
Tangier *abandoned* ibid.
Affairs beyond sea 329
The hardships the Author met with 330
Trials for treason of Roswell *and* Haies 331
Strange Practices, and very unbecoming a King 332
Papists employed in Ireland ibid.
Suspicions of the King's declaring himself a Papist 333

1685.

A new scheme of Government 334
The King's sickness 335
He received the Sacrament from a Popish Priest ibid.
His death 337
His character ibid.

BOOK IV.

Of the Reign of King *James* the Second. 341

A Reign happily begun but inglorious all over ibid.
The King's first education 342
He learned war under Turenne ibid.
He was admiral of England ibid.
He was proclaimed King ibid.
His first speech 343
Well received ibid.
Addresses made to him ibid.
The Earl of Rochester *made Lord Treasurer* ibid.
The Earl of Sunderland *in favour* ibid.
Customs and Excise levied against Law ibid.
The King's coldness to those who had been for the Exclusion 344
He seem'd to be on equal terms with the French *King* ibid.
The King's course of life 345
The Prince of Orange *sent away the Duke of* Monmouth ibid.
Some in England *began to move for him* P. 345
Strange Practices in elections of Parliament men ibid.
Evil prospect from an ill Parliament 346
The Prince of Orange *submits in every thing to the King* ibid.
The King was crowned 347
I went out of England ibid.
Argile *designed to invade* Scotland ibid.
The Duke of Monmouth *forc'd upon an ill-timed invasion* 348
These designs were carried with secrecy ibid.
Argile *landed in* Scotland 349
But was defeated and taken ibid.
Argile's *execution* ibid.
Rumbold *at his death denied the* Rye-plot 350
A Parliament in Scotland ibid.
Granted all that the King desired 351
Severe Laws were passed ibid.
Oates *convicted of perjury* ibid.
And cruelly whipt 352
Dangerfield *kill'd* ibid.
A Parliament in England ibid.
Grants the revenue for life ibid.
And trusts to the King's promise ibid.
The Parliament was violent 353
The Lords were more cautious ibid.
The Duke of Monmouth *landed at* Lime ibid.
An act of attainder passed against him ibid.
A rabble came and joined him 354
Lord Grey's *cowardice* ibid.
The Earl of Feversham *commanded the King's army* 355
The Duke of Monmouth *defeated* ibid.
And taken ibid.
Soon after executed ibid.
He died with great calmness 356
Lord Grey *pardoned* ibid.
The King was lifted up with his successes 357
But it had an ill effect on his affairs ibid.
Great cruelties committed by his soldiers ibid.
And much greater by Jefferies ibid.
With which the King was well pleased ibid.
The execution of two women ibid.
The behaviour of those who suffered 357
The Nation was much changed by this management 358
Great disputes for and against the tests ibid.
Some change their religion 360
The Duke of Queensborough *disgraced* ibid.
The King declared against the tests ibid.
Proceedings in Ireland ibid.
The persecution in France 361
A fatal year to the protestant religion ibid.
Rouvigny's *behaviour* ibid.
He came over to England 362
Dragoons sent to live on discretion upon the Protestants ibid.
Many of them yielded thro' fear 363

Great

Great cruelty every where Page 363
I went into Italy ibid.
And was well received at Rome 364
Cardinal Howard's *freedom with me* ibid.
Cruelties in Orange 365
Another Seſſion of Parliament ibid.
The King's ſpeech againſt the teſt 366
Jefferies *made Lord Chancellour* ibid.
The Houſe of Commons addreſs the King for obſerving the Law ibid.
The King was much offended with it 367
The Parliament was prorogued ibid.
The Lord de la Meer *tried and acquitted* ibid.

1686.

A trial upon the Act for the teſt 368
Many Judges turned out ibid.
Herbert, *Chief Juſtice, gives judgment for the King's diſpenſing power* ibid.
Admiral Herbert's *firmneſs* 369
Father Peter, *a Jeſuite, in high favour* ibid.
The King declared for a toleration 370
The Clergy managed the points of controverſy with great zeal and ſucceſs ibid.
The perſons who were chiefly engaged in this ibid.
Dr. Sharp *in trouble* 371
The Biſhop of London *required to ſuſpend him* ibid.
Which he could not obey ibid.
An Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion ſet up ibid.
The Biſhop of London *brought before it* 372
And was ſuſpended by it ibid.
Affairs in Scotland 373
A tumult at Edenburgh ibid.
A Parliament held there ibid.
Which refuſed to comply with the King's deſire 374
A zeal appeared there againſt Popery ibid.
Affairs in Ireland ibid.
The King made his Miſtreſs Counteſs of Dorcheſter 375
Attempts made on many to change their religion ibid.
Particularly on the Earl of Rocheſter 376
He was turned out ibid.
Deſigns talked of againſt Holland 377
I ſtaid ſome time at Geneva ibid.
The ſtate and temper I obſerved among the Reformed ibid.
I was invited by the Prince of Orange *to come to the* Hague 378
A character of the Prince and Princeſs of Orange 379
I was much truſted by them ibid.
The Prince's ſenſe of our affairs 380
The Princeſs's reſolution with reſpect to the Prince ibid.
Pen *ſent over to treat with the Prince* 381
Some Biſhops died in England ibid.
Cartwright *and* Parker *promoted* 382
The King's letter refuſed in Cambrige 383
The Vice Chancellour turned out by the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners Page 383
An attempt to impoſe a Popiſh Preſident on Magdalen *College* 384
They diſobey, and are cenſured for it ibid.

1687.

And were all turned out 385
The Diſſenters were much courted by the King ibid.
Debates and reſolutions among them 386
The army encamped at Hounſlow-Heath ib.
An Ambaſſadour ſent to Rome ibid.
He managed every thing unhappily 387
Pope Innocent's *character* 388
Diſputes about the Franchiſes ibid.
Queen Chriſtina's *character of ſome Popes* 389
D' Albeville *ſent Envoy to* Holland ibid.
I was upon the King's preſſing inſtances forbid to ſee the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ibid.
Dykvelt *ſent to* England ibid.
The Negotiations between the King and the Prince 390
A letter writ by the Jeſuits of Liege, *that diſcovers the King's deſigns* 391
Dykvelt's *conduct in* England ibid.
A Proclamation of indulgence ſent to Scotland ibid.
Which was much cenſured 392
A Declaration for toleration in England ibid.
Addreſſes made upon it 393
The King's indignation againſt the Church party ibid.
The Parliament was diſſolved 394
The reception of the Pope's Nuntio ibid.
The King made a progreſs thro' many parts of England ibid.
A change in the Magiſtracy in London, *and over* England ibid.
Queſtions put about elections of Parliament 395
The King wrote to the Princeſs of Orange *about religion* 396
Which ſhe anſwered 397
Reflexions on theſe letters 398
A proſecution ſet on againſt me 399
D' Albeville's *memorial to the States* 400
The States anſwer to what related to me 401
Other deſigns againſt me ibid.
Penſioner Fagel's *letter* 402
Father Peter *made a Privy Counſellor* 403
The Confidence of the Jeſuits ibid.
The Penſioner's letter was printed ibid.
The King asked the Regiments of his ſubjects in the States ſervice 404
Which was refuſed, but the officers had leave to go ibid.
A new Declaration for toleration ibid.
Which the Clergy were ordered to read 405
To which they would not give obedience ibid.
The Archbiſhop and ſix Biſhops petition the King 406

The

The King ordered the Biſhops to be proſecuted for it Page 407
They were ſent to the Tower ibid.
But ſoon after diſcharged 408
They were tried ibid.
And acquitted 409
To the great joy of the Town and Nation ibid.
The Clergy was next deſigned againſt ibid.
The effect this had every where ibid.
Ruſſel *preſſed the Prince* 410
The Prince's anſwer ibid.
The Elector of Brandenburgh's *death* ibid.
The Queen gave out that ſhe was with child 411
The Queen's reckoning changed 413
The Queen ſaid to be in labour ibid.
And delivered of a ſon ibid.
Great grounds of jealouſy appeared ibid.
The child, as was believed, died, and another was put in his room 414
The Prince and Princeſs of Orange *ſent to congratulate* 415
The Prince deſigns an expedition to England ibid.
Sunderland *adviſed more moderate proceedings* ibid.
And he turned Papiſt 416
The Prince of Orange *treats with ſome of the Princes of the Empire* ibid.
The affairs of Colen 417
Herbert *came over to* Holland 419
The advices from England ibid.
The Lord Mordaunt's *character* ibid.
The Earl of Shrewsbury's *character* ibid.
Ruſſel's *character* ibid.
Sidney's *character* 420
Many engaged in the deſign ibid.
Lord Churchill's *character* ibid.
The Court of France *gave the alarm* 421
Recruits from Ireland *refuſed* 422
Offers made by the French ibid.
Not entertain'd at that time ibid.
The French *own an alliance with the King* ib.
The ſtrange conduct of France 423
A manifeſto of war againſt the Empire 424
Reflexions made upon it ibid.
Another againſt the Pope 425
Cenſures that paſt upon it ibid.
Marſhal Schomberg *ſent to* Cleve 426
The Dutch *fleet at ſea* ibid.
The Prince of Orange's *Declaration* ibid.
I was deſired to go with the Prince 427
Advices from England ibid.
Artifices to cover the deſign 428
The Dutch *put to ſea* 429
Some factious motions at the Hague ibid.
The army was ſhipped 430
The Princeſs's ſenſe of things ibid.
The Prince took leave of the States ibid.
We ſailed out of the Maes ibid.
But were forced back ibid.
Conſultations in England 431
Proofs brought for the birth of the Prince of Wales 432
We ſailed out more happily a ſecond time 433
We landed at Torbay 434
The King's army began to come over to the Prince 435
An Aſſociation among thoſe who came to the Prince 436
The Heads in Oxford *ſent to him* ibid.
Great diſorders in London ibid.
A treaty begun with the Prince 437
The King left the Kingdom ibid.
He is much cenſured 438
But is brought back ibid.
The Prince is deſired to come and take the government into his Hands 439
Different advice given to the Prince concerning the King's perſon ibid.
The Prince came to London, *and the King went to* Rocheſter 441
The Prince was welcomed by all ſorts of people ibid.
Conſultations about the ſettlement of the Nation 442
The King went over to France ibid.
The affairs of Scotland ibid.
The affairs of Ireland 443

1689.

The Prince in treaty with the Earl of Tyrconnel 444
The Convention met 445
Some are for a Prince Regent ibid.
Others are for another King 446
And againſt a Regency 447
Some moved to examine the birth of the Prince of Wales 449
But it was rejected ibid.
Some were for making the Prince King 450
The Prince declared his mind after long ſilence 451
It was reſolved to put the Prince and Princeſs both on the Throne ibid.
They drew an Inſtrument about it 452
The Oaths were altered ibid.
The ill Senſe that was put on the new Oath 453
The Princeſs came to England 454

THE INDEX.

The *Table of Contents* printed with the foregoing Hiſtory being drawn up in ſuch a Method, that the Reader is perplex'd to find out any Character, or Fact, unleſs he remember the Year when it happen'd, there was an abſolute Neceſſity for ſuch an INDEX as this, which being compil'd with the utmoſt Exactneſs, enables the Reader with Eaſe to turn to every memorable Tranſaction and Character, and to trace the Perſons concern'd in every Part of their Conduct.

A.

ABdication *debated* 448, *&c.*
Abercorn *Earl* 22
Aberdeen *Earl* 293, 322 *to* 323
Abington *Earl* 435
Addreſſes various to King Charles II. 281
Ailoffe *Rebel* 349 *to* 350
Aird *a* Scots *Epiſcopalian* 164
St. Albans *Earl* 24
Albermarle *Duke*. *See* Monk
Albeville *Marqueſs* 389 *to* 391, 396, 397, 399 *to* 400, 403, 423
Aldrich *Dr.* 370
Alibon *Judge* 409
Altieri *Cardinal* 224, 388
Alva *Duke* 173, 392
St. Amour *the Janſeniſt* 315
Amſterdam India *Companies* 124, 178
Anabaptiſts 386
Ancram *Earl* 13, 200, 202
Angleſey *Earl* 56, 100, 126, 277, 317, 353,
Angus *Earl* 12
ANN *Princeſs of* Denmark 313, 396, 421, 432, 435, 439, 449, 451
Anneſley 45, 56. *See Lord* Angleſey
Antrim *Earl* 23, 24
Argile *Earl* 17, 23, 26. *Marqueſs* 31, 34, 36, 61, 70, 72, 74, 75, 118, 131, 138. *Earl* 167, 204, 208, 236, 287, 289 *to* 292, 301, 302, 323, 324, 347 *to* 349, 353, 399, 402, 404
Ariſtides *the Juſt* 86
Arlington *Earl* 58, 126, 148, 149, 169, 172, 181, 182, 186, 188, 198, 203, 205 *to* 207, 328
Armagh *Archbiſhop* 360
Arminians 10, 176, 379
Armſtrong *Sir* Thomas 300, 305, 320, 321
Arnauld *a Popiſh Writer* 315
Arnot *Sir* John *Deputy Treaſurer, and his Daughter* Rachel 12

INDEX.

Arran *Lord* 271, 285, 348, 413
Arundel *Lord* 223, 242, 275, 277
Ashby *the Jesuit* 264
Associations 273, 436
Athenians 86
Athol *Marquess* 138. *Earl* 167, 188, 190. *Marquess* 212, 226, 235, 236, 244, 248
Atterbury *Dr.* (*late*) *Bishop of* Rochester 370
D'Avaux *Ambassador* 403, 421
Aubigny *Lord* 43, 78, 98, 109, 111, 340
Author's *Parentage* 1, 2, 11, 17, 46
His Memoirs of the Hamiltons 166, 200, 223
His Converse with the Duke of York *about Religion* 200 *to* 202
His History of the Reformation 223
His Disgrace and Retirement 209, 213, 280, 330, 347
His Credit with the Prince of Orange 379 *to* 381
His Prosecution by King James II. 399 *to* 401

B.

BAcon *Sir* Francis 157
Baillie *of* Jerriswood 226, 244, 301, 305, 306, 316, 324, 351
Baily *a* Scots *Minister* 21
Balmerinoch *Lord* 7, 14 *to* 16
Bamfield *Col.* 342
Banautine *Bishop of* Aberdeen 16
Bantam *in the* East Indies 329
Bargeny *Lord* 288
Barrillon *Ambassador* 230, 231, 334, 363, 389, 422
Barklay 410
Barlow *Bishop of* Lincoln 246
Barnevelt 10, 175 *to* 177
St. Bartholomew's *Day* 104
Bates *the Nonconformist* 126, 145
Bath *Earl* 57, 336, 346, 433, 436
Battles at Dunbar 32, 33
Worcester 34, 335, 338
Seneff 212
Reading *and* Winkington 439
BAVARIA *Duke* 10, 418
Baxter Richard 102, 104, 145, 172
Beaufort *Duke* 272, 328
Beaumont *Col.* 422
Beddingfield *Duke of* York's *Confessor* 240
Bedford *Earl* 174
Bedlow *the Evidence* 243, 245, 246, 250, 253, 254, 262 *to* 264, 275
Belcaras *Earl* 34, 35
Belhaven *Lord* 14
Bellarmin 7
Bellasis *Lord* 198, 243. *Lady* 198, 413. *General* 242
Bellefonds *Marshal* 169, 314
Bennet *Secretary afterwards Lord* Arlington 58, 109, 111, 126, 139, 148, 212
Bentink, *afterwards Earl of* Portland 416, 430, 439, 450
Berghen *in* Norway 124
Berkley *Lord* Charles 58, 149, 196
Sir John 342
Berkshire *Earl* 84
Berry *the Assassin* 251, 252
Berwick *Duke* 412, 422
Bethel *Sheriff* 271
Beverardt *of Holland* 212
Van Beuning *of Amsterdam* 184, 270
Birch *Col.* 219, 249
Bishops *Voting in Cases of Treason debated* 261, 262
Their Petition to King James II. 406
Imprisonment and Trial 407, 408
Blacklow *a Priest* 109
Blair *a Scots* Minister 21
Blake *Admiral* 46 *a Draper* 317
Blakewood 294
Blandford *Bishop of* Worcester 172, 173
Blantyre *Lord* 174
Bohemia 9
Booth *Sir George* 39
Boots, *the Name of a Torture in* Scotland 313
Borel *Ambassador* 47, 181
Boscawen 250
Bothwel-Bridge *Rebellion* 266, 267, 288, 293, 294, 322
Bouchain *Siege* 328
Boucour *a* French *Refugee* 416
Bouillon *Duke* 9
Bourdalou *Father* 315
Box *Sheriff* 296
Boyle Robert 108, *Earl of* Cork 175
Braddon Lawrence 316
Bradshaw *Judge* 28
Braidalbin *Earl* 235
BRANDENBURGH *Elector* 10, 179, 185, 191, 206, 410, 416, 426, 428. *Electoress* 410
Brandon *Lord* 356
Brayer *of the* Sorbonne 314
Brereton *Lord* 146
Bridgeman 126 *Sir* Orlando, 142, 145, 156, 171
Bristol *Earl* 58, 109, 278, 340, 435
Broderic *Sir* Allen 43, 109
Brookhouse *Committee* 149 *to* 152
Brounker *Lord* 108, 109, 123
Brown, *Brother to the Lord* Montacute 414
Lady 222
Bruce *the Ambassador* 7
Bishop of Dunkeld 374
the Puritan 12
Buckingham *Duke* 12, 13, 23, 28 *to* 31, 58, 110, 111, 139, 142, 146 *to* 149, 156, 168, 169, 172, 189 *to* 182, 186, 188, 194 *to* 197, 200, 202, 205, 216, 218, 220, 226, 227, 243, 304
His Character of King Charles II. *and the Duke of* York 95
Burlington *Lord* 142
Burnet *Archbishop of* Glasgow 116, 119, 132, 133, 135 *to* 139, 156, 158, 160, 210 357
Burton 145 *Solicitor* 284

C.

CAlamy *Dr.* 104, 261
Calvin 397
Calvanists 10, 410
Cambden *the Historian* 175
Cambray *Seige* 128, 129
Cambridge *University* 383, 384
Cameronians 287
Campbels *of* Scotland 305, *Sir* Hugh 322, 351
Cant, *a* Scots *Minister* 21
Capel *Sir* Henry 270, 271
de Cardenas Don Alonso 42
Cargillites 268, 322
Carlisle *Earl* 38, 146, 209, 277
Carlton *Sir* Dudley 9
Carolina 294, 301
Caron, *a Priest* 109
Carril, *the Nonconformist Minister* 47
Carstairs, Scots *Minister* 189, 211, 225, 226, 244, 247, 248, 324, 325, 351
Cartwright *Bishop of* Chester 382, 385, 406
Caryl, King *James's* Messenger to the *Pope* 344
Cassils *Earl* 14, 30, 82, 98, 127, 163
Castlemain *Earl* 387, 388, *Countess* 54, 93
Cavendish *Lord* 197, 219, 224, 270, 311
Cecill *Secretary* 7, 8
Cellier *the Popish Midwife* 268
Chaise *Father* 207, 240, 246, 315, 334, 390
Chamberlain *the Man Midwife* 414
Chairing-Cross *Statue* 210
CHARLES GUSTAVUS *of* Sweden 47
CHARLES *of* Gratz 9
King CHARLES I. 8, 13, 17, 19, 23, 24, 28 *to* 31
His Queen 19
K. CHARLES II. 30, 33, 35, 43, 47, 49, *to* 51, 53, *to* 55, 362. *His Restoration and Reign* 53 *to* 340. *Marriage* 94, 98. *His Queen* 147, 245 *to* 247.

INDEX.

CHARLES V. *Emperor* 173
Charlton 345
Charteris *a* Scots *Episcopalian* 121, 139, 159, 164, 167, 291, 349
Charters of Towns surrender'd 295
Chatham, Dutch *burn our Fleet there* 136, 140, 152
Chelsea College 45
Chichely 272
Chiffinch *a Page* 247, 284
CHRISTIANA *Queen of* Sweden 47, 389
Chudleigh *the Envoy* 320, 329, 344
Churchil *Lord* 344, 420, 435. *Lady* 421, 436
Cibo *Cardinal* 387
Claget *Dr.* 261, 370
Clancarty *Earl and Countess* 333
Clare *Earl* 317
Clarendon *Earl* 24, 54, 55, 57, 58, 61, 62, 64, 68, 70, 75, 76, 84, 86, 87, 90, 91, 93 *to* 95, 97 *to* 101, 104, 105, 108 *to* 112, 119, 126. 135, 139 *to* 145, 197, 202, 203, 272, 284, 307, 339, 342, 343, 360, 361, 374, 375, 437, 440, 444 *to* 446. *Countess* 129, 412, 414. *Character of his History* 20
Clarges, Monk's *Brother in-law* 48, 57
Claypole, Cromwel's *Son-in-Law* 48
Clayton 280, 283
Cleveland *Dutchess* 55, 93, 147, 188, 238, 435
Clifford *Lord* 125, 126, 141, 148, 172, 194, *to* 198, 200, 339
Cockran, 305, 306. *Sir* John 347, 349, 350
Colchester *Lord* 435
Coleman *Secretary* 207, 221, *to* 223, 240, *to* 243, 246, 247, 251, 263
COLEN *Elector* 179, 206, 417 *to* 419, 423, 424
College Stephen 283, 284
Colvil *of* Edinburgh *College* 89
Compton *Bishop of* London 221, 277, 296, 335, 336, 371, 372, 380, 391, 424, 436
Con *a Spy* 248
Conde *Prince* 41, 42, 45, 179, 199, 212, 221, 228, 229, 314
Condom *Bishop* 361
Confession of Faith 289, 290
Confusius *the* Chinese 212
Coniers *a Frier* 239, 240
Conti *Prince* 229
Conventicle *Act* 114, 115, 151, 152, 155, 156, 163, 189, 235, 293
Convention Parliament 445, *&c.*
Conway *Lord* 297
Cook *Sir* William 8
Cook *Judge* 28, 309
Cook *a* Scots *Episcopalian* 164
Cook *a Member of the House of Commons* 367
Cooper Ashley 49, 56. *See Lord* Shaftsbury
Cornbury *Lord* 141, 435
Cornish *Sherriff* 271, 297, 358
Cosins *Bishop of* Durham 147, 542
Cotton *Sir* John 223, 224
Coventry *Sir* William, 96, 136, 149, 200, 205, 209, 218, 225, 299, 233, 249, 271. *Sir* John 151. *His Nose cut* 151, 171
Courtin *Ambassador* 220, 230
Craig *Dr.* 12
Crawford *Earl* 24, 59, 63, 68, 73, *to* 75, 84
Crequi *Duke* 198
Crofts *Bishop of* Hereford 145
Croissy *Ambassador* 196, 205, 423
Cromarty *Earl* 84, *to* 86, 88
CROMWELL Oliver 25, *to* 28, 32, 34, 36 (*to his Death* 47) 61, *to* 63, 71, 92, 99, 137, 164, 321, 338. *Richard* 47, 48
Crook *Judge* 214
Cudworth *Dr.* 105, 261
Culpeper *Lord* 439, 450
Cunningham *a* Scots *Physician* 72, 265
Cunningham *Sir* John 134
Cunningham *a Lawyer* 287
Cutts *Lord* 306

D.

DAda *the Nuncio* 388
Dalrymple *Sir James* 208, 289.
Dalziel *General* 120, 131, *to* 133, 135, 138
Danby *Earl* 149, 198, 210, 213, 215, 216, 218, 220, *to* 222, 225, 227, 230, *to* 232, 237, 239 240, 253. *to* 257, 260, 265, 273, 282, 327, 353, 386, 391, 420, 421, 427, 435, 449, to 451
Dangerfield 268, 352
Dankelman 411
Darislaus 273
Dartmouth *Lord* 293, 303, 328, 419, 421, 434
Davies *the Player* 147
Davison *the Puritan* 12
Deering *Commissioner of the Treasury* 238
Delamere *Lord* 347, 367, 435, 440
Denbigh *Earl* 19
DENMARK *Government* 150 *Prince* GEORGE 313
Desborough Oliver's *Brother-in-law* 40
Devonshire *Duke* 197. *Earl* 366, 391, 420, 421, 435, *Countess* 19
Dherapine *a violent Persecutor* 363
Dickson *a Scots Minister* 21
Digby *Sir* Everard 8
Digby *Sir* Kenelm 8
Dispensing Power of the King 368, 369
Dolben *Bishop of* Rochester 233, 327
Dolben *Archbishop of* York 372
Dolben *Judge of the Common Pleas* 299
Dominico *Signior* 339
DON JOHN 43, 44
Donatists 153
Dorchester *Countess* 375, 411, 412
Dorset *Earl* 148, 169, 436
Dort *Synod* 410
Doughty *Dr.* 450
Douglas *a Scots Minister* 21, 81
Dowglas *Earl of* Angus 12 *Marquess* 294 *Lady* Margaret 12
Downing Cromwel's *Ambassador* 112
Drumlanerick *Lord* 435
Drummond *General* 25, 35, 120, 134, 135, 161, 211
Dryden *the Poet* 151
Duffus *Lord* 84
Dugdale's *Evidence* 250, *to* 252, 254, 262, 275, 276, 277, 283, 286
Dumbarton *Earl* 245
Dumfermling *Earl* 7, 17
Dunbar *Fight* 28, 33
Duncomb *Member of Parliament* 148
Dundee *Siege* 34
Dundee *Earl* 443
Dundonald *Earl* 350
Dunfrise *Earl* 14, 15
Dunkirk *taken* 44 *Sold* 97
Dunmoor *Lawyer* 15
Duppa *Bishop of* Winchester 100
Dycvelt *Ambassador* 181, 183, 188, 357, 379, 389, *to* 391, 430,
Dysert *Lady* 137, 138, 156, 161, 167, 171

E

EArl *Bishop of* Salisbury 126
Ecclesiastical Commission 371
Edinburgh *Tumult* 373
EDWARD I. *King* 63
Εικων Βασιλικη 30
ELIZABETH *Queen* 9, 10, 11, 12, 173, 174, 175, 258, 259
Her Act against the Puritans 278
Elliot *Mrs.* 245
Elphinston *Secretary* 7. *See Lord* Balmerinoch
Episcopacy *in* Scotland 7, 62 *to* 81
Ernley *Member of Parliament* 280
Essex *Earl* 24, 25, 141, 152, 193, 224, 225, 243, 251, 254, 256 *to* 258, 259, 260, 265, 267 *to* 269, 272, 274, 277, 281, 282, 285, 300, 301, 307, 308, 316

INDEX.

d' Eſtrades *Ambaſſador* 184
l' Eſtrange *Sir* Roger 261
d' Eſtrees *Cardinal* 364, 425
Everard *an Evidence* 279
Evers *a Jeſuit* 250, 251, 263
Exchequer *ſhut up* 171
Exciſe *farm'd* 344
Excluſion Bill 257 *to* 260, 270, 271, 273, 274, 278, 279

F.

Fabricius *the German Divine* 10
Fagel *Penſionary* 182, 183, 272, 324, 378, 379, 402, 426, 428
Fairfax *Lord* 48
Sir Thomas 18, 28
Fairfoul *Biſhop of* Glaſgow, 76, 77, 80, 90, 116
Falconbridge *Earl* 209 *Counteſs* 48
Falkland *Lord* 100
Falmouth *Earl* 58, 123
Farmer 384
Fatio *the Mathematician* 378
Faur *of the Sorbonne* 314
Fell *Biſhop of* Oxford 332, 381, 382
Felton *the Aſſaſſin* 29
Fenwick *Jeſuit* 250, 254, 262
FERDINAND *King of* Bohemia 9
Ferguſon *the plotting* Scot 300, 302, 303, 320, 348, 354
Ferrier *the French King's Confeſſor* 207, 222
Feverſham 336, 355, 357, 438, 440
le Fevre *a Phyſician* 337
Fifth Monarchy *Men* 39
Filmer's *Patriarcha* 317, 318
Finch 126, 205, 216. *Soliciter General* 308, 309, 318, 368, 408
Finch *Dr.* 436
Fire of London 128
Fitton *Chancellor of* Ireland 375
Fitzharding *Lord* 149
Fitzharris *the Iriſh Papiſt* 279 *to* 283
Fitzpatrick 149
Fleetwood Cromwel's *Son-in-Law* 40, 48
Fletcher Sir *John* 60, 65, 348, 354
Forbes *Biſhop of* Edinburgh 15
Fountain *the Lawyer* 40
Fouquet *one of the French King's Miniſtry* 95
Fourbin *Cardinal* 313
Fowler *Biſhop of* Glouceſter 261
Franchiſes *at* Rome 388, 417, 425
Francis *a Benedictin Frier* 383
FREDERICK *Elector Palatine* 10
Froſt *Secretary* 17
Furſtenberg *Cardinal* 199, 417, 418, 424, 425

G.

Gage *the Popiſh Miſſionary to the* Weſt-Indies 43
Galloway *Earl* 288, 238, 344, 421
Garroway *Member of Parliament* 197
Gaunt *Mrs.* 257
Gawden *Dr.* 30, 104
Gee *Dr.* 370
Geneva *Proteſtants* 377
Genoa *bombarded* 328, 329
GEORGE *Prince of* Denmark 313, 354, 401, 412, 421, 435
German *a Jeſuit* 222
Ghent *taken* 232
van Gheudt *Dutch Admiral* 136
Ghigi *Cardinal* 116
Gibſon *Colonel* 436
Gillipſpy *a Scots Miniſter* 21
Gilmore *Lawyer* 67, 71
Girald *Popiſh Prieſt* 251
Glencairn *Earl* 34, 35, 64, 60, 63, 65, 69, 70, 76, 88, 115, *to* 117
GLOUCESTER *Duke* 97, 339, 396
Glyn, *Lawyer* 40
Godden *a Writer* 251, 252
Godfrey *Sir* Edmondbury 241, *to* 243, 245, 250 *to* 253, 282
Godolphin *Sir* William 442. Sidney *Lord* Godolphin 256 270, 271, 328, 334, 443, 437
Gomarus, *Divinity Profeſſor at* Leyden 176
Goodenough *Under Sherriff* 302, *to* 304, 320, 358
Goodwin John *the Arminian* 39, 92
Goodwin Thomas, *one of* Cromwell's *Preachers* 47, 105
Gordon *Duke* 75, 134, 442
Gordon *of* Buckey 13, 16
Gouana Cromwellian 73
Gouan, *a Jeſuit* 250, 262, 263
Gowry *Earl* 12, 13
Grafton *Duke* 435
Graham *a Solicitor* 284
Grant *a Papiſt* 129, 130
Granvill *Cardinal* 173
Green *the Aſſaſſin* 251, 252
Grenard *Lord* 443
Grey *Lord* 273, 300, 306, 348, 354, *to* 356, 376
Grey *Lady* Jane 302
Grimſtone *Sir* Harbottle 26, 27, 49, 90, 214, 217, 330. *His Lady* 215
de Groot *Ambaſſador* 170, 180
Grotius 10, 176, 410
Grove *the Plotter* 244, 250
Guiche *Count* 168
Guilford *Lord* 297, 366
Guiſe *Family* 6
Gunning *Biſhop firſt of* Chicheſter, *then of* Ely 102, 246, 327
Gunpowder *Plot* 8
GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS 175
Guthery *a Scots Miniſter* 65, 72, *to* 74
Guthry *another Scots Miniſter* 130, 133
Gwin Nell *the Actreſs* 147, 188, 336

H

Hackſton *Aſſaſſin* 287
Hague *a Sollicitor* 14, 15
Hale *Sir* Matthew 50, 99, 145, 309
Hales *Sir* Edward 368, 438
Haies *Banker* 331
Halewyn *a Judge in* Holland 29, 176, 181, 183, 184, 188, 211, 379, 398
Hall *Biſhop of* Oxford 407
Hallifax *Lord* 150, 181, 216, 225, 227, 239, 243, 244, 257, 258, 260, 265, 267, 268, 271, 272, 273, 277, 278, 279, 281, 284, 285, 290, 291, 292, 297, 313, 316, 318, 319, 328, 333, 334, 343, 347, 358, 360, 362, 366, 391, 420, 437, 440, 444, 450, 451
Halloway *of* Briſtol 302, 303, 320, 321
Halloway *Judge* 409
Halton *Lord* 167, 233, 234, 288, 292
Hambden 250, 301, 302, 306, 307, 320, 347, 356
Hamilton *Duke* 13, 18, 22 *to* 24, 26, 31, 59, 60, 68, 75, 88, 134, 138, 160, 161, 167, 188, 203, 204, 207, 209, 211, 226, 236, 244, 247, 248, 265, 287, 342, 374, 443. *Dutcheſs* 155, 165, 432
Hamilton *Biſhop of* Galloway 76, 77, 374
Hamilton *Biſhop of* Dunkeld 374
Hamilton *General* 444, 445
Hamilton *a Rebel* 266
Hammond *Dr.* 100
HANOVER *Prince*, now *King* GEORGE 313
Harbord *Sir* Charles 218
Harcourt *Jeſuit* 251, 262, 264
Harlay *Preſident of the Parliament of* Paris 314
de Haro Don Lewis 49
Harrington *the Republican* 39, 48
Harriſon *the Regicide* 92
Harvey *Treaſurer* 216
Haſcard *Dr.* 330
Hawkins *Miniſter of the* Tower 283

INDEX.

Hay *of* Naughton 15
Hedges *Sir* Charles 385
Heidegger *Divinity Profeſſor* 391
Heming *Apothecary* 414
Henderſon *a* Scots *Divine* 21
Henly *of* Hampſhire 337
Henrietta *Princeſs* 97
HENRY *Prince* 8
HENRY III *and* IV *of* France 175, 247
HENRY'S VI, VII *and* VIII *of* England 216, 258, 259
Henſhaw 170
Herbert *Lord Chief Juſtice,* 368, *to* 372, 409
Herbert *Admiral* 391, 419, 426, 428, *to* 430
HESSE *Landgrave* 416
Hewes *Curate of St.* Martins 286
Heylin *Dr.* 30, 396
Hickes *Dr.* 235
Hicks *the Nonconformiſts* 357
Hide *Chancellor* 35, 38, 43, 50, 51
Hide *Commiſſioner of the Treaſury* 256, 270, 272, 290, 297 *Earl of* Rocheſter 297, 304
Hide *the Ambaſſador* 47
Hill *the Aſſaſſin* 251, 252
Hobbs *of* Malmsbury 58, 106
Hollis *Lord* 9, 20, 23, 26, 49, 57, 90, 116, 136, 152, 214, 216, 226, 244, 250, 260, 262
Hollman *a Papiſt* 222
Holmes 171, 234
Home *a* Scotſman *charged with being in the Rebellion at* Bothwell-bridge 293, 294
Hone *one of the Rye Plotters* 311
Honyman *Biſhop of* Orkney 69
Hooker's *Eccleſiaſtical Polity* 396
Hooper *Dr. now Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells 270
Hope *Sir* Thomas 15
Hough *Dr. afterwards Biſhop of* Litchfield *and* Coventry 384
Hounſlow-heath *Army* 386, 488
Howard *Earl of* Carliſle 46, 243
Howard *Lord of* Eſerick 18
Howard *Lord* 210, 211, 282, 283, 300, 301, 303, 304, 306 *to* 308, 317 *to* 320
Howard *Cardinal* 223, 336, 364, 365, 373, 386, 387, 403
Howel *Recorder of* London 129
Hubert Thomas *of* Liege 10
Hubert *the* French *Popiſh Incendiary* 129
Hudleſton *the Popiſh Prieſt* 335, 336
van Hulſt 430
Hume *Sir Patrick* 347, 349
Humieres *Marſhal* 313
Huntly *Marqueſs* 13, 23, 74, 75, 134
Hutchinſon *a* Scots *Presbyterian Miniſter* 154, 157, 162, 265, 266
Hutchinſon *a Jeſuit* 239

I

JAmaica *taken* 44
JAMES I. *King* 6. *to his Death* 11, *to* 14, 19, 62, 174, 176
JAMES II. *King* 42, 43, 95. *his Reign* 341 &c. *his Progreſs to the* W. *and* N. *of* England 394
Jane *Dr.* 376
Janſeniſts 78, 329
Jefferies *Sir* George 273, 299, 309, 315, 317, 318, 320, *to* 322, 327, 331, 332, 357, 358, 366, 371, 383, 386, 402, 431, 439
Jenkins *Sir* Leolin 199, 238, 248, 271, 296, 303, 328
Jenniſon *an Evidence* 253
Jeſuits *five their Tryal* 262
Jews *favour'd by* Cromwell 41
Indemnity *granted by* K. Charles II. 93, 94
Independents 385, 386
Ingoldsby *one of* K. Charles I. *Judges* 49
Inniskilling 443
INNOCENT *XI. Pope* 364, 373, 388
Don John 240
St. John's *Lawyer* 40
Johnſtoun *Merchant* 12
Johnſtoun *Secretary,* 420, 421
Jones *Sir* William 223, 244, 250, 257, 271, 272, 277, 279, *to* 281, 285, 297, 315
Ireland *Jeſuit* 250, 253, 254
Ireton *Republican* 28, 29, 48
Iriſh *Maſſacre its Original* 25
Iſabella *Archdutcheſs* 9, 29
Jurieu *the Divine* 379
Juxon *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury 28, 98, 100

K

KEeling *Lord Chief Juſtice* 104
Keeling *the Anabaptiſt* 303, 311
Ken *Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells, 327, 335, 336, 355
Kennedy *Lady* Margaret 62
Ker *Member of Parliament* 141
Killock *Colonel* 23
Killy *a Prieſt* 251
St. Kilmaclotius 46
Kincaindin *Earl* 60, 75, 115, 118, 134, 135, 138, 139, 161, 162, 211, 212, 226, 234, 244, 248, 288
King *Dr.* 335 *Archbiſhop of* Dublin, 443
King *Sir* John 233
KINGS *de facto & de jure* 452, 453
Kirby *Chymiſt* 240
Kirk *General* 357, 376, 402, 420
Kinkton *a* Scots *Miniſter* 225, 226

L

LAbadiſts 129
Lambert *General* 48, 49, 62, 243
Langham *Sir* James 150
Langhorn *Lawyer* 129, 240, 242, 263 *his Wife* 243
Langſton *Colonel* 435
Latitudinarian *Divines* 105
Lavardin *Count* 417, 425
Laud *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury 17, 20, 29
Lauderdale *Earl and Duke* 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 28, 31, 58, 59, 61, *to* 64, 68, 70, 73, 75, 79, 81, 84, *to* 87, 90, 111, *to* 116, 118, *to* 120, 122, 134, *to* 139, 142, 146, 149, 152, 154, 155, *to* 163, 167, 170, *to* 172, 188, *to* 190, 196, 199, 200, 203 *to* 205, 207, *to* 215, 223, 225, 229, 232, *to* 238, 241, 244, 245, 247, 248, 265, *to* 267, 269, 277, 286, 287, 288, 290, *to* 293. *His Dutcheſs* 189, 200, 293, 338
Law-Boroughs *in* Scotland 236
Learmoth *Major* 139
Lee *Colonel* 20, 197, 311
Lee *Sir* Thomas 219
Leeds *Duke* 149
Leg *Lord* Dartmouth 293, 303
Leiceſter *Earl* 44, 174, 176
Leighton *Biſhop of* Dumblain, 77, *to* 81, 83, 117, 120, 139, 153, *to* 155, 157, 159, *of Glaſgow* 160, *to* 168, 189, 190, 211, 212, 326, 327
Leighton *Sir* Eliſha 78, *to* 80, 168, 196, 200, 202
Lenox *Duke* 6, 13
Leſley *General* 28
LEWIS XIV. *his flattering Titles* 185, 186
Leyburn *Biſhop* 403
Liege *Jeſuits* 391 *Chapter* 417, 418
Lilliburlero *Ballad* 436
Linlithgow *Earl* 266
Liſle *Lord* 44, 45, 257. *Lady* 257
Littleton *Sir* Thomas 130, 141, 148, 219, 239, 246, 250, 256, 279, 280
Liturgy Scots 16
Lloyd *Dr.* 99, 107, 129, 239, 242, 245, 252 *Biſhop of St. Aſaph* 279, 382, 414 *of* Worceſter 453
Lob *the Diſſenting Miniſter* 407
Lockhart *Ambaſſadour* 44, 49, 220, 222
Lockhart *Sir* James 88, 127, 170, 180
Lockart *Sir* William 198
Lockhart *Sir* George 208, 233, 234, 265, 287, 292, 294

INDEX.

London *burnt* 128, *to* 130, 140, 241
Act for rebuilding it 146
Diſputes about Sheriffs 270, 271, 295, 296
Attempt to take away its Charter 297, *to* 299, 315, 316
Magiſtracy chang'd by K. James II. 294, 295
London-derry 443
Lords *of the Articles* 66, *&c.*
de Lorge *Marſhal* 344
Lorn *Lord* 34, 61, 71, 75, 84, *to* 86, 115
Lorrain *Cardinal* 173
Lothian *Earl* 13, 30, 78
Love *the Diſſenting Miniſter* 195
Loveſtein *Faction* 123, 203, 379
Louvois *Ambaſſadour* 179, 180, 288, 232, 364, 378, 421
Lowdun *Earl* 17, 19, 26, 71
Lower *the Phyſician* 284, 237, 413
Lucas *Lord* 439
Ludlow *Author of the Memoirs* 27
Lumley *Lord* 355, 391, 420, 421, 435
Luther 397
Lutherans 10, 410
Luxemburg 186, 187, 229, 238
de Luynes 9

M

MAcail *a* Scots *Miniſter* 133
Maccarty *Colonel* 332, 333
Macclesfield *Earl* 429
Mackenzie *Sir* George 84, *to* 86, 88, 233, 265
Mackland *of* Aſſin 31, 73
Macom *a* Scots *Miniſter* 373
Macquair *a* Scots *Miniſter* 67
Maeſtricht 417
Magdalen *College* 384
Maintenon *Madam* 365, 390
Mancheſter *Earl* 49, 57, 108, 147
Manſel *Colonel* 268
Mansfield *Count* 387
Manton *Dr.* 145, 172
Martin *Republican* 39
Martin Henry 92
MARY *Queen of* Scots 173, 174, 201
Maſſacre Iriſh 25, 252
Maſſey *Dr.* 383
MATTHIAS *King of* Bohemia 9
MAURICE *Elector* 173
Maurier *an Hiſtorian* 174
MAXIMILIAN II. *Emperor* 9
Maxwell *Biſhop of* Roſs 16, 130
May *of the Privy-purſe* 147, 265, 334, 335
Maynard *Sir* John 40, 248 *Serjeant* 353, 441
Mazarin *Cardinal* 42, 44, 49, 50, 94, 95
Meal-tub *Plot* 268
Meaux *Biſhop* 361, 370
Melfort *Earl* 351, 360, 431
Melvel *Lord* 347
Meres *Parliament Man* 255
Methuen Lord 13
Mew *Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells 327
Midletoun *Earl* 35, 60, *to* 75, 80, *to* 90, 112 *to* 115, 119, 120, 327. *His Son* 328, 374, 375, 399, 400, 441
Militia Act in Scotland 159
Millington *Dr.* 337, 413
Milton *the Poet* 92
Miniſters *Great their Fate* 144
Mitchel 233 *to* 235
Mombas *General* 180
Monk *General* 34, 49 *to* 51, 54, *Duke of* Albemarle 57, 72, 92, 94, 97, 98, 112, 113, 128, 140, 354
Monmouth *Duke* 117, 146, 151, 232, 236, 255, 257, 265, *to* 267, 269, 274, 279, 300, 301, 305, *to* 307, 311, 312, 318, 319, 326, 334, 345, *to* 349, 353, *to* 356, 376, 404
Montague *Admiral* 50. *Earl of* Sandwich 57, 98, 123, *to* 125, 180
Montague *Ambaſſadour* 188, 221, 231, 232, 237, 238, 248, 249, 257, 271, 274, 314, 361
Montauſier *Duke* 314
Monterey *Governour* 229
Monteſpan *Lady* 213
Montgomery *Colonel* 33
Montroſe *Earl* 19, 22. *Marquis* 22 *to* 25, 31, 33, 67, 72, 73, 75
Moor *Sir* John 295, 296
Mordaunt *Lord* 366, 391, 419, 429
More *Dr.* 105, 106, 261
Morgan *Colonel* 35
Morgan *Jeſuit* 139
Morland *Secretary* 38, 39
Morley *Dr.* 50, 96. *Biſhop of* Worceſter *firſt, then of* Wincheſter 100, 104, 143, 145, 172, 173, 210, 327, 431
Morrice *Secretary* 57, 114
du Moulins 211, 213
Mountjoy *Lord* 443, 445
Mulgrave *Earl* 375
Munſter *Biſhop* 124, 141, 180, 206
Murray *Earl* 13, 16, 373,
Murray *Sir* Robert 34, 35, 75, 86, 90, 108, 109, 134, *to* 138, 145, *to* 147, 157, 158, 160, 161, 163, 167, 199, 204, 220
Murray William 34, 35, 137
Murray *of* Philipſhaugh 325

N

NAirn *a* Scots *Epiſcopalian* 121, 159, 164
Nantes *Edict* 315, 361, 363, 367
Nazianzen 208
Needham *Phyſician* 337
Nevil Henry 39, 48
Newburgh *Duke* 10 *Earl* 84, 86. *Family* 361
Nicholſon *Sir* Thomas 33
Nicolas *Secretary* 57
Niſbit *Sir* John 156, 233, 234
Niſmes *Tumult there* 44
Nithiſdale *Earl* 13, 14
Norfolk *Duke* 239, 242, 275, 376
Norris *Lord* 273
North *Chief Juſtice* 275, 283. *Chancellour* 297, 312, 328, 330
North *Sheriff* 295, 296, 328
Northumberland *Earl* 24, 25, 96, 136, 316, 342
Nottingham *Earl* 205, 237, 255, 256, 260, 276, 277, 279, 280, 297, 366, 391, 420, 437, 442, 446

O

OAtes Titus 239, *to* 243, 245, *to* 247, 250, 253, 254, 262, *to* 264, 273, 276, 277, 286, 306, 327, 351, 353, 470
Oath *of Supremacy* 82, 83. *for abjuring the ſolemn League and Covenant* 83
Obrian 151
Odeſcalchi *Pope* 364, 373, 388
St. Omer *Siege* 288, 229 *Jeſuits* 262, 263
Opdam *Admiral* 122
ORANGE *Prince* Maurice 9, 10, 175, *to* 177
HENRY Frederic 49, 177
WILLIAM 175, 176
WILLIAM *afterwards King of* England 97, 153, 177, *to* 179, 180, 182, 183, 191, 206, 212, 213, 222, 228, 230, *to* 232, 238, 270, 272, 316, 319, 329, 346, 354, 372, 377, 379, 385, 426, *Princeſs* 372, 379, 396, *to* 398
Orange *Principality* 365

INDEX.

Orleans *Duke* 168, 222
Dutcheſs 161, 168, 169, 424
Ormond *Duke* 24, 25, 55, 75, 86, 99, 110, 149
late Duke 186, 205, 225, 241, 360, 384, 435
Orrery *Earl* 38, 40, 41, 100, 149
Osborn, *Sir* Thomas, 130, 141, 149, 197
Oſſory *Earl* 212, 213
Oſtraciſm *Athenian* 86, 87
Overbury *Sir* Thomas 11
Overton *General* 46
Owen *Dr.* 47, 105
Oxford *Earl* 321, 437
Parliaments 125, 278, 280
Univerſity 384

P

PAinevine *a* Dutch *Officer* 336
PALATINE *Elector* 9, 10, 175, 361, 424
Palmer *Earl of* Caſtlemain 387
Paris *Archbiſhop* 361, 365
Parker *Biſhop of* Oxford 164, 382, 385, 407
Parliament Elections conſidered 345, 346, 395
Parry Juſtice 317
PARMA *Prince* 173
Paſſau *Edict* 173
Paterſon *Biſhop of* Edinburgh 162, 289, 290, 374
Archbiſhop of Glaſgow 374
Patrick *Dr.* 116, 261, 370, 376
Pats *of* Rotterdam 184
Pearſon *Biſhop of* Cheſter 381
Pemberton *Chief Juſtice* 281, 299, 309, 315
Pembroke *Earl* 439
Pen *Admiral* 123
Pen *Quaker* 357, 358, 381, 386, 402, 404
Pentland-Hill *Fight* 132
Pepys *Secretary* 220, 340
Percy *Lord* 58
Perſecutions violent 361, *to* 363,
Perth *Lord* 236, 292, 322, *to* 325, 350, 360, 373, 374, 442
Peter *Father* 369, 375, 381, 387, 403, 404, 407
Peterborough *Earl* 198, 203, 269, 328, 335
Peters Hugh 92
Petre *General* 242
PHILIP II. *King of* Spain 173, 174, 392
Philipsburg 424
Pickering *the Plotter* 244, 250
Pierce *Laundreſs* 432
Pierpoint *Member of Parliament* 11, 26, 150
Pilkinton *Sheriff* 299
Picque *of the* Sorbonne 314
Plague 122, 125, 128
Player *Chamberlain of* London 311
Plot Gunpowder 8. Gowry's 12, 13. *to Aſſaſſinate* Cromwell 45. *Popiſh Plot in the Reign of King* Charles II. 239, *to* 254, 262, *to* 264. Meal-tub 268. Rye *Plot* 302, *to* 313, 320, 324, 350
Plunket *Archbiſhop of* Armagh 282
POLAND *King and Queen* 329
Pollexfen *Lawyer* 260, 297, 298
Polyglott *Bible* 108
Pomponne *Ambaſſadour* 170, 180, 220
Pool *Cardinal* 394
Porter *Sir* Charles 361, 375
Portland *Earl* 319
Portſmouth *Dutcheſs* 188, 224, 221, 246, 258, 271, 274, 282, 297, 309, 314, 328, 334, *to* 337
Powel *Judge* 239, 270, 409
Powis *Lord* 242, 252. *Counteſs* 268, 412
Powis *the Lawyer* 368, 408
Powle *Parliament-Man* 219
Prance Miles *the Goldſmith* 251, 252
Presbytery Scots 20, 21
Presbyterians 385, 386
Debates for uniting and comprehending them with the Eſtabliſh'd Church 100, *&c.* 145, 153, *&c.* 278. *Indulgence granted to the* Scots 157, *&c.*
Preſton *Lord* 168, 352, 371, 431, 432. *Dr.* 13
Pretender's *Illegitimacy* 411, *to* 414, 425, 432, 449, 450
Primi *Abbot* 168
Primroſe *Sir* Archibald 14, 17, 60, 63, *to* 65, 67, *to* 70, 82, 84, 115, 161, 333, *to* 335
Proteſtant Religion its ſeveral Criſes 173, *to* 179, 361, *to* 363
Puritans 12

Q

Quakers 386
Queensbury *Duke* 293, 322, 323, 349, *to* 351, 360, 373, 374

R

RAdnor *Earl* 49, 57, 149, 260, 328
Raleigh *Sir* Walter 11, 12
Ranelagh *Earl* 149, 224, *Lady* 91
Ratcliffe *General* 242
Reading *Lawyer* 253, 254. *Battle* 439
Regicides *Tryal and Execution* 92
Renaldi *of* Eſte 387
Reſtoration of King Charles II. 51, 54, 57
de Retz *Cardinal* 43, 119
Revolution Year 400, *&c.*
Reynolds *Biſhop of* Norwich 104
Rheims *Archbiſhop* 314, 333
Rich *Sheriff* 296, 310
Richlieu *Cardinal* 28, 29, 34
Richmond *Duke* 84, 86, 141, 142, 107, 336
Dutcheſs 114, 141, 142
Roberts *Lord* 49, 57, 149, 260
Roberts *Miſtreſs to King* Charles II. 148, 284
Rochelle *Affair* 28, 175
Rocheſter *Earl* Wilmot 110, 143, 144, 148, 285, 339
Hide 297, 304, 310, 328, 332, 333, 335, 343, 344, 346, 356, 372, 376, 446
RODOLPH *King of* Bohemia 9
Rohan *Duke* 28
Roos *Lord* 147
Roſs *Archbiſhop of* Glaſgow, *firſt, then of* St. Andrews 158, 327, 374
Roſwel *Presbyterian Miniſter* 331
Rothes *Earl* 14, *to* 19, 59, 63, 69, 70, 114, 115, 117, *to* 119, 131, *to* 138, 162, 165, 167, 204, 233, 234, 288
de Roucy *Marquis* 43
Rouvigny *Ambaſſadour* 205, 206, 220, 228, 238, 239, 314, 339, 344, 361, 362
Rowſe *Plotter* 311
Royal Society 35, 118, 119
Rumbold *the Plotter* 303, 304, 320, 349, 350
Rump Parliament 49
Rumſey *Plotter* 300, 302, *to* 308, 311, 317, 320, 321, 358
Rupert *Prince* 128, 198, 205, 245, 254
Ruſſel *Lord* 219, 270, *to* 272, 277, 281, 285, 299, *to* 301, 302, 305, 306, *to* 311, 314. *Lady* 362
Ruſſel *Admiral* 391, 410, 419, *to* 421, 429, 433, 434
Ruſſel *Brother to the Lord* 435
Rutherford *Lord* 116
Rutherford *a* Scots *Miniſter* 21
Rutland *Earl* 147
de Ruyter *Admiral* 50, 124, 125, 136, 180, 186
Rye-Plot 302, *to* 313, 320, 324, 350

INDEX.

S

Salisbury *Earl* 127, 128
Sancroft *Archbishop of* Canterbury 104, 221, 230, 283, 298, 335, 371, 382, 405, 406, 439, 441
Sanders *Chief Justice* 297, 299, 327
Sanda 151
Sandwich *Earl* 57, 98
Saville *Lord* 17, 18
Saville *Sir* George 150
Savoy *Duke* 44, 170, 361
Savoy *Conference* 101, 103,
Sawyer *Attorney General* 297, 408
Saxony *Duke* 9
Scarborough *Dr.* 412, 413
Schomberg *Marshal* 29, 97, 98, 194, 198, 228, 302, 314, 426, 427
Scot *Dr.* 261
Scotland's *Extent* 156, 157
Scougal *Bishop of* Aberdeen 122
Scroggs *Chief Justice* 253, 264, 281, 282
Sea Fights English *and* Dutch 128, 171, 180
Seaton *Earl of* Dunferling 7
Seimour *Sir* Edward 141, 215, 255, 256, 273, 279, 352, 436
Selden's *Mare Clausum* 170
Semple *a* Scots *Minister* 150
Seneff *Battle* 212
Serjeant *a Priest* 119, 263
Shaftsbury *Earl* 49, 56, 148, 149, 169, 172, 194, *to* 196, 198, 200, 203, *to* 205, 216, *to* 218, 222, 225, *to* 227, 230, 245, 247, 257, 258, 260, 263, 265, 269, 271, 272, 274, 275, 278, 280, 282, 284, *to* 286, 296, 299, 300, 302, 303, 307, 327
Sharp *Archbishop of* St. Andrews 37, 38, 54, 63, 67, 69, 75, *to* 77, 79 *to* 84, 88, 90, 113, 115, *to* 120, 122, 131, 133, *to* 139, 155, 156, 159, 162, 163, 166, 168, 189, 190, 209, 210, 225, 233, *to* 235, 266
Sharp *Archbishop of* York 261, 371, 372
Sheldon *Bishop of* London 30, 76, 88
Archbishop of Canterbury 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 108, 112, 117, 120, 136, 137, 139, 142, 172, 201, 210, 221
Shelton *the Envoy* 345, 353, 423
Shepherd *Wine Merchant* 300, 305, 308, 312, 321
Sheredon *of* Ireland 273
Sherlock *Dr.* 261, 370
Shrewsbury *Earl* 391, 413, 419, *to* 421, 429, 436, 437, 440, 451
SIAM *King* 334
Sibbald *Sir* Robert 374
Sidley *Sir* Charles 148
Sidley *Countess of* Dorchester 345, 347, 375
Sidney Algernoon 39, 47, 127, 283, 300, 301, 304, 305, 306, 307
Sidney *Ambassadour* 270, 272, 317, 318, 331, 416, 420, 421, 427, 429
Sidserfe *Bishop of* Galloway 16, 76. *of* Orkney 76
Simon *Father* 301
Skelton *Ambassadour* 389
Smalcaldick *League* 173
Smith *Sir Jeremy* 41, 136
Smith *a Priest* 253, 276, 283
Smith Aaron 301, 307
Soissons *Madame* 161
Solms *Count* 441
Somelsdych *of* Holland 60
Somers *Lord* 281, 285
Somerset *Earl* 8, 11, 12. *Duke* 30, 394
SOPHIA *Princess* 416
Southampton *Earl* 30, 51, 55, 56, 91, 93, 99, 100, 126, 140
Southesk *Earl* 127, 128
Southwell *Sir* Robert 94
Spanheim *Envoy* 315
Spanish *Armada* 373, *to* 375, 400
Spence 323, 324
Spinola *General* 173
Spotswood *Archbishop* 6, 15, 17, 117
Sprague *Admiral* 171
Sprat *Dr.* 109, 272
Stafford *Lord* 109, 222, 242, 251, 254, 275, *to* 278, 286, 353
Stairs *Earl* 236
Staley *Banker* 244, 245
Starling *Lord Mayor* 151
Stearn *Archbishop of* York 103, 327
Sterry *one of* Oliver's *Preachers* 47
STEWARDS *Race* 28
Steward *of the Bedchamber to King* James I. 174
Steward *Dr.* 96, 396
Steward *a Lawyer* 42, 43
Steward *Sir* James 133
Steward Francis 13
Steward *Dutchess of* Richmond 114
Stillingfleet *Dr.* 106, 145, 172, 201, 223, 241, 243, 262, 370, 376, 420
Stouppe *a Grison* 38, 42, *to* 45, 364
Strafford *Earl* 17, 18, 20, 29, 93, 248
Strathallan *Lord* 25
Strickland *Admiral* 415
Sunderland *Earl* 199, 238, 257, 258, 267, 270, *to* 272, 279, 297, 333, 334, 343, 360, 370, 371, 381, 391, 415, 416, 442, 431
Countess 413, 432
Supremacy Regal advanc'd in Scotland 159, 160
Suffex *Earl* 18
Swinton *Lord* 62, 73
Syndercomb's *Assassination Plot* 45
Synod National in Scotland *constituted* 115

T

Talbot Richard 100, 180
Talbot *Sir* Gilbert 124, 125, 127, 149, 180
Talbot *Titular Archbishop of* Dublin 282
Talmash *Sir* Lionel 137
Tangier 98, 328
Tarbot *Lord* 84, *to* 86, 88
Tarras *Earl* 324, 325
Tasborough 254
Taylor *Dr.* 159
Tekeli *Count* 313
Temple *Sir* William 142, 212, 213, 230, 238, 444, 445
Tennison *Archbishop of* Canterbury 107, 261, 340, 355, 370
Terwhit *Sir* Philip 223
Tesse *General* 365
Test 195, 216, 217, 245, 246, 289, 290, 294, 350, 351, 358, 360, 366, 367
Throgmorton *Sir* William 222
Thurlo *Secretary* 39, 45
Thynn *Esq;* 328
Tiberius *compared with King* Charles II. 339
Tiddiman *Commodore* 124, 125
Tillotson *Archbishop of* Canterbury 45, 47, 106, 107, 129, 145, 172, 243, 260, 310, 311, 318, 370, 376, 420
Tyrconnel *Duke* 100, 282. *Earl* 360, 374, 375, 440, 443, *to* 445
Titus *Colonel* 8, 27, 197
Toleration of Nonconformists 109, 171, 172, 370, 392, 393
Tonge *Dr.* 239, 240, 241, 247, 286
Tory, *when the Name came up* 280
Traquair *Earl* 15 *to* 17, 116
Treaties of Cologn 199. *of the* Isle *of* Wight 26. *between the* Scots *and King* Charles II. *at the* Hague 31. Cromwel's *with* France 71 *&c.* Pyrenees 43, 94. *betwixt the* Irish *Rebels, and the Duke of* Ormond 99. Breda 206. Nimeguen 238, 239
Treby *Sir* George *Recorder of* London 280, 283, 297, 298
Trelawny *Sir* Jonathan *Bishop of* Bristol 420

INDEX.

Trenchard 305, 307
Treville *Count* 169, 314
Trumbal *Sir* William 423
Tryals of Lord Balmerinoch 14, *to* 16
Mitchel of Scotland 233, *to* 235
Laud *Archbiſhop* 20
Baillie *of* Jerriſwood 226, 244, 324, 325
Staley *the Banker* 244, 245
Coleman *Secretary to the Dutcheſs of* York 246
Godfrey's *Aſſaſſins* 50, *to* 53
Five Jeſuits 262, 263
Langhorn *the Lawyer* 263
Dr. Wakeman 264
Lord Stafford 275, *to* 278
Fitzharris 279, *to* 282
Plunket *Archbiſhop of* Armagh 282, 283
Stephen College 283, 284
Lord Shaftsbury 284
Hackſton 287
Argile 292
Home 293, 294
Blakewood 294
Lord Ruſſel 308, *to* 311
Walcot, Hone *and* Rowſe 311
Algernoon Sidney 17, 18
Sir Hugh Campbel 322
Roſwel *the Miniſter* 331, 332
Haies *Banker* 331, 332
Oates *and* Dangerfield 351, 352
Mr. Hambden 356
Mrs. Gaunt 357
Lady Liſle 357
Alderman Corniſh 358
Lord Delamere 367, 368
Sir Edward Hales 368
the ſeven Biſhops 407, *to* 409
Turberville *the Evidence* 275, *to* 277, 283, 286
Turenne *Marſhal* 95, 179, 185, 199, 206, 228, 342, 355
Turner *Biſhop of* Ely 227, 246, 247, 355, 439
Turner *Sir* James 118, 130, 131, 135
Turner *Sir* William 150
Turner *the Jeſuit* 262
Tweedale *Earl* 59, 66, 73, 74, 117, 118, 134, 135, 137, *to* 139, 155, *to* 157, 159, 161, *to* 163, 167, 204, 207, 269, 288

V

VAliere *Mademoiſelle* 168, 314
Vandike *Sir* Anthony 18
Vane *Sir* Henry 26, 27, 36, 93
des Vardes *Marquis* 168, 169
Vaudois *perſecuted* 44, 45, 361, 373
Vaughan *Chief Juſtice* 126. *His Son* 219
Vendoſm *Grand Prior* 335
Venner's *Inſurrection* 91
Vienna *Siege* 313, 314
Villa Hermoſa *General* 229
Villeroy *Duke* 344
Uniformity Act 103, 104, 108
Union of the Kingdoms propoſed 156, 157
Uſher *Archbiſhop* 82, 102

W

WAde 348
Wake, *now Archbiſhop of* Canterbury 370
Wakeman *Phyſician* 240, 242, 243, 264
Walcot *the Plotter* 303, 304, 311
Waldeck *Prince* 183
Wales (*pretended Prince*) 411, *to* 414, 425, 432, 449
Walker *Dr.* 371
Wallace *Colonel* 130
Waller *the Wit* 219, 323
Wallgrave *Dr.* 412, 414
Walſh Peter *a Prieſt* 109
Walſingham *Sir* Francis 6, 174
Ward *Sir* Patience 299
Ward *Biſhop of* Exeter, *then of* Salisbury 108, 109, 126, 382, 412
Wariſtoun *our Author's Uncle* 17, 18, 32, 61, 73, 111, 114, 133
Warner *Biſhop of* Rocheſter 20
Warwick *Sir* Philip 56
Weir *of* Blakewood 294
Welſh *a* Scots *Miniſter* 130
Wentworth *Lady* 348, 356, 432
Weſt *Lawyer* 302, *to* 307, 311, 317, 320, 350
Weſton *Baron* 278
Weymouth *Viſcount* 439
Wharton *Lord* 18, 226, 227, 435
Whatley *Juſtice of Peace* 189
Whiggs *the Origin of the Term* 26
Whitby *Dr.* 370
Whitchot *Dr.* 105
White *an* Iriſhman 389
Whitebread *the Jeſuit* 250, 254, 262, 263
Whitford *Biſhop of* Dumblain 16, 373
Whitlock *Author of the Memoirs* 23
Wicquefort *Author of the Treatiſe of Ambaſſadours* 210, 211
Widdrington *Lord* 225
Wigmore *Sir* Richard 6
Wildman *the Republican* 39, 304, 345, 429, 432, 449
Wilkins *Biſhop of* Cheſter 37, 46, 105, 107, 108, 142, 145, 147, 152
Wilkinſon 284
Williams *Sir* William 328, 408
Williams *Biſhop* 29, 261, 370
Williamſon *Sir* Joſeph 199, 210, 214
Willis *Sir* Richard 38, 39
Willis *the Phyſician* 99, 128
Wincam *Sir* George 30
Windebank *Dr.* 412, 414
Winkinton *Battle* 439
Winnington *Lawyer* 248, 256, 271
Wiſhart *Biſhop of* Edinburgh 81, 132
de Wits *of* Holland 123, 124, 127, 129, 178, *to* 184, 210, 238
Witherly *Dr.* 413
Withins *Judge* 273, 299, 318
Wood *a* Scots *Profeſſor of Divinity* 69
Worceſter *Marquis* 272. *Fight* 34, 335, 338
Worthington *Dr.* 105, 106
Wright *Chief Juſtice* 409
Wyat's *Rebellion* 302
Wylde *a Judge* 254

Y.

YOrk *Duke* 43, 95, 96, 99, 122, 123, 124, 143, 144, 146, 197, 198
His firſt Marriage 95, 100. *firſt Dutcheſs* 96, 147, 172, 173
His ſecond Marriage 198, 203. *His ſecond Dutcheſs* 207
His Jealouſy 127, 128. *His Religion* 172, 200 *to* 202
Ypres *taken* 232

Z

ZEll *Duke* 313, 416
Zouch *General* 212
Zuyleſtein, *afterwards Earl of* Rochford 153, 415, 439

That Great Man, to whom the World is indebted for this invaluable Hiſtory was the the 76th *Biſhop of* Sarum, *and enjoy'd that See within a few Days of* 26 *Years, reckoning from his Conſecration, which he received by a Special Commiſſon from Archbiſhop* Sancroft *on the* 31ſt *of* March 1689. *His Remains were depoſited the* 22d *of* March 17^{14}_{15} *in the Church of St.* James Clerkenwell *in the County of* Middleſex, *on the South Side of the Altar; and on the North Side of it there is a handſome Monument of white Marble, with the the following* Latin *Inſcription in black Letters.*

H. S. E.

GILBERTUS BURNET S. T. P.

Epiſcopus *Sarisburienſis,*

Et Nobiliſſimi Ordinis à Periſcelide Cancellarius,

Natus *Edinburgi* 18° die *Septembris* A. D. 1643.

Parentibus *Roberto Burnet* Domino de *Cremont*, ex antiquiſſima Domo de *Lees*, & *Rachele Johnſton*, ſorore Domini de *Wariſtoun*.

Aberdoniæ literis inſtructus, *Saltoni* Curæ Animarum invigilavit, inde juvenis ad huc S. S. T. P. in Academia *Glaſgoenſi* electus eſt.

Poſtquam in *Angliam* tranſijt, rem ſacram per aliquot annos in Templo Rotulorum *Londini* adminiſtravit; donec nimis acriter (ut ijs, qui rerum tum potiebantur, viſum eſt) Eccleſiæ *Romanæ* malas artes inſectatus, ab officio ſubmotus eſt, è patria temporum iniquitate profugus, *Europam* peragravit, & deinceps cum Principe Auriaco reverſus, primus omnium à Rege Gulielmo & Regina Maria Preſul deſignatus, & in ſummum tandem fiduciæ teſtimonium ab eodem Principe Duci Glocestriensi Preceptor datus eſt.

Tyrannidi & Superſtitioni ſemper infenſum ſcripta eruditiſſima demonſtrant, nec non Libertatis patriæ, veræque Religionis ſtrenuum ſemperque indefeſſum propugnatorem; quarum utriuſque conſervandæ ſpem unam jam à longo tempore in illuſtriſſima domo *Brunſvicenſi* collocârat.

Poſtquam autem Dei Providentia ſingulari Regem Georgium ſceptro *Britanno* potitum conſpexerat, brevi jam annorum & felicitatis ſatur è vivis exceſſit.

Duxit Uxorem Dominam *Margaritam Kennedy*, Comitis *Caſſiliæ* filiam, dein *Mariam Scott Haga-Comitis*, quæ ei ſeptem liberos peperit, quorum adhuc in vivis ſunt *Gulielmus*, *Gilbertus Maria*, *Elizabetha*, & *Thomas*. Poſtremo Uxorem duxit viduam *Berkeley*, qua duos liberos ſuſcepit, fato præmaturo non multo poſt extinctos.

Ampliſſimam pecuniam in pauperibus alendis & in ſumptibus ad utilitatem publicam ſpectantibus vivus continuo erogavit; Moriens duo millia aureorum *Aberdoniæ Saltonoque* ad juventutem pauperiorem inſtituendam teſtamento legavit.

Obijt 17° die *Martij*, A. D. 17^{14}_{15}. Ætatis ſuæ 73.

FINIS.